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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1787.

C. Vol. 212

THE SECOND EDITION.



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P R E F A C E.

THE year 1787 has not only been productive of very important events, but of some in which the interests of this nation were deeply concerned. The happy revolution which has taken place in Holland, the restoration of the Stadtholder to his rights, and the recovery of that republic to its ancient system of policy, by detaching it from the new connections it had formed with France, were matters in which Great Britain had not a greater share than an immediate political interest, as well as a neighbourly and friendly concern; while the vigour and wisdom of her conduct in these transactions have effectually restored her to that high eminence among the nations of Europe from which she had suffered no small derogation through the loss of her colonies, and other ill consequences of the American war.

But these objects, important as they are, cannot in any degree rank, with respect to magnitude and general consideration, with those new prospects which have been opening upon us through the course of the present year. A singular revolution seems to be taking place in the minds of men; and the spirit of liberty appears to be reviving with great energy, in countries where it had long been deemed nearly extinct. It has already produced such effects in France, and indicates others so much greater, as to render that country (through causes very different from those which drew the attention of mankind upon it during the last two centuries) the grand theatre of political speculation. A similar spirit is dawning in other places; while our Belgic neighbours have afforded a notable instance that it never was totally extinct in them, by the struggle which they have manfully sustained against exuberant power, in the support of their ancient constitution, and the preservation of their civil and political rights.

These three principal objects, the affairs of Holland, of France, and of the Low Countries, have engrossed our utmost attention in treating the history of the present year: we have entered into the respective subjects with care and diligence, and trust the Public will not find themselves disappointed in the narrative of these affairs which we lay before them. The momentous war which has broken out
between

between the great powers in the North and East of Europe, was commenced too late in the year for the production of any considerable military operation; those immediate causes which accelerated that event will accordingly be the introduction to the narrative of their mutual hostilities in our next volume. Other matters have, for the present, necessarily given way to those of greater importance, and will form an article of future retrospect.

Our domestic affairs have not been less carefully attended to, as we hope the discussion of the commercial treaty with France, and other subjects of national importance, will sufficiently testify.

We have been informed by a gentleman not long arrived from Italy, of some misrepresentation and exaggeration of circumstances, in the account of the new cemetery near Florence, given in our last volume. We have ever embraced with pleasure every occasion that offered of bestowing due praise upon the excellent government of the Grand Duke; and are too deeply impressed with a regard for the humanity and beneficence of his character, to suffer any thing derogatory from it to appear without concern; and this we testified in the passage alluded to, although we could not refuse stating facts which seemed perfectly authenticated. We are not, however, ignorant that some of his reforms have, as well as the cemetery, been the cause of much dissatisfaction and complaint among his subjects; and that even his admirable code of penal law, notwithstanding the philanthropy and beneficence that breathe through every part of it, has not been received without dislike and censure, and has even been productive of much distress to individuals; a consequence perhaps which no system of general reform, hastily adopted, can ever be entirely free from.

With respect to the matter in question, if we have been imposed upon in the accounts which we received of the cemetery, we are not singular in the imposition; for an English gentleman, whose poetical and literary talents are well known, and who was immediately upon the spot, published a very severe satire upon the subject, from which it is evident, that it appeared to him in the same light that it was afterwards represented to us.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1787.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Mediation of France and Prussia in the affairs of Holland. Reasons for doubting the success of that mediation confirmed by the event. Negotiations carried on at Nimeguen and the Hague. Conditions laid down by the States of Holland as the basis of an accommodation with the Stadtholder. Causes which rendered these propositions inadmissible. M. de Rayneval suddenly breaks off the negotiation and returns to Paris. Count de Goertz receives a letter of recall, and returns to Berlin. Violent animosity and mutual recrimination of the contending parties on the failure of the negotiation. The new form of government, established in the city of Utrecht, considered as a model of perfection by the democratical party in other places. Difficult situation and temporizing conduct of the States of Holland, with respect to the prevalent democratic spirit. Sudden and unaccountable changes in the political conduct and principles of the party in opposition to the Stadtholder displayed in various places. States of Friesland first waver, and then, from being among the foremost in opposition, appear decidedly in favour of the Prince. M. de Rendorp changes sides in Amsterdam, and carries over a majority of the senate along with him. Immediate consequences of this change; great alarm spread by it among the republican party. Means pursued by the leaders to remedy the defection of Amsterdam. Procure addresses
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from several towns, with a view of gaining thereby a decided majority of votes in the assembly of provincial states. Failing in this attempt, they propose in the assembly a resolution to suspend the Prince of Orange from his remaining high offices of stadtholder and admiral-general. Foiled likewise in this, they endeavour to increase the number of votes in the provincial assembly, by affording a right of representation to several new towns; in which they are also defeated. Estimate of the comparative strength and numbers of the contending parties. Retrospect of the measures pursued by Holland, for supporting the city of Utrecht in its contumacious opposition to the states of the province. Unexpected revolution in the assembly of the States of Holland, who, following the example of Amsterdam, adopt measures evidently favourable to the Stadtholder's interests. General consternation and critical situation of the republican party. Defeated in all their late attempts; with now a great majority of the provinces, and a greater of the people decidedly against them. Bold and hazardous measures become acts of prudence. Obligated to throw themselves upon the democratical party for support, and to call in the armed burghers to new model and settle the state and constitution. These surround the senate-houses of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, purge them of those members who were adverse to their designs, place all power in the hands of their own party, and establish a determined majority in the states of Holland. These prepare to assist Utrecht by force of arms against the Provincial States. States general, who had hitherto preserved a strict neutrality, now take a decided part in opposing the design of Holland to support Utrecht by force of arms. Council of state issue an order strictly forbidding the officers in the service of Holland from marching their troops into the territories of any other province. Prohibition confirmed by the States general. Reply from the States of Holland. First blood drawn in a skirmish at Zutphaas, a village near Utrecht. States of Holland order troops to the succour of Utrecht. Propose a test to their officers. A great majority refuse the test; are suspended and new ones appointed. Suspended officers taken into the protection of the States general, and their pay continued. Manifesto published by the Stadtholder, amounting nearly to a declaration of war against the ruling party in the province of Holland. Riots at Amsterdam. States general issue an order to general Van Reyssel, to break up the cordon or line of troops formed on the frontiers of Holland. Counter orders from the states of Holland. Colonel Balnearius carries off the regiment which he lately commanded himself, with a battalion of another, from the fortrefs of Ouderwater to the Stadtholder. This example causes a general revolt in the troops of Holland.

DURING the adverse tide of affairs which was setting in so strongly against the interests of the stadtholder, in the United Provinces, towards the close of the year 1786, his brother-in-law, the new king of Prussia, was unceasing in his endeavours to promote all such measures of conciliation as could in any degree tend to prevent those very irksome and dangerous consequences, which the present state of things and the violence of the republican party could not otherwise fail to produce. For the attainment of this purpose he shewed himself disposed to try any means however unpromising, and to coincide

cide with any interests, however discordant, that afforded even a possibility of success. Perhaps he thought it necessary, at the opening of a new reign, to hold out such instances of moderation, justice, and a desire of preserving the general tranquillity, as might serve to secure the opinions of mankind in his favour, and to prepare them for that future decision which he foresaw would be inevitable. Perhaps likewise the character of his predecessor, or the public impression founded on it, might not have been without its effect in regulating his conduct upon this occasion.

As the offer of his joint mediation with Great Britain had been slighted by the adverse faction (their mutual connections with the stadtholder, and avowed predilection for his interests, affording no small room for objecting to their arbitration) he endeavoured to remove this impediment, by proposing that France, the avowed friend and close ally of the republic, should, along with himself, undertake the kind office, but arduous task, of settling and composing the differences by which it was distracted. The season of the year was favourable, as the near approach of winter must necessarily restrain the active violence of the contending parties, afford leisure for mediation, and, as men's minds cooled by inaction, they would become more placable, and be the better disposed to listen to the voice of conciliation.

The proposal being communicated by the Prussian minister to the court of Versailles, was received in such a manner, as seemed flattering to the king's discernment in adopting the project. That court embracing it with every mark of

the greatest cordiality, immediately appointed M. de Rayneval (who had already acquired some considerable credit in negotiation, particularly in concluding the late treaty of commerce with England) to be the French King's representative in the office of mediation; and so hearty did that court appear in the business, that the French minister arrived at the Hague before the end of November, 1788, where he was to act in concert with the Baron de Goertz, the extraordinary, and M. Thulemeyer, the resident minister of Prussia, in endeavouring to accomplish the desired settlement.

But fair as these appearances were, it was little hoped by those who looked closely into the state and nature of things, that this negotiation should produce the effect apparently sought by one mediator, and eagerly wished by the other. They could not bring themselves to believe that France, who they knew to be not only the nurse, protectress, and encourager of the adverse faction, but to have been the prime fomentor and instigator of all their violences, should now at once undo the effects of all her former craft and labour, by becoming the instrument of restoring the prince of Orange to any thing near that share of weight and power which he before held in the republic. This would have been to sacrifice her own immediate interests to the gratification of the king of Prussia, to abandon one of the longest and dearest objects of her policy, to miss the only opportunity that had ever offered of her establishing a supreme and permanent controul in the affairs of the republic, and for ever to lose, without benefit or effect, all that gold which she had for
[1] 2 several

several years so unsparingly bestowed in supporting her influence in Holland, and in feeding the contention. This was a source of expence so abundantly supplied, that a writer who appears to have possessed very unusual sources of information, and more than a common share of political acumen, has ventured to assert, that one half of the money thus expended, if it had been properly applied in the stadtholder's court, would have produced an influence there, infinitely more beneficial in advancing and establishing her purposes, than any thing she derived or could derive from the services of the republican leaders on whom it was bestowed*.

It was argued, that such a coincidence on the part of France, with the views of the king of Prussia, would not merely be a dereliction of the cause and party which she had so long espoused, but a scandalous act of treachery. She had led them into a course of violent and indefensible measures, and consequently involved them in circumstances of great danger; and now to abandon them in the instant of their warmest hopes, when the object of their long and mutual pursuit seemed nearly within reach, would shock the feelings of all mankind, and appear as foolish as it would infamous. The crooked policy which she had pursued for some ages, by which she became considered as the common disturber of the tranquillity of Europe, and as sacrificing all faith and principle to her own advantage, had been the means of involving her in the greatest difficulties, and most dangerous situations, so that her very existence at one time seem-

ed little less than trusted to the cast of a die. She seemed of late to adopt a fairer policy, and to be studious of establishing a different character; but if she relapsed now, it would have a worse effect than merely overthrowing what she had hitherto done for that purpose.

On the other hand, it could scarcely be supposed, that the king of Prussia would sacrifice the interests of the stadtholder so far, as to admit of those great concessions, which could alone answer the views of France, or afford any satisfaction to the high republicans. All concessions merely palliating would undoubtedly be agreed to; some limitations perhaps admitted, in order to prevent any encroachment of the executive power upon the other orders of the state and government; and every thing that tended to a perfect oblivion of all that was past, to the conciliation of parties, to the security, and even gratification of the adverse faction, would certainly have been granted with a good grace and a willing mind. But it was not to be conceived from any part of the king of Prussia's conduct which had yet appeared, much less from any due consideration of the close ties of affinity and policy which united the two families, that he would ever consent to, or indeed suffer, except through inevitable necessity, the abridgement in any essential degree of those rights, which, by the general voice of the nation, and the universal concurrence of all the parts and orders of the commonwealth, had, in the year 1749, been annexed to the office of stadtholder, and rendered hereditary in the family.

* See Introduction to the History of the Dutch Republic, &c. p. 272.

It may be added, that the experience of other countries had not warranted a very sanguine expectation from the interference of rival and powerful states. Happy is that nation which is able to maintain the balance of its internal political forces without recurring to foreign mediation. But when two great foreign powers acquire leading interests, and intermingle themselves intimately in the dissensions of any state, it is hardly possible that those dissensions should have a favourable issue. A sincere disposition to resolve all partial and particular interests into the general mass of the national interest, is to be expected only from a patriotism of no ordinary class, and yet is essential to the accommodation of national troubles. All that is to be hoped from foreign sincerity is, to prevent things from running to extremes, and to keep the scale even between the parties for a time. The interest of the state to be pacified is not the interest of the mediators, who mostly endeavour to fight their own political battle on the ground which is neutral, but which each endeavours to appropriate. Whatever were the intentions of the powers now in question, their negotiation ended in a civil war.

Under such doubtful, and indeed inauspicious aspects, was this negotiation commenced.

The prince of Orange kept his court at Nimeguen, whither the Count de Goertz departed in the latter end of December; leaving M. de Thulemeyer to transact the business on the spot with the French minister, while he was himself the medium through which the correspondence was conveyed. The Count

carried with him a draught of the conditions, which the States of Holland laid down as the basis of a final accommodation. By this arrangement the stadtholder was to renounce the influence which he possessed in the several town senates or regencies, by giving up his right of rejection or nomination in filling up the occasional vacancies. Upon acceding to this proposition, he was to be restored to the nominal office of captain-general; he being bound to receive it on the new and heavy condition of surrendering that right or prerogative, by which he was enabled to march the troops into or out of any province; whereas he was now to be restrained from any such measure, without a previous communication with, and leave obtained for the purpose from, the respective states of the provinces concerned. By the final proposition, he was to be restored to the government and command of the garrison of the Hague; but this was likewise clogged with another condition, which was that of compliance with a resolution passed some time before by the senate of Amsterdam, that the command should at all times be revocable at the pleasure of the states of the province.

By the first of these propositions, that of the stadtholder's giving up the right of nomination, and consequently all influence in the town senates, it was conceived the executive power would have become totally inefficient in the state; as nothing less than a strong presiding influence, which otherwise could only be obtained by an expence in money, far beyond the revenues of the stadtholderate, could possibly produce unanimity or decision among

mong such a number of petty sovereignties and discordant interests; it being one of the most apparent vices of that constitution, that though well enough calculated for the internal government of their towns individually, their public union can only be procured by the sordid means of corruption. An opinion confirmed by the most indubitable authorities, through various parts and different periods of the history of the republic; and a circumstance, which has heretofore, as well as now, afforded an opportunity to France to domineer in their interior as well as public councils.

The second proposition, with respect to the disposal and movements of the troops, would, if acceded to, have been infinitely more dangerous to the state, than in any other degree prejudicial to the stadtholder, as it would have disabled him, in case of sudden emergency and unforeseen danger (things which they now had sufficient causes to be apprehensive of) from providing those immediate means for the public defence on which the preservation of the country might depend. The last condition would have exposed him to continual degradation and insult in the place of his residence, and in the view of all the world, and have rendered him contemptible even to his own guards, whenever his *masters* (which was now the favourite language) should choose to remind the public of their supreme power, and of his servile dependence on them.

Now as public opinion, and the reverence founded on it, are indispensably necessary to the support of all government, so these conditions, taken all together, would have

proved such a degradation of the stadtholder in the eyes both of natives and foreigners, as would render him totally incapable of discharging the duties, and incompetent to the filling, with propriety or effect, the various great offices which he still retained, whether perfect or mutilated. They would besides have established a precedent the most ruinous to himself and his successors that could be devised. For if it was once found that the established constitution could thus easily be broken through, and that he submitted in sacrificing to the pretensions of a faction or a province, those rights and authorities which had been deemed inalienable, and inherent to his office, he surrendered the only principle on which he could defend the remainder; and every other faction, and every other province, might in its turn and proper season follow the example.

Such, however, were the preliminaries laid down by the province of Holland, as the ground-work of an accommodation!

The event soon confirmed the opinion of those who had placed no confidence in the success of the present negotiation. The princess of Orange, whose genius, spirit, and abilities were well understood on all sides, undertook to supply the place of the prince in the conduct of this business; and her management of it did not in any degree derogate from those qualities. It would seem, however, that she was by no means disposed to give up any of the stadtholderian rights; nor perhaps sufficiently practicable with respect to smaller compliances. The correspondence between Nimeguen and the Hague was carried on for several

tal weeks; but was at length abruptly broken off by M. de Rayneval, who suddenly set out upon his return to Paris about the middle of January 1787.

Nothing could exceed the bitterness of recrimination which passed between the contending parties upon the failure of this treaty or negotiation. It was said on the side of the stadtholder, that it proceeded entirely from the precipitate arrogance, the haughty affectation of superiority, and the imperious spirit of the French minister. That he would listen to no terms but those of his own prescribing, or such as were dictated by the adverse faction. That he appeared rather as the appointed advocate of that party, than in the character of a common friend, or a cool and impartial mediator. That he rather seemed to consider the stadtholder as a guilty person interceding for favour and forgiveness, than as a prince, who was placed by the constitution at the head of the republic, claiming his just rights, and demanding redress of the injuries he had sustained.

In descending to particulars, they said, that the French minister had laid it down as an indispensable preliminary condition to his being restored to his office of captain-general, that the prince should make such a public submission to his sovereigns the states of Holland, as would have been an acknowledgement to all the world of his deserving the suspension laid on, and of his being culpable in all the accusations which they had brought against him. That as it would be ridiculous for the stadtholder, who had committed no fault, to make apologies or to ask pardon, so it

would be in the highest degree intolerable, that he should acknowledge a guilt where none existed. That the French minister had required as another preliminary, that, in order to gratify the states of Holland, the stadtholder should violate the constitution and invade the rights of other provinces, by binding him to bring the states of Gueldres and Utrecht, without regard to the means which he was to use for accomplishing so absurd and extraordinary a measure, to rescind resolutions which they had passed, and forego measures which they had already adopted for their own internal regulation; and, as if it were to render him still more culpable, by exceeding his own authority, and a farther violation of the constitution. It was insisted that he should withdraw the garrisons from Elbourg and Hattem, without any regard to the sovereignty under whose orders he had acted in placing those garrisons, and by whose commands they were still continued. And, finally, that the French envoy, instead of giving time for passion to cool, or prejudices to subside on either side, as soon as he found that his arbitrary *dictum* was not instantly obeyed, and all his propositions immediately and implicitly acceded to, abruptly broke off the negotiation, when, by a better temper and disposition on his side, there were very good reasons for believing, that things might in a little time have been put in a fair train of accommodation.

On the other side it was insisted with great acrimony, that the failure of success proceeded entirely from the inflexible obstinacy of the court of Nimeguen. That, far from paying any deference to the states

of Holland, who were his lawful sovereigns, the stadtholder had insisted in the most peremptory manner upon every part of his claims, not relaxing any more in the most inconsiderable than in the most material articles. That he shewed no disposition to accommodate himself to the unfortunate situation in which he was involved, nor to the temper and circumstances of the times. That he had not shewn the smallest regret for any of the unjustifiable measures into which he had been precipitated, but, on the contrary, seemed disposed pertinaciously to support and defend them to the last. And, in a word, that a single concession had never even been hinted at from his court; but that all the advances which had been made, and all the instances of moderation at any time given, had been displayed by the states of Holland.

Upon the whole, without expecting accurate statements of fact in violent political altercations, we must, however, observe, that an invincible obstinacy has long been charged, as one of the peculiar and distinguished characteristics of the policy of that court.

The king of Prussia, upon the breaking up of the negotiation, and the departure of Rayneval, immediately recalled the Count de Goertz, sending a short letter to the states general, in which he only expressed his concern for the failure of his good wishes and offices towards restoring the tranquillity of the republic, without any observation on the causes of that failure, or the smallest hint by which any conjecture could be formed of his further intentions, any more than of his present temper and disposition. This reserve, and laconic

conciseness, was immediately turned to good account by the adverse party, who, interpreting it intirely in their own favour, triumphantly published this construction, as an evidence, that the king was so much disgusted with the stadtholder's incurable obstinacy, in not agreeing to those reasonable concessions which the states of Holland required, and which he had himself recommended, that he would now take no farther concern in his affairs, but abandon him entirely to their mercy. And this had such an effect, that a report was spread, and credited in other countries as well as Holland, that a serious misunderstanding had taken place between the two courts.

In the mean time, the Prussian minister extraordinary had returned directly from Nimeguen to Berlin, having enclosed the king's letter to the states general, accompanied with one of his own, in which he apologized for not having taken leave of them formally and in person at the Hague.

Previous to these negotiations, during the time of their continuance, and for several months after, continual changes were taking place in the conduct, views, connection; and strength of the numberless parties and factions which were spread throughout the republic. These were so sudden and various as to present nothing but a general chaos of disorder and confusion to all distant speculators. In general, however, the democratical interest was gaining ground; and it was in that respect, and in that only, that the present contests held out a prospect of amendment and benefit (and a most essential one it would have been) to the constitution, by admitting the body of the citizens to a share

share in their respective governments. Though it must be acknowledged, that, if that great change had taken place, the whole constitution and form of government must have been newmodelled; or otherwise, the executive power would have been totally incapable of fulfilling its purposes, and the centre of union between the respective parts of the republic would be too feeble to resist danger, or to admit of public exertion.

In the city of Utrecht, the ancient government was entirely overthrown, and the democratical completely established; while, to insure its permanence, a college of tribunes was instituted as an inherent part of the new constitution, whose office it was not only vigilantly to guard and defend the rights of the burghers or people at large, but who were likewise furnished with such strong powers of controul in respect to the election, and even to the after conduct of the senators or regents, as threw the government in a great measure entirely into their hands. They were, however, verging fast to a civil war with the states of the province; to which the numbers, wealth, and power of that city had rendered them more than competent; even if they had not been openly encouraged, and strongly supported, by Holland. That aid was, however, necessary to counterbalance the support which the states were likely to receive from the stadtholder, as well as from their neighbours of Guelderland, and perhaps other provinces; who seeing the danger of such innovations to themselves, were likely to oppose the establishment of a precedent, which they saw too

general a disposition in the people to follow.

The government established in Utrecht was considered as a model of perfection by the democratical parties in other places. The idea of a college of tribunes, which would render the several town regencies entirely subservient to the people, and lay the senators individually at the mercy of every factious or turbulent demagogue who became a member of that office, was generally and peculiarly captivating; several of the towns in Holland, as well as other places, eagerly adopting it in their projected schemes of reform. The aristocrats were not; however, by any means idle, and, where the inequality in power was too great to admit of an open resistance, all covert means were used to procrastinate the event, if it was found impossible to defeat the attempt. Thus the democratic parties experienced not a few revolutions of fortune in places where they thought themselves secure, and were not seldom surprised with an ingenious after-game when it was least expected.

The states of Holland were in a critical situation. Nothing could be more alarming or painful to them than the rapid progress which the democratical spirit was making in that province; and yet they were involved in such untoward circumstances, through the measures which they had so long pursued against the stadtholder, that they dared not openly to oppose the popular disposition, lest they might have thrown the great and numerous body of burghers into his arms, which would have decided the contest at once against them.

This

This embarrassment fully appeared in their conduct with respect to the city of Hoorn. For the burghers at that place having adopted the new scheme of reform, and the magistracy appealing to the states, the latter found means, under the forms either of the constitution or of their own body, to procrastinate the affair in such a manner, that it never was brought to an absolute decision. In Dort, and some other places, where the republican spirit was very strong, and the animosity to the prince of Orange great, the scheme of reform was completed among themselves, without any application to the states. But the defeat which the popular party met at Rotterdam was not to be compensated by small successes. One of the magistrates there, deserting his own party and immediate interests, placed himself at the head of the reformers, and actually commenced his scheme of innovation. But the magistracy were too firm, and the bulk of the people too much on their side, to admit the project to succeed. The refractory magistrate was displaced, his proceedings annulled, and the peace and quiet of that wealthy and powerful city restored with little trouble.

The difficulty of comprehending the true state of things was continually increased by the unaccountable changes which took place, not only in the great towns, but in the conduct of the states of the respective provinces, and even of the states general themselves. This was so signal and striking, that a writer, who evidently leans not a little to the republican side, declares with

regret, "that it had been one of the misfortunes of this contest, that, through the seven independent states of which the republic is composed, there is not one, that has been firm and unanimous in its attachment, either to the stadtholder or his enemies.*." A circumstance that little accords with the cool determined firmness, and the inflexible obstinacy, ascribed to that people.

A remarkable instance of this inconstancy took place in the province of Friesland. The Frisians had ever valued themselves upon being, and had for many ages been considered by others, among the foremost and the boldest assertors of liberty. In the present contests, they seemed studious to preserve or to renew their antient character, and the states of that province were among the earliest and the most strenuous of any in their opposition to the stadtholder. Yet, as if there had been some invisible power, which irresistibly spread its influence over men's minds and dispositions, they suddenly slackened their pace in the midst of the course; shewed strong symptoms at first of doubt and irresolution, but in a little time appeared decidedly in favor of the stadtholder.

The first indubitable instance of this change was given, by their abolishing the free corps in that province, which had been raised there, as every where else, for the sole purpose of opposing or controuling the Orange interest. They, however, seemed afterwards to accord with Holland in certain measures; but so peevish a course of controversy and altercation arose

* History of the United Provinces, &c. 1787. p. 253.

after-

afterwards between them upon some others, that the states of the latter put an end at once to the correspondence by the incurable resolution, "that silent contempt was the only manner in which the arguments of the Frisons should be treated." This passionate and contemptuous measure fixed at least a majority of the states of Friesland in the interests of the stadtholder, which was a material addition to his strength. The towns of that province, like those of all others, were divided in their sentiments; some being violently in his interest, and others more so in their animosity; but perfect unanimity in any would have been in vain sought for in the present times.

Similar, and still more unexpected conversions, took place in other provinces; nor was it uncommon for the converts to relapse again to their former sentiments. The city of Amsterdam had from the beginning been the bitterest and most implacable of all the stadtholder's enemies; so that it seemed as if all the violent measures pursued against him had originated in the pride, malice, and power of that people. Mr. de Rendorp, lord of Marquette, had long been one of the principal leaders of the popular party, and was considered as the instigator of the most violent and precipitate measures which the senate of that city had adopted. This man, to the astonishment of all who were not initiated in the deepest mysteries of party manœuvres and politics, suddenly changed sides, and carried over along with him a majority of the senate to that of the stadtholder.

The first fruit of this revolution was a direct proposal from the de-

puties of Amsterdam in the states of Holland, to restore the prince of Orange to the command of the garrison of the Hague; which went at once to remove one of the principal points in contention, and would indeed have opened the way in a very great measure to an easy reconciliation. Being defeated in this attempt, through the opposition of a majority of the provincial states, the senate of Amsterdam wrote circular letters to all the towns of the province, strongly urging them, and using every possible argument to enforce the desire, to revise the instructions to their deputies in the assembly of the states, and to co-operate with themselves in promoting the salutary work of conciliation.—Thus was Amsterdam labouring to overthrow, in a single instant, all the effects of those measures which she had so long and so ardently pursued!

This revolution of sentiment and conduct, if not of principle, took place about the middle of 1786, and we shall soon have occasion to observe others scarcely less surprising.

The defection of Amsterdam could not but excite an universal alarm among the leaders of the republican party, and urge them to the adoption of every measure that could possibly tend to counteract its effect. Although they had hitherto preserved a majority in the assembly of the states of Holland, yet that majority was by no means disposed blindly and servilely to follow their dictates in all cases without discrimination: on the contrary, that party had been obliged to withdraw several of their most violent propositions, without venturing to bring the questions to a decision, when they augured,

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augured, from the countenance of their usual supporters, the danger of a defeat. The great object now then was to procure such a decided majority in that assembly as were willing to go with them in all cases whatever, and would thereby enable them to proceed to such extremities against the stadtholder as they wished and intended.

The first attempt, tending to this purpose, was to obtain addresses from the towns of the province to the assembly, which they had themselves dictated, in order to induce the present members to depart entirely from that system of moderation which had hitherto proved so troublesome a restraint to their proceedings, and to adopt all those measures of violence which they were ready to bring forward, as soon as the occasion should offer a prospect of success. The general scope of these addresses was returning thanks to the states for the efforts they had already made in opposing the alarming progress of despotism, a strong recommendation to proceed with vigour in their exertions to its final extermination, and a promise to support them with their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of all such farther measures as they should judge necessary for the accomplishment of that purpose.

Though these addresses were triumphantly carried in Dort, Harlem, and some other towns distinguished for their republican spirit and present opposition, yet the attempt failed in so many others, that the party had no cause to boast of their success. In Amsterdam they procured 16,722 signatures to the address, which they pretended not only to be a majority of the inhabitants, but to include the names of

the principal citizens and burghers; and would therefore have it considered as the genuine and unequivocal sense of the capital. But the contrary to these assertions being then known to be the real state of things, and indeed soon after incontrovertibly established, this attempt at deception added no reputation to the cause, and lessened the opinion of its strength.

Yet these addresses seem to have encouraged the republican party to bring forward a bold and decisive measure, which, though a favourite in contemplation, had not yet been ventured upon. This was the suspension of the prince of Orange from his offices of stadtholder and admiral general, in the same manner they had already succeeded in suspending him from that of captain general. This question was brought forward on the 10th of January 1787, and occasioned the warmest and most violent debates, for two succeeding days, that had been known in that assembly. The proposers, however, found the opposition so formidable, and the aspect of the independent members so doubtful, that they did not choose to hazard the decision of a vote on the question.

Thus defeated, the only resource seemingly left for procuring a sure majority in the assembly of the states, was that of increasing the number of voters. For the better understanding of this business, we are to observe, that several towns, which were only villages, or perhaps not in existence, at the time of the union, have since risen to wealth and consequence, as others which were then considerable, have since declined in perhaps a similar progression. The former consequently have

have no representatives in the assembly of the provincial states, while the latter, like the decayed boroughs in England, still retain their representation; and, however insignificant as to population or property, preserve their rank, tho' not entirely their consequence, as members of the original confederacy and union.

The republican party, in order, as we have seen, to increase the number of votes in the assembly of the states, procured or introduced petitions from Hensden, Woerden, and other new towns which were grown into confederation, requiring a share in the general representation. This attempt was so little likely to succeed, that it seemed rather the offspring of passion and a premature confidence and eagerness, than the result of a cool judgment and any well-founded hope. It was accordingly so ill received by the states, that the towns soon withdrew their petitions, and the party found themselves again foiled, without their being able to bring the question to an absolute decision.

We have heretofore stated, that the two great parties for and against the house of Orange, into which the inhabitants of the United Provinces were divided, were so nearly balanced in point of number, that, if tried by the test of a poll or a general vote, it would be a matter of doubt on which side the majority would appear. Our opinion was necessarily founded on such information as we could then obtain. This, however, was so defective as to lead us, in that respect, into an error. It now appears from the most indubitable authority, that although the prince of Orange had, through

various causes and much mismanagement, lost, within a few years, a very considerable and alarming share of his popularity and influence, yet, that he possessed still so fast a hold of the affections or opinion of the great bulk of the people throughout the republic, that, were any decision by numbers to take place, the majority in his favour would be so vast, that the adverse party would appear only a mere handful in the comparison. The peasantry or yeomanry, including in that description all the inhabitants of the open country, were, almost to a man, not only warm, but, it might be said, violent in their attachments to him. The inhabitants of the inferior towns, and many of their magistracies, were little less so. And even in the great cities, where it was probably but little expected even by his friends, it appeared, as soon as the test was applied, that a majority of the inhabitants was on his side.

This was fully shewn in the city of Amsterdam, the great and original source of all the opposition he had encountered, and of all the mortification which he had endured. We have seen that the adverse party had procured near 17,000 signatures to an address inimical to the interests of the stadtholder, which they represented as being a majority of the inhabitants, and as conveying the unquestionable sense of that great city; but an association having been soon after entered into there for supporting the rights of that prince, the subscribers in three days more than doubled the number of the addressers, and amounted to above 35,000. In Rotterdam, it was well known that his friends would have been found still
more

more numerous in proportion to the general number of the inhabitants.

We have heretofore rightly observed, that the nobility, (or, in the language of the country, the equestrian order) together with the army and the navy, were generally strongly attached to the house of Orange. To these orders of men we shall now add the clergy of the established church, a body whose opinions and example must carry great weight and influence in all countries where religion is not nearly extinct; and who, in this, exclusive of all other motives of attachment, had, ever since the days of Arminius, considered that family as their principal shield of protection and defence, against the heterodox doctrines which they imputed to that visionary innovator. Now as many of the republican leaders had early adopted and still held these opinions, and the party were generally disposed to them, it was no very difficult nor unusual matter, that some considerable share of that abhorrence which was conceived against doctrines that were regarded as abominable, should be transferred to the persons and party who adopted them; while party zeal, being thus quickened and embittered by religious contests and prejudices, the enthusiasm excited by the combination could not fail to place the clergy among the foremost supporters of the Orange cause and interests.

With such supports, added to that of the bulk of the people, and fortified with such strong mounds of defence as great legal and official powers, with a long-established authority, it may appear almost paradoxical how the fabric could have been shaken as we have seen by a comparatively small party. To ac-

count for this, it is to be observed, that the defect in point of number was compensated, on the side of the party in opposition, by a great superiority with respect to wealth, of which they possessed not only more than a proportionate share, but, it is probable, considerably more than a moiety of what was contained in the whole republic; and every body will allow, that the more wealth is concentrated, by being lodged in such a moderate number of hands as will not be much more than sufficient for its due application to any given purpose, the more powerful its effects will prove. The same apparent defect will account, even independent of several other causes which may be easily pointed out, for the close union, the easy management, and the effective concert, in all cases, of that party, which appearing like the discipline of a well-regulated army, afforded frequent and great advantages over their loose and disjointed antagonists. They were likewise in possession of most of the offices of magistracy, and in many provinces of the authority and name of the constitutional government; a circumstance of no small weight in the estimate of political strength. The springing up of the democratical spirit, however ruinous to the aristocracies in the issue, was for the present a wonderful accession of strength to the adverse party, by throwing that great body of the burghers on whom it operated directly into their arms. To all these may with justice be added, and certainly will not be considered as an inefficient cause, that several of the leaders of the republican party were men of very considerable parts and abilities; while it must be acknowledged by all

all who attend to the course of the contest, that these qualities were in no degree counterbalanced on the other side. A great superiority in policy, and all party manœuvres, was the necessary consequence.

The affairs of Utrecht had long been a source of great embarrassment to the states of Holland. It was essential to the views of the dominant party to support that city; but the doing of it by open force was so flagrant a violation of the union, and would appear so daring an inroad upon the rights of another state, which was in all respects their equal, and whose powers of jurisdiction and government were as completely and firmly established as their own, was so alarming and hazardous a measure, that it could not without much difficulty be adopted.

Pretty early in the summer of the year 1786, the republican party finding or thinking themselves sufficiently strong, brought this subject forward in the assembly of the states of Holland, by moving a resolution, that they should by force of arms resist all attempts of coercion that were made against the city of Utrecht. This question produced long and vehement debates, which were maintained with great perseverance, and no small degree of animosity on both sides. The parties, however, appeared so nearly equal in strength, that neither side seemed much disposed to bring the question to an absolute decision, and it seemed to be dropped by a sort of mutual tacit consent.

But in the following September, when the capture of Elbourg and Hattem had blown up the flame of discontent to the highest pitch, against the stadtholder in the pro-

vince of Holland, the states, on the 6th of that month, issued a sudden order, that all their troops should be in readiness to march at a moment's warning. On the following day they granted permission to several bodies of armed burghers, who had addressed them for the purpose, to march directly to the assistance or relief of their brethren in Utrecht; at the same time opening their military magazine at Woerden for the use of that city.

The day after, being the 8th of the same month, in order partly to give the greater weight and appearance of solemnity to their proceedings, partly to explain the causes of these extraordinary measures to the representative of the whole republic, and thereby reconcile them to those which they intended farther to pursue, they exhibited to the people the unusual spectacle of their repairing in a body, to the amount of about fifty persons, to the assembly of the states general, where they represented them as indispensably necessary in the present critical state of affairs, in order to withstand the hostile proceedings and dangerous designs of the stadtholder. It may be necessary here to observe, that altho' no town has more than one vote, and that these amount in all only to nineteen, in the states of Holland, yet that there is no limitation as to the number of deputies which any town may send, who are all equally members of that assembly, and have an equal right to sit and to debate in it; so that ability, with the powers of argument and persuasion, may be branched out into several parts, although the vote is single.

It was not consonant to the proceedings of the states general, to give

ive any present answer to, or to make any immediate observation on these representations.

The states of Holland followed up these proceedings with an order to the troops of the province to march immediately to the frontiers on the side of Utrecht; and, to render them the more steadfast in the intended service, voted an augmentation of twelve sous per week to their pay. They likewise took into their service a corps of light troops, which, under the ill-founded denomination of a legion, had been raised by a Rhingrave of Salm, during the late contest with the emperor, for the service of the republic in that season of apparent danger. The suppression of this corps, which had been intended along with other military reductions of the same nature, had long been prevented through the influence of the republican leaders, on account of the violent part which their commander took, or affected to take, in behalf of that party. The states general having, however, at length discharged them from the service of the republic, those of Holland took them into the immediate pay of that province, in order to their being employed in the war of Utrecht.

We have, in our history of the year 1786, taken notice of the subsequent measures pursued by the states of Holland against the stadtholder previous to Mons. de Rayneval's negotiation; particularly his suspension from the office of captain-general, the discharging the troops from their military oath to him, and their forbidding that title to be applied to him in the public prayers of the churches. We likewise took notice of the strong protest made by the prince against these proceedings.

The defection of the senate of Amsterdam from their party, seemed to be little less than a mortal shock to the republican leaders; and the failure of their late attempts of stripping the stadtholder of his remaining great offices in the province of Holland, and of increasing the number of voters in the assembly of the states, could not but increase their consternation and despondence. The effect produced by this state of things was visible for some time after the commencement of the year 1787, by that unusual spirit of moderation which apparently prevailed in their conduct. But they were soon to experience a more sensible shock than even the loss of Amsterdam.

This was no less than a revolution of sentiment and conduct in the assembly of the states of Holland. Indeed the change which had taken place in the senate of Amsterdam, considering the lead which that city had always taken in public affairs, and the almost unbounded influence which she had ever maintained in the assembly of the provincial states, afforded alarming indications of the consequences which were likely to ensue. From that period the states had visibly grown more indecisive in their conduct; the republican zeal seemed much slackened, and the numbers ran closer on every division.

It seemed to be a capital error in the republican party, to admit the appointment of the celebrated Van Berkel, the first pensionary of Amsterdam, to the office of representing the republic as minister to the new states of America. This man had long been the leader, oracle, and it may be said, the soul of that party; and no man was ever better

better calculated for such a situation. His ambition was boundless; but he possessed all the great qualities necessary to its support and gratification in as unlimited a degree. His love of money, however, balanced his love of power, and seemed to preponderate on this occasion of sacrificing his prospects at home to the American employment. Perhaps he was encouraged in this project by some of the leaders on his own side, who wished to be his successor; and who would not believe that his popularity and power were the effect of superior talents. However that was, it is certain that Van Berkel's absence was now severely felt by the party; and it is highly probable that neither the defection in Amsterdam, nor the consequent change in the assembly of the states, would have taken place if he had been present.

After some weeks seeming hesitation, the assembly of the states of Holland afforded an unequivocal proof of the change which had taken place in their sentiments, by partly reversing and partly altering a former resolution of their own, upon a motion made for that purpose

March 30th 1787. by the friends of the prince of Orange. This was followed by another measure not less convincing. The refugees from Hattem and Elburg, who were considered as martyrs to the republican party, were treated by them nearly with the reverence suited to that character, and had early received the protection of the states of Holland; but they now passed a resolution, recommending these refugees to the clemency of the states of Guelderland, and requesting that they might be permitted to return to their respective

habitations; and thus virtually withdrew the protection which they had so lately granted.

Nothing could have been more highly resented by the adverse party than this dereliction of the refugees; nor could any thing appear more dreadful to themselves than the change in condition and character which they were to undergo; to be driven from all the sweets of an idle and plentiful life, from the pleasure of being idolized as the forward champions and willing victims to a righteous cause, then to return to their customary labours and native obscurity, and to appear in the garb of suppliants and penitents to their natural rulers, was a transition almost intolerable to humanity.

Nothing could accordingly exceed the exclamations raised against the states of Holland, and the indignation expressed at their conduct. To give up the fugitives to the mercy of their enemies in Guelderland, was not only represented as a most flagrant and glaring violation of good faith, but as an act of direct and shameless treachery. Several of the most factious cities, in this spirit, took up the cause of the refugees, and determined, so far as they were capable, to remedy the evil, by voting their protection to them, offering them all the privileges of burghership, and promising them every other accommodation which it should be in their power to confer.

Thus was the door opening to a new and strange face of things in the province of Holland; and it was soon to reveal aspects still more novel and unexpected.

In the mean time numberless clubs and associations were formed, and

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and large sums of money, it was said, subscribed, for the preservation of the ancient constitution, and the stadtholder's rights; while every new measure or incident on either side increased the animosity on the other, until nothing could exceed the virulence of their mutual reproach and accusation; the stadtholder's friends openly charging the republican party with having been long the betrayers of their country to French gold, and these retorting, that their adversaries wanted to overthrow the free constitution of the republic, and to establish a regal despotism, though at first perhaps without the name, in the person of the prince of Orange.

The situation of the republican party became exceedingly critical. They had been foiled in all their late attempts; they had lost their principal and supposed impregnable fortress in Amsterdam. In the next great city, that of Rotterdam, they were entirely mastered; a majority of the provinces, those of Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Guelderland, were decidedly against them; and they had now finally lost their influence in the assembly of the states of Holland; so that the two small and weak provinces of Groningen and Overijssel were all that continued firmly on their side.

It was then evident, that nothing less than the most prompt and decisive measures could retain or retrieve any part of their power and consequence as a party. These could not but be hazardous and dangerous, but it was the last stake, and all things must be risked; if fortune favoured, success would afford a sufficient sanction to the proceedings. They saw, at the same time, that in such circumstances,

all farther temporising with the democratical parties must be at an end; that the aristocracies must now cordially admit their claims; and that they had no other alternative than that of submission to the prince of Orange; an idea more dreadful than even that of a foreign conquest. It was accordingly determined that the armed burghers should be the instruments of reforming the state and government; and that when they had effectually succeeded in subverting the old, their order should be entitled to such a share in the new constitution, as they might hereafter agree upon.

It was not to be supposed, that the burghers would be slack in embracing an opportunity of fulfilling their own purposes, and attaining those objects which they had long so eagerly fought. They had some time before entered into a combination for introducing a democratical revolution in the city of Rotterdam; and petitioned the states of Holland for their sanction in new modelling the senate, by encreasing the number from twenty-four, the present establishment, to forty persons. But this petition was received very unfavourably by the states, who referred them back to their own magistracy; and these immediately published a declaration, in which they strongly insisted, that the sense of the different towns of the republic could not be legally known or communicated through any other medium than that of their respective senates, and that consequently the states of Holland had no right or authority to take any petition from their citizens into consideration.

Notwithstanding this defeat, which took place about the close of the past, or the commencement of the present

present year, the incessant efforts of the democratic party to overturn, and the resistance of their opposers to preserve inviolate the established constitution and government, had since kept that city in a constant state of tumult and disorder. In this course of domestic warfare, counter associations were formed and subscribed to by the contending parties, when it soon appeared that the number of those who united in favour of the prince more than doubled that of their antagonists.

But the new and powerful energy which was at length communicated, the confidence derived from having arms in their hands, and the courage inspired by the correspondence and advice received from their brethren in other places, rendered the burghers regardless of the superior number of their adversaries, and induced them fearlessly to proceed to the last extremities.

April 22d. 1787. they surrounded the senate-house, compelled

the senate to depose seven such members of their body as they considered the most adverse to their designs, and, under the form of a mock election, had their places instantly filled up with seven of the most violent of their own party. The deputies of the city in the assembly of the provincial states being among the degraded senators, the representation of Rotterdam was of course totally changed. It was to little purpose that the injured senators appealed to the laws, to the constitution, and to the states of Holland; no redress was any where to be obtained. The deputies at the Hague had the courage to endeavour to keep their seats, alleging that they were the only

legal representatives of their city, the new ones being usurpers brought in by force and violence; but the provincial assembly itself being by that time garbled, had likewise changed its nature, and, pretending that they had no right to interfere in the private disputes of any city, received the new deputies without regard to the complaints or rights of the old.

On the very same day that the senate of Rotterdam was purged in this manner by the armed burghers, similar measures were pursued by their brethren at Amsterdam. They surrounded the senate-house betimes in the morning, and the affrighted magistrates entered into a negotiation with them, which was spun out until the evening, when finding that they had no alternative, they were obliged to submit to the demands of the burghers, by declaring that nine members of their body, who were those nominated to them, had abdicated their offices. Among these victims to the revolution, were three deputies to the assembly of the provincial states, who had lately voted on some occasion on the side of the stadtholder. At the same time that they were clearing the senate of their adversaries, the four colonels of the city militia, and consequently the only legal commanders of the burghers, were doomed to undergo their persecution, and obliged to send in their resignations.

About the same time the city of Utrecht, proud in its wealth, and confident in the circumstance of its contributing as much or more towards the public expence than the rest of the province, determined at once to shew its superiority, and to reduce the states at Amersfort to
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beggary, and an incapacity of carrying on business, by withdrawing its allotted quota of revenue entirely from their disposal. This measure admitting of no alternative, served to cure that slackness and indecision which had marked the conduct of the provincial states, and compelled them to adopt the most vigorous measures for reducing that turbulent city to obedience. For this purpose their own troops, in concert with those of their allies the states of Guelderland, and such as the stadtholder could furnish, seemed to be competent; but the great clog to the undertaking lay in the apprehension and danger, that Holland would take an open and direct part in the contest, and, throwing its whole force into the opposite scale, sink the balance entirely against them. For though such a measure would not only be a direct breach, but amount to a dissolution of the general confederacy (Utrecht, like every other province, being absolutely paramount and sovereign within its own territories) yet they had seen so many instances of the daring spirit of that party now dominant in Holland, that they trusted as little to their prudence in weighing general consequences, as to their justice with respect to the rights of others.

It became accordingly the first object of policy with the stadtholder's friends, as well as with the states of Utrecht and Guelderland, to use all the civil means which the nature of the constitution and government admitted, to restrain the violence of Holland; and if these failed of effect, their second object, and last apparent resource was, to call in the aid of the provinces of Zealand and Fries-

land (which they had a well-founded hope of obtaining) and prepare to defend their territorial rights, and vindicate their sovereign authority by arms.

The states general had hitherto preserved the most guarded neutrality through the whole course of these dissensions; so that it could not even be surmised what their private opinions as men might be, relative to any of the questions which had been so violently agitated. In fact, by the constitution of that body, though their powers and authority were great, they were directed rather to general than to particular objects. Their high mightinesses were the watchful guardians of the interests of the republic as a whole; they were to look particularly to them with respect to foreign nations; they were to watch the approach of danger from without, to estimate its degree, and to make a timely provision for the public security. In war, their powers were great, and their authority in a great measure conclusive; and in peace, they were to prescribe the force to be supported by sea and land, to inspect into the state of the fleets and armies, and to look to every part of the public defence at home and abroad. But with respect to internal affairs, or the differences between particular states, their powers of controul, if not absolutely limited, are at least unknown, as their exertion is probably without a precedent. But in cases of extreme necessity, even with respect to internal affairs, where the peace or unity of the republic were endangered, the occasion would undoubtedly sanctify the application of these undefined powers, and the effect would be the

the greater from the rareness of the exertion.

It seemed as if the states general considered the occasion for calling forth that supreme power, which, however concealed or dormant, must subsist in all states, as now arrived, by that war which was on the point of breaking out between Holland and the states of Utrecht with their allies.

But, previous to their direct interference, the friends of the stadtholder deemed it necessary to obtain the sanction of another great body in the state, as an essential preparatory measure. This was the council of state for the seven provinces, a body of the first dignity and power with respect to the mere executive authority in the republic. This council, which sits constantly at the Hague, is composed, like the states general, of deputies from all the provinces of the union; and is the constant representative of that body, which meets only on stated days, not only in those shorter intervals, but in the cases of separation or prorogation, and in these seasons superintend the execution of all such resolutions as they have passed on public affairs. The council of state likewise superintend the public revenues, the necessary provisions for the army, and the affairs of the *generalité*; by which term is to be understood those countries, districts, or towns, which, by conquest or otherwise, have fallen to the republic since the union, and which consequently are not included in it.

The stadtholder, in better times, had usually possessed a great and necessary influence in this body; but the disorders and confusion which so long prevailed, perhaps rendered

their present disposition doubtful. However that was, the council of state now declared themselves, and passed a resolution, on the 28th of April, forbidding all colonels, or other officers commanding regiments, from marching their troops upon the territories of any other province, without the consent of that sovereignty first obtained; and discharging them from all obedience to any orders whatever of a contrary nature. This resolution being confirmed by the states general, became an absolute decree.

This produced a reply from the states of May 10th. Holland, in which they declared, that the resolution of the states general would have been perfectly conclusive on them, if the confederacy had maintained its proper situation; but that this had been already changed, by the hostile march of the troops of one province against the inhabitants of another; from which they considered the bond of union as broken, and consequently were no longer bound to its observation. At the same time they deemed it necessary to try, what effect this interference of the states general might have upon the disposition of their troops, and accordingly issued an order, that the officers should peremptorily declare, whether they were ready to obey their masters, the provincial states, in all cases without exception; and that those who refused, or who hesitated in giving a satisfactory explanation, should be immediately suspended.

But in the intermediate time, things were arrived at such a crisis on the side of Utrecht, as to preclude all farther hope of success from civil intrigue or negotiation,

towards the preservation of peace, or the restoration of harmony; and the first blood was now publicly drawn in a military manner through these contests.

We have already seen that the provincial states assembled at Amerfort, had at length determined to proceed to the last extremities, in order to restore the government of their turbulent capital, and to reduce it to a due state of obedience to and conformity with the ancient government and constitution. The better to effect this purpose, it was resolved in the first instance, as the necessary prelude to a siege, to seize the principal posts which surround the city of Utrecht, and thereby cut off its communications in general, but particularly with the province of Holland, from which only it looked for support and assistance.

No measures were ever worse conducted than those adopted upon this occasion. The possession of the post of Vreeswyk, near Utrecht, was a matter of the utmost importance to both parties, and neither seemed to make a proper estimate of its value. Its situation upon a great canal, rendered it the medium of communication between Utrecht and South Holland, and it was besides the seat or head of the sluices, by which a considerable part of the neighbouring territories in both provinces were liable to be laid at any time under water. Yet the city of Utrecht had not placed the smallest guard to protect a place so near, and of so much consequence to its security.

On the other side, the states sent the Count d'Efferen, with a weak battalion of his regiment, amounting only to about 350 men, with-

out artillery, and, so far as appears; without any means of throwing up intrenchment or defence of any sort, not only to possess and maintain this post, but another, at a considerable distance, on the way to Utrecht, which was necessary to its preservation, being a village called Jutphaas. It cannot but appear astonishing, how any council, however ignorant of war, or any commander of a regiment, however little versed in actual service, could deem it possible for such a handful of men to maintain their ground in two posts considerably separated, and in the vicinity of a great and turbulent city, possessing several thousands of well-armed and long-disciplined burghers, whose courage was inflamed by the violence of their enthusiasm, and the long success which had attended their proceedings.

Count d'Efferen fully succeeded in performing the first part of his mission, by taking possession, on the afternoon of the 9th of May, both of Vreeswyk and Jutphaas; posting four companies of his detachment in the first, and three in the others. The surprise, and the delay of assembling the council in Utrecht, occasioned its being about seven o'clock in the evening, before a small party, which seemed insufficient for the purpose, were permitted to march to repel the invaders; for, whether it proceeded from their contempt of the regular troops (whose force they were acquainted with) or from whatever other cause, the eagerness of the burghers to go as volunteers was so strongly controuled, that only 200 of that body, accompanied with 30 light marksmen, were suffered to proceed on this service; they how-

ever

ever were supported by three pieces of cannon. This party was commanded by the Baron d'Averhoul, one of the new members who had come into the senate upon the change of government in Utrecht.

Upon their approach to Jutphaas, the three companies stationed there fell back, until they were supported by the other four from Vreeswyk; the volunteers coming on in the dark, for it was then ten o'clock, were suddenly fired on by the regular troops, who had opened to the right and left to receive them. The volunteers did not display the surprise or disorder so natural to raw troops upon this unexpected fire, but, bringing up their artillery coolly, engaged and soon routed the enemy.

The news of this affair was brought to Utrecht after midnight, and nothing could exceed the triumph of the people, at seeing a number of firelocks and other trophies, with about 20 prisoners, appear as the fruits of their first essay in arms. A small reinforcement, with a convoy of artillery and ammunition, was directly sent off to Averhoul, who continued that night at Jutphaas, but proceeding betimes in the morning to Vreeswyk, the regular forces were so far from shewing any inclination to retrieve the honour of the preceding night, that they immediately abandoned the place.

This paltry affair, which afforded so little credit to the military forces of the state, served to raise the spirits of the burghers of Utrecht, and the opinion they held of their own prowess, to so high a pitch, that it seemed nothing in war could afterwards be difficult. Only two persons, one of whom was of some

consideration, were killed on their side, and about a dozen wounded. The dead heroes were interred, at the expence of the state, with the greatest pomp; and the senate passed a resolution that a monument should be raised on the spot where they fell, to eternize the memory of those who had thus bravely shed their blood, in the first contest for the defence of the city, and the new constitution.

The states of Holland, upon the first news of this skirmish, did not hesitate a moment in ordering their troops to march directly into the territories of Utrecht; they placed garrisons immediately both in Vreeswyk and Jutphaas, and the troops of Salin were sent to reinforce the capital. A skirmish soon took place between the latter and a party of the troops of the state, who met them on their march, and who seem to have been as unsuccessful in this second essay as in the first. In the mean time, the most unqualified menaces were thrown out, both in the declarations of the states of Holland, and of those assembled at Amersfort; while these applied to all the neighbouring provinces for assistance, to repel this violent invasion of their territories; and the conduct of Holland seemed to excite a very high and general indignation. In the mean time the stadtholder took the field with the forces attached to him, and every thing, on every side, tended to immediate war.

A sudden and unexpected revolution, which took place in the affairs of Holland, seemed, however, to hold out hopes, that these extremities might still possibly be avoided. We have seen the test proposed by the states of that province

vince to try the fidelity and obedience of their officers; the late resolution of the states general had afforded ample room for pretence to these, not to depart from their political opinions or principles, and a great majority of them refused to subscribe to the proposed declaration. Whatever degree of dissatisfaction this defection excited, it did not seem at all to embarrass the proceedings of the states of Holland; for they immediately fulfilled the threat of suspending the officers; and with equal celerity, appointed new ones to fill their places. The refractory officers were, however, soon consoled, by a resolution of the states general to take them under their immediate protection, and this accompanied with an order, that their customary pay should be continued, and duly discharged by the public treasury of the state at large.

But previous to these events, the stadtholder had published a manifesto, on the 26th of May, which could scarcely be considered as less than a declaration of war against the province of Holland, or at least against that aristocratical cabal, as they are called in it, who are charged, in direct terms, with having overturned the constitution and government of several of the most considerable cities, and in a great measure of the province at large; while their leaders, disdaining to pay any regard even to the forms of law or the constitution, had deposed the legal senates by force, and compelled them, at the point of the bayonet, not only to submit to a surrender of their own rights, but to abandon the trusts reposed in them by their country, and the duties of which they were bound to

perform. That this cabal, which was represented as being not less contemptible in point of number than in all other respects, had been enabled to commit these exorbitances, merely through the circumstance, that their leaders had been servants of the state, and treacherously turned those powers with which they had been endowed for its preservation, to its absolute subversion. That now, in some measure to cover their enormities at home, and hoping to have time, during a state of general calamity and confusion, to establish their usurped power, they were hostilely preparing for a violation of the rights, and an invasion of the territories of another state, thereby intending to involve the whole republic in all the miseries and horrors of a civil war. That the stadtholder, whose long bearing, and long suffering, had been conspicuous to all the world, partly from the gentleness of his own nature, partly from the hope that the evils arising from the conduct of this faction would long since have cured themselves, and partly that the nefarious designs of their leaders might become apparent to all people, had hitherto refrained from proceeding to those extremes which the case would have fully warranted, in order to restrain those enormities; but that now the necessity and danger were so visible and urgent, that he could no longer abstain from the exercise and due application of those coercive powers with which he was endowed by the constitution, for preserving the public tranquillity, preventing any farther violation of the general union, and restoring the legal government, and the due operation

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of the constitution in the province of Holland. Hopes were likewise held out to the burghers, that their claims should be attentively considered, and that the prince would do every thing in his power, towards their receiving all consistent and reasonable satisfaction.

In the mean time, the animosity of the contending parties had risen to such a pitch of violence in Amsterdam, as to render that city a scene of the most dreadful disorders. An address to the states of Holland for restoring the stadtholder to all his rights, which we have before noticed as having received 35,000 signatures, served to revive with new vigour all the seeds of animosity and contention on both sides; and the city presented for some days the mixed picture of cruel civil war, accompanied with the unsparing ravage of a foreign invader. The republican party, though so much inferior with respect to number, was, however, the constant victor in all these bloody contests. The quarter of Cattemburg, in which the shipbuilders, and other persons belonging to the admiralty, as well as those of similar callings in the merchants service, principally resided, was so entirely separated from the city by a canal and a drawbridge, that it seemed a distinct town, and the inhabitants a separate community. The people of this quarter have at all times been distinguished for the violence of their attachment to the stadtholder's interests, and were apt to express it in the boisterous manner peculiar to their character.

On the 28th of May, being the day appointed for closing the address, a number of these people attended in the city on that account; and it is not at all improbable, that

their joy at the prodigious majority of the signatures, beyond any thing that had ever appeared on the other side, together with the effect of the strong liquors which are never unsparingly used on such occasions, might have inspired them with that riotous disposition with which they are charged by their adversaries. It is likewise to be remembered, that the very circumstance of the signatures, which so much excited the joy of the Cattemburgers, could not but produce a very contrary effect on the opposite party, and was well calculated to raise their animosity to the highest pitch, and to inflame their rage to the greatest violence.

A quarrel, however, commenced, and the riot continued, without any material mischief being done, until the evening, when the Cattemburgers were routed. The sore remembrances which they bore of the conflict, together with the shame of the defeat, were probably the causes of their returning the following day in greater numbers than before. The parties being now more equal, the riot became so alarming, that a body of armed burghers thought it necessary to interfere. The mob of the republican party being now relieved from the labour of fighting, the most villainous part of them immediately perceived, that the happy occasion offered, while their enemy was kept at bay, and the noise and confusion still continued, to enter upon more profitable action, and to which they were more competent, than that in which they had already been engaged. They accordingly abandoned the field, and, dividing into bodies sufficient for the purpose, ran with the utmost speed and violence to different

ent parts of the city, and immediately proceeded to break into and pillage those houses of the principal stadtholderians, in which they expected to find the most valuable plunder. The first house which became a victim to their rapacity was that of M. de Rendorp, who had himself, through a fortune so singular as not easily to be accounted for, escaped the fiery ordeal of the last reform of the regency, and still retained his office of burgomaster.

In the mean time, the Cattemburgers having been driven to their own quarter, where they drew up the bridge, and stood upon its defence, perceiving how their friends were used in the city, whether upon a principle of retaliation, or of mere rapine, began incontinently to plunder the houses of those of the adverse faction who resided among them. Nothing less than the actual sack of a capital, could afford a just idea of the scene of confusion and terror, which the pacific and great commercial city of Amsterdam now presented. Drums resounded in every part, not only to assemble the armed burghers, but to call the four regiments of city militia (who compose a very numerous and well armed body) to their colours. Artillery were dragged forward on both sides, and several discharges, both of them and of musketry, took place from the opposite sides of the canal which separated the hostile parties. The cable which supported the draw-bridge being at length cut, the pass was forced, the Cattemburgers soon routed, and were successively exposed to military rage, and to civil execution.

On the following day the depredations on the friends of the stadtholder were renewed with fresh vio-

lence; while the city police seemed to be entirely taken up with two favourite objects; the one being to punish the Cattemburgers, and the other (which was even, if possible, more eagerly sought) to procure such evidence, as might enable them to bring a charge against the prince of Orange, that all the mischief had originated with him; an attempt in which they failed, notwithstanding the terror which pressed upon the minds of the unhappy persons who were the objects of the scrutiny. In the mean time Amsterdam was deserted by numbers of its most respectable and opulent citizens; not a few of whom, despairing of any return of order and security, retired, with whatever they could save of their wealth, to foreign countries. Others, who stood the brunt, and endeavoured to weather the storm, had their windows lined with musketeers, and two pieces of cannon were planted before the great mercantile house of the Hope's for its protection. In the mean time all business was at an end, the counting-houses shut up, the principal merchants removing their effects to their country seats, a total stop put to paper currency of whatever sort, and all orders from the banks for money rejected. It was reported that fourteen of the stadtholder's party were hanged in the streets, without any form or pretence of trial; but the reports propagated in such situations, of violence and mutual animosity, are little to be relied on as to particular facts, tho' such events are their natural consequences.

We have already seen the decided part taken by the states general against those of Holland, by taking the refractory officers into their protec-

protection, and into the public pay. This was undoubtedly a mortification, but was soon succeeded by others much greater, and of a nature not a little alarming. For the states general issued an order to general Van Reyssel, who commanded the troops of Holland, to break up the cordon or line which they formed on the frontiers of Utrecht, under pain to him and them, of instant dismissal from the service. The states of Holland immediately issued counter orders, charging Van Reyssel and his officers, under the same penalty, to preserve their station. Both parties now seemed disposed to carry this civil hostility to its utmost extreme; for while the states general suspended Van Reyssel from the command of the army, the states of Holland voted him full support, protection, and the most complete indemnity from all consequences.

These measures were followed by another very important event. It was no less than a revolt of a great majority of the troops of Holland from the orders and jurisdiction of their masters the states of that province.

We have before had occasion to observe, that the army in general held dispositions very favourable to the interests of the prince of Orange. This had been lately confirmed, with respect to the officers, by their refusal, at the risque of their commissions, to comply with the proposed test. The disposition of the private men remained, however, still doubtful; and, whatever it might be, required the operation of some active agent, to excite its visible exertion; at the same time, that the late augmentation of their pay by the states, a measure so uni-

versally powerful in its effect upon soldiers, seemed to preclude all hope of success in such an experiment.

Colonel Balneavis (of a noble family in Scotland) had been among the first of those officers who refused to obey the orders of the states, and had accordingly retired from his regiment; but now, con- June 10th, siding probably in the affection of his men, 1787.

he returned to them at Oudewater, and not only induced them, but a battalion of another regiment who were stationed along with them in that fortress, to march off with their artillery, and to join the stadtholder. This spirited and dangerous adventure served as a general signal of revolt, and the example seemed instantly to infect the whole line, so that in less than a week the cordon was broken up, the frontiers of Holland left defenceless and about two-thirds of their troops were gone over to the stadtholder.

The alarm and confusion which this misadventure occasioned, in such a season and state of things, when the pride and affected superiority of Holland had not only disgusted, but nearly excited a general confederacy against her, will be easily conceived. The volunteers and armed burghers were now the only refuge, and they were immediately called out to supply the place of the troops, and to take up arms in the defence of their country. The states allowed them pay and maintenance; and, as a last resort, in a case of such imminent danger, they appointed a commission of defence, being a kind of field or military deputies, who were to be stationed at Woerden, and to act in concert with general Van

Van Reyffel, in all such measures as tended to the public defence, and particularly in retaining, if possible, the remainder of their troops from desertion. The city of Amsterdam, in the mean time, sent a detachment of armed burghers to secure the sluices at Muyden; and similar means were used at Harlem.

The states of Holland, notwithstanding these misfortunes, found it so difficult to recede, in any degree, from their usual haughtiness, and were so much irritated against the states general, that it was proposed, and eagerly debated in their assembly, that the deputies of the four provinces of Zealand, Friesland, Utrecht, and Guelderland, should be commanded to depart from their residence at the Hague. The more moderate part, however, considered that this would be so glaring and unexampled a violation of the union, and in all respects so desperate a measure, that they prevented its being adopted; though it seemed that the question was rather laid by for the present, than

that the proposal was absolutely rejected.

An expedient was, however, resorted to as a substitute (and in some measure a less violent one) than the expulsion of a majority of the states general from the Hague. This was to engage their dependent allies, the government of Utrecht, who had long refused any obedience to the provincial states at Amersfort, and treated them upon every occasion with the utmost contempt, to proceed to the last extremity of deposing, so far as they could, that assembly, by declaring it illegal, and incapable of its functions, and electing a new set of states from among themselves, who were to be considered as the representative of the whole province.

But an extraordinary and unforeseen event was now to take place, which was totally to change the nature of these contests, to introduce new actors upon the stage, and nearly to absorb in its magnitude even the remembrance of these petty violences and hostilities.

C H A P. II.

Arrest of the princeps of Orange near Schoonbarven. Observations on the conduct and principles on which the ruling party in Holland acted in that measure; with an account of the circumstances attending it. Consequences of that event, which change the whole face of public affairs in the republic, and intermingle foreign interests and connections with their domestic contests. Princeps returns to Nimeguen. Strong memorial from the king of Prussia, demanding immediate and ample satisfaction, with due punishment to the authors of the outrage offered to the princeps. Answer from the States of Holland deemed by the king unsatisfactory and evasive. Answer from the States General, in which they disapprove the conduct and obstinacy of the States of Holland, and leave them to abide the consequences, highly acceptable to the king. Court of Versailles condemn the conduct of Holland, and justify the king in his second demand of satisfaction. Second memorial from the court of Berlin, strongly expressive of the king's surprise and indignation at the answer and conduct of the States of Holland. M. de Thulemeyer presents a paper containing the form and terms of the satisfaction which the king insists on. States of Holland, instead of compliance, order every thing to be in readiness for inundating the country in case of invasion. Preparations for war on the side of Prussia. Stadtholder takes the towns of Wick-Duersede, and Harderwycke. Province of Zealand declares for him. Ineffective attempts on his camp by the Rhingrave of Salm. Scandalous invective against the prince of Orange, in the form of a petition to the States of Holland. Licentiousness of the rabble; deplorable situation and depopulation of the country; States endeavour in vain to prevent emigration. Proclamation issued by the States General, prohibiting the influx of French officers and soldiers daily arriving. Remonstrate with the court of Versailles on that subject. Duke of Brunswick, at the head of a Prussian army, enters the territories of the republic. Takes Gorcum. Attempt made by the commission of defence to inundate the country fails of effect. Shameful flight of the garrison and armed burghers from Utrecht, without waiting the sight of an enemy. Universal panic. The Prussian forces, in a few days, overrun and subdue the greatest part of South Holland; most of the cities and fortresses falling into their hands without resistance. Duke of Brunswick and general Kalkreuth approach the strong posts of Amstelveen and Ouderkerk, within a few miles of Amsterdam. Revolution at the Hague. States of Holland rescind all their former resolutions against the Stadtholder, and invite him to return and take possession of the government. Prince of Orange, and afterwards the princeps, arrive at the Hague. Short truce, to give time for a deputation from Amsterdam to propose terms of accommodation. Terms deemed inadmissible. Strong defences, and inaccessible situation of Amsterdam, seemed to render it impregnable. Truce being expired, duke of Brunswick gives orders for a general attack on all the enemy's out-posts at five o'clock in the morning. Admirable dispositions made by the duke. Important post of Half Wegen taken, which opens the way to Amsterdam on the western side. Amstelveen taken after a long and brave resistance.

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The approaches to the city being now secured, the Prussian troops are called off from the other attacks. Admirable temper, and great moderation, displayed by the duke of Brunswick, under various circumstances which occurred previous to the capitulation of Amsterdam, and the surrender of the Leyden Gate to the Prussians.

NOTHING could afford a more striking instance how much the issue of the greatest and most systematically conducted affairs of state depend on unforeseen events, often collateral to the cause in question, than was exhibited by the arrest of the princes of Orange at Schoonhaven. After the whole train is regularly laid, and political designs are ripening by mature degrees, it frequently happens, that resolutions are to be taken on the spur of the occasion, which are decisive of failure or success, but which admit of little or no deliberation. Thus it was in the affairs of Holland.

It must have been evident to every cool observer, however limited in his political views, that nothing could be more dangerous to the republic than the affording an opening to any foreign power for an hostile interference in their domestic feuds, under the colour of a personal or family insult. And of all the princes in Europe it was equally evident, that the king of Prussia, from his near neighbourhood, close affinity with the stadtholder, and, perhaps above all, from the promptness in the execution of the greatest measures which has so long distinguished that court, should have been looked to with the most guarded caution, in order to prevent the possibility of any pretence, distinct from the subject, for such interference.

For the king of Prussia would have otherwise found it very diffi-

cult, in the present posture of affairs, and unless much more decisive and dangerous measures were pursued against the stadtholder and his family. to colour a violent invasion of the territories of the republic with those plausible pretexts, which the present system of policy and conduct adopted by the states of Europe has rendered, at least in a considerable degree, necessary. But all this difficulty was removed by themselves, through the insult offered to the prince's sister; and thereby, a foreign quarrel being involved in their domestic dissensions, the swords that were drawn under pretence of obtaining satisfaction for the affront, were soon directed to model the state and government.

On the other hand, it is not to be denied, that if the intentions of the prince's had not been as pure as her known character assures us they were, the admission of such a person into the very center of their operations, could not but be fatal to the designs of the republican party. The activity and energy of her disposition, her acknowledged ability, the affection the provinces bore to her person, and more especially the difficulties her sex would have opposed on the restraint which prudence might require, made her an object of some apprehension. The very respect which is attached to the character of mediator is capable of being perverted to sinister purposes. And the peculiar circumstance of a prince's,

cess, allied to one of the greatest royal houses, after being reduced to fly from her country, nobly rushing back again into the scenes of war and tumult, and committing herself to the mercy of hostile factions, that she might plead the cause of her husband and her children; this was a spectacle not rashly to be indulged to a people yet in the ferment of a recent revolution, and before the spirit was properly assimilated to a new government. Men embarked in civil contentions are naturally suspicious; and the great and critical interest, in which all is at stake, cannot listen to those personal respects, and bow to the considerations which regulate the concerns of ordinary times. It may be added too, with some appearance of probability, that the king of Prussia would not have engaged in the Dutch affairs at all, if his interference had not coincided with his condition and the plan of his politics; and that, if circumstances had made it necessary for him to acquiesce in such open attacks on the rights of a person so nearly allied to him as the stadtholder, he would not be moved by a measure which some people would call a personal unprovoked indignity, but others might construe an act of justifiable rigour, and of political necessity: so that, in casting up the account, we may find rather the occasion than the cause of the king of Prussia's irruption into Holland. in the event, the particulars of which we are going to relate.

The princess of Orange, whether from a confidence founded in a sense of her abilities, or on the influence which she expected might be derived from her sex, dignity, and family, adopted the resolution of pro-

ceeding, unaccompanied by the prince her husband, from Nimeguen to the Hague; intending, undoubtedly, to have entered into a personal negotiation with the leaders of the adverse party, and at the same time to manage the interests of the stadtholder with the states general, the council of state, and other great bodies of the government.

Whatever the secret motives might be, those avowed by the princess were, that she was on her way to the House in the Wood, (a palace belonging to the house of Orange, known by that name, and adjoining to the Hague) in order to communicate to Mr. Van Bleiswick, the grand pensionary, to their noble mightinesses the states of Holland, and to their high mightinesses the states general, such conciliatory propositions. in the name of the prince her husband, (who could not in the present situation of affairs attend in person) as would, if it were yet possible, prevent the evils and horrors of a civil war, which at present hung so heavily over the republic.

On the other hand, the adverse party represented this mysterious journey as a measure fraught with the greatest dangers. They said, that in order to facilitate the stadtholder's open operation against them in the field, the princess had come into Holland with a view of exciting insurrection and rebellion among the people, and of throwing every thing into confusion at home. That the debauching the troops of the state, and procuring a farther desertion of them from their masters, was probably another object of the journey. And, as it was necessary to inflame as much as possible the minds of the more vulgar and ignorant

ignorant members of their party, and that a common travelling post coach or two, with a couple of hired chaises, could not well bear the imputation of being the conveyance of any dangerous quantity of artillery, it was industriously given out, that the princess's baggage was full fraught with ammunition of the most dangerous nature, for that above 2000 orange cockades were packed up in it, which the intended to distribute among her adherents. And, as the baggage was not searched, either from motives of respect, or from a political assumption of them, it became impossible after to prove the negative.

The princess, accompanied only by the baroness Wassenaar, count Bentinck, a field officer or two, and attended by a few domestics, arrived, in the common mode of travelling, with hired carriages, at the borders of Holland, near Schoonhoven. They were stopped by the first guard of armed burghers they met; but upon a declaration of the princess's quality, and where she was going, the officer, after much hesitation, and apparent embarrassment, suffered them to proceed.

We have before observed, that the place of the deserted troops had been supplied by the armed burghers, who, with those that remained, still kept up the line on the frontiers of Utrecht. It appears that the commanding officers of the line had received some previous intelligence of the approach of the princess, and it is probable had time to receive private instructions from the secret commission of defence at Woerden, which was furnished in some respects with dictatorial powers, in what manner to act upon this new occasion. The princess seems

rather to have passed by than thro' Schoonhoven, and proceeded above a league farther without interruption; but the carriages were then suddenly surrounded by a party of burghers, who were soon joined by a detachment of the horse of Hesse Philipstal, whose commander had gone over to the prince, but was either deserted by his regiment, or they had refused to proceed with him.

This detachment, though officered, submitted to act like machines, under the orders of a rough, vulgar, ignorant captain of the free corps. Their behaviour was such as might have been expected from such a leader; who was equally ignorant of military duties, and of the manners established among gentlemen. After much altercation and delay, he, with difficulty, complied with a proposal of the princess, to send an express to general Van Rysell, who was at three leagues distance, in order that he might remove this obstruction to her route; but absolutely refused to let M. Bentinck accompany the express, and was hardly persuaded to suffer him to write a few lines to Van Rysell.

Upon a representation of the very disagreeable situation of the princess, stopped upon a narrow road between two canals, it was agreed to remove her to some more convenient place until the arrival of the messenger from Van Rysell. The miserable guard who had her in custody, and who exhibited the exultation and disorder of a banditti who had seized a rich prey, rather than the conduct and character of soldiers, by their noise and sudden unmilitary motions so startled the horses in the princess's carriage, that

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that she narrowly escaped being overturned into one of the canals; while their insolence and brutality were such, that they prevented, by force, the gentlemen in the other carriages from going to her assistance.

They were then conveyed as prisoners through the country, without knowing for some time whither they were to be carried, until their arrival at a small town about seven o'clock in the evening. At this place they were conducted to headquarters (we suppose an inn) where the princess and the gentlemen were conducted to one room, and her attendants in another adjoining. Centries were placed at all the doors, and the most ridiculous precautions used to prevent an escape. The captain of the free corps accompanied the princess in her room, with his sword drawn in his hand, but upon a remonstrance of the impropriety, civilly put it in the scabbard; and, sitting cross-legged by her side, he ordered wine, beer, pipes, and tobacco, as a refreshment. Some of the circumstances, which are reported to have accompanied this novel scene, were highly laughable; particularly that three soldiers with drawn swords attended one of the princess's women upon a private occasion, from which all male spectators are usually secluded.

In some hours the commissioners from Woerden arrived, who endeavoured to palliate what was past by the strictness of their orders, and the danger and necessity of the times; but pleaded their inability to suffer the princess to proceed on her journey, until the return of a messenger whom they had dispatched for instructions to the states. In the mean time they recommended

to the princess to choose some neighbouring town where she could meet with proper accommodation for passing the night. She accordingly fixed upon Gouda, as the nearest; but they apprehending an insurrection if she went to that town, Schoonhoven was at length determined upon, where she arrived about midnight, accompanied by two of the commissioners, and escorted by a party of horse.

The princess had immediately dispatched letters to the grand pensionary, and to the secretary, upon her arrival at Schoonhoven; and waited there the following day for the answers to them, as well as that which was expected from the states of Holland. These not arriving, she set out the morning of the 30th on her return to Nimeguen. The expresses, however, came up before she had repassed the Lech; but as they contained nothing satisfactory, nor in the smallest degree tending to encourage her in the pursuit of her object, of going to the Hague, she continued her journey. That adventurer the Rhingrave of Salm, who is a younger brother of the actual prince of that title, and who has made himself so notorious in the course of these troubles, having in the interim spread a report, with a view of exciting the people to some extraordinary violence, that the prince of Orange was travelling post with an army of 12,000 men, for the rescue of the princess from her captivity. All the arts of chicanery and falsehood, however liable to detection, however short the possible duration of their effect, and however destructive in their operation, are practised without shame or remorse, by those who hope to profit by in-

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creasing the flames of civil dissension, in whatever country is thus unhappily a prey to their designs; and the conduct of this person affords an useful lesson, that to be without scruples in the prosecution of a cause is by no means a proof of fidelity and zeal.

While the princess was in du-rance, the prince of Orange dispatched a letter to the states general, claiming their immediate interference for her liberation, as well as for proper satisfaction for so unprecedented and extraordinary an insult.

But the business was now to fall into more effective hands, and to be taken up by a power that was not to be trifled with. A strong memorial, as soon as it could be done, was transmitted from the king of Prussia, through Mr. Thulemeyer, to the states of Holland. His language was now considerably changed from that which he usually held. He expressed the deepest sense of the affront, violence, and injury to his sister, as if offered directly and personally to himself. He insisted accordingly upon immediate and ample satisfaction, and particularly upon the punishment of those who had committed the outrage; and concluded by giving them to understand, that he should estimate the value which they placed on his friendship and good-will, by their conduct upon this occasion.

In the intermediate time, the states of Holland had passed a resolution, justifying and approving of the conduct of their commissioners, in, what they called, "this extraordinary, unexpected, and disagreeable affair." In the debates upon this subject, they seemed

to throw the whole blame of every thing that happened upon the princess, by her adopting the rash measure of suddenly entering the territories of Holland, after so long an absence, and in so critical a season, without previously acquainting the states with her design; a measure which could not be considered otherwise than dangerous; for that if the conciliatory motives assigned had been the real causes of the journey such a preliminary application was indispensably necessary to their effect, that it could not possibly have been overlooked.

The Prussian memorial drew a very long and laboured, but dissatisfactory answer from the states of Holland. They denied all intention of insulting the king's sister; attributed to her sudden and unexpected entry into the country, without any attention to the usual and necessary forms, whatever had happened; palliated some, and denied others of the circumstances relative to her treatment: from all their information it was conducted decently, without the shadow of any thing injurious, or of any want of respect shewn to her royal highness; justified their commissioners; if they had acted otherwise, the laws of their country would have affixed some penalty on them. They renewed the topic, though in a less lofty strain, of their own supreme sovereignty; declared their great respect for the king, but insinuated that respect between sovereigns should be mutual; and observed, that with the greatest respect and regard which they held for the person of her royal highness, they cannot think that his majesty means, that she should be exalted above the sovereignty. They conclude, that the

the measures pursued on this occasion were necessary for preserving the peace of the province, by preventing those popular tumults and violences, of which they had such frequent and deplorable instances; and finally imputed the king's interference to partial and unfounded representations.

The Prussian minister had likewise presented another memorial from the king, on the same subject, to the states general; but their answer was so satisfactory, as to produce a return of acknowledgment, and thanks from the king. Their high mightinesses declared, that they had made repeated applications, without success, to the states of Holland upon this unfortunate occasion; that they must therefore leave it entirely to them to abide the consequences, as they would not themselves be in any degree answerable for them.

The king of Prussia lost no time in ordering a representation of the outrage offered to his sister to be laid before the court of Versailles. In order to counteract the effect of this representation, the states of Holland were no less alert in laying before that court their answer to the Prussian memorial, together with their justificatory detail of the transactions, included in resolutions which they passed upon the occasion. It could not then but be to their unspeakable mortification, that they found the French king, their boasted ally, and the great supporter and friend of the party, had in strong terms condemned the treatment experienced by the princess. He declaring, that he conceived it to be a gross insult; that it was carrying matters to too great a length; that the king of Prussia was therefore certainly justified in

demanding ample satisfaction for the affront; and that it ought undoubtedly to be given.

The answer of the states of Holland drew August 6th. a memorial from Baron Thuler-meyer, expressing in strong terms the mixed surprize and indignation which that answer excited in the Prussian monarch. That it was with the utmost astonishment he found, that, instead of an offer of just satisfaction, proportioned to the insult, they had returned an answer supported only by evasive and insufficient arguments. That his majesty would not admit, that the pretended ignorance of the motives which carried her royal highness to the Hague, and the apprehension of a popular commotion, should afford any excuse or colour to the conduct of the commission at Woerden. That such a suspicion, ostentatiously published, was a new insult. That the word of the princess, and her solemn declaration of the salutary motives by which she was excited, should have afforded the most perfect conviction to these deputies of the states; while the prudence with which she concealed her journey, in order to prevent the people from shewing those demonstrations of zeal and joy on her arrival, which their affections would otherwise have rendered inevitable, should have been considered as a fresh cause for the gratitude of government. That the king will not trouble himself with enquiring into the legality of the right of refusal which the commission at Woerden attributes to itself upon this occasion; but he will consider the more attentively the manner in which it was given and executed. That proceedings so outrageous and offensive have made, a

deep impression on the mind of the king, who looks on the injury as offered to himself. "It is by the express orders of that monarch, that the underwritten again demands from your noble and great mightinesses, an immediate and suitable satisfaction for the insult; and his majesty further enjoins me not to suffer you to remain ignorant, that he will persist invariably upon this satisfaction, and that he will not content himself with a discussion of detached circumstances, vague excuses or further shifts and evasions."

This was followed by a note from Mr. Thulemeyer, containing the forms of the satisfaction with which the king was willing to be contented—That the states should write a letter to her royal highness (to be first approved of by the Prussian minister) disavowing the supposition that she had any views contrary to the welfare of the republic—That they should apologize for the opposition made to her journey, and for the treatment of which she complained—That they should punish, at the requisition of the princeps, those persons who were culpable of the offences offered to her august person—That they should revoke the erroneous and injurious resolutions which they had passed with respect to this journey—And that this revocation should be accompanied with an invitation in these terms, "That her royal highness will come to the Hague, to enter into a negotiation, in the name of the prince stadtholder, for conciliating, by a suitable arrangement, the differences which subsist at present."

That if these moderate conditions are without difficulty complied with by the states, her royal highness will interfere with the king, her brother, to forbear any further requisition for satisfaction on this subject. But that in the interim, until the negotiation takes place, his majesty expects, in the most express manner, that the states of Holland will, at least, let things remain in their present state; and that they will not proceed to any suspension, deprivation, or other measures, offensive or prejudicial to the person of the prince stadtholder, captain and admiral general, as by so doing they will render all conciliation illusory, impossible, and will add to the offences.

It will not be supposed that concessions so mortifying to the pride, and so inimical to the designs of the republican leaders, could have been submitted to. Indeed the domineering language, and the haughty arrogance, which they had so long been in the habit of using towards the stadtholder and his family, seemed to render them incapable of any concession however moderate. Their reliance upon France, in the last resort, was likewise still unimpaired. The states of Holland, in their deliberation upon Thulemeyer's memorial, resolved not to enter into any verbal or written discussion of the subject there, but to depute two of their number to Berlin, to explain matters upon the spot to the king. But when the express arrived in four days from that city, with the precise terms of the satisfaction, not only demanded but insisted on, they thought it necessary to prepare for the worst, and immediately issued an order to have every thing in readiness for laying

laying the country under water, the moment any foreign troops should enter the territories of the republic.

In the mean time every thing carried the face of immediate war at Berlin. Troops assembling, field equipage preparing, magazines forming, and councils of war frequently held, at which the reigning duke of Brunswick constantly presided. In the interim, 9000 Prussian troops lined the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, bordering on the territories of the republic; the governor of Wesel received orders to prepare accommodations for the reception of an army of 60 or 70,000 men; and all these preparations were avowedly designed for obtaining satisfaction from the states of Holland, for the insult offered to the prince of Orange.

During these transactions the stadtholder had taken, by a *coup de main*, the fortified town of Wick, otherwise called Duerstede, in the province of Utrecht; a place eminently noted, in the course of these troubles, for its early rejection of the authority of the provincial states, the adoption of violent republican principles, and for the animosity which it bore to the stadtholder; being in all these respects scarcely inferior to the capital itself, under whose protection it was fostered and supported. This town was, particularly from its situation, an acquisition of great importance to the stadtholder; it is situated on the borders of Holland, within 24 miles of Amsterdam; commands the course of that part of the Rhine, here called the Lech, on which it stands; possesses the command of several sluices; and may be considered as the key of that province

on the side of Utrecht. This was so well understood by the stadtholder, that, notwithstanding the smallness of his army, he placed a garrison of 1000 men in it. The consternation and alarm which the surprise occasioned at Amsterdam, sufficiently shewed the justness of his estimate.

This first success was soon followed by the taking of Harderwycke, a town of Guelderland, important likewise from its situation, which is on the Zuyder Sea. At the same period, whether these successes were instrumental to it or not, the city of Middleburg, and the whole province of Zealand, declared without reserve in his favour. The prince then advanced with his army towards the city of Utrecht, where he encamped at a league's distance, and, spreading his posts to a considerable extent, began greatly to streighten the intercourse of that turbulent people with the adjacent country.

In this state of things the Rhingrave of Salm, who was considered as the hero of the party, and was besides governor of the city, and commander in chief of all the forces, whether foreign or domestic, employed in its defence, thought it necessary to make some attempt for the support of that high reputation which, without danger or service, he had so fortuitously obtained. For this purpose he adopted the scheme of making a strong sortie from the city at night, with a view, if not of beating up the prince's quarters, at least of surprizing and carrying some of his detached posts; which, from their extent, seemed a very feasible design.

The force which he led out upon this occasion, nearly included all orders and descriptions of military men.

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men. Cuirassiers, hussars, fusileers, and marksmen, of his own legion; volunteer chasseurs; regular infantry of Holland, and volunteers; infantry of a corps called Palardi's; besides the burghers of the town, under whatever denominations. — This force was divided in two columns without the city, where each took its allotted course, on the night of the 26th of July; one being led by the Rhingrave in person, and the other by a lieutenant-colonel, called Klernénburg. The first, through some mischance, passed the night without finding the enemy; and when at length they discovered him at break of day, they found him in such a state of strength and preparation, that the Rhingrave, perceiving at once the danger, shewed such judgment and prudence in the timely manner of making his retreat, that his troops returned safe to Utrecht, without the expence of a single shot.

Not such was the fortune of the other column. They found their way directly to their object, at the post of Soesdyck, which they attacked with vigour and intrepidity long before day. This was an old seat, under the name of a castle, with a village adjoining, belonging to the house of Orange. The troops of Hesse-Darmstadt have been long renowned for their excellence; and it happened, unluckily for the assailants, that the village was occupied by part of a regiment of that prince in the Dutch service. There, notwithstanding the darkness and surprise, were instantly in arms, and were acknowledged, even by their enemy, to have well sustained their ancient reputation. They lined the hedges of the gardens, the windows of some parts of

the castle, and, seizing every remarkable spot, defended all with the most determined valour. The conflict lasted fiercely till the approach of day; when other troops being attracted, by the noise of the firing, to the relief of the post, the assailants were forced to retire with the loss of more than a hundred and fifty men; but their retreat to Utrecht had nearly proved fatal, for their guide being killed, they were led by another (they say through treachery) almost into the jaws of the enemy; so that they with difficulty escaped being involved in the centre of the stadtholder's camp at Zeist. A French officer of some distinction served as a volunteer in the corps of Salm upon this occasion. Indeed the officers of that nation were generally either parties in or witnesses to most of the transactions of this time; and one of rank and quality had even been present at the seizure of the princess or Orange.

All the effect which so many untoward circumstances, and strong indications of signal approaching danger, seemed to produce upon the ruling party in Holland, was to render them more harsh in their government, obstinate and violent in all their proceedings, and more unrelenting and cruel in their persecution of the Orange party. Among other capricious instances of persecution, violence, and tyranny, the display of Orange colours, in any form or manner, was constituted a crime of the first magnitude. It was said that two men were openly hanged in the street at noon-day, for transgressing this order. The distorting ribbands or emblems of any colour into the form of the letter (*W*) was rendered highly,

highly, if not equally, penal. The exposing of orange-coloured flowers to view, whether in the windows or elsewhere, had been prohibited long before. Such a system of violence, if voluntary, cruel, and if necessary, unfortunate, under whatever name or form of government, could scarcely be permanent.

In the mean time, a bitter and unmanaged invective against the stadtholder, called The Declaration of the Inhabitants of Holland against William the Vth, was signed by about 6000 names, and published. In this piece, the prince was declared to have betrayed his country to England in the midst of a war; he was charged with perjury and violation of his oath; accused of disobedience to his sovereign lords and masters; and stigmatized as behaving like another duke of Alva. As a traitor to his country, they required that he should be stripped of all his dignities, deprived of all his authority, his goods confiscated, his person proscribed, and delivered up to the sovereign, to receive the recompence of his crimes.—Such was the last ebullition of popular fury, which was soon to subside under the strong compulsion of a disciplined and victorious army.

The states of Holland used every possible endeavour, that the new deputies, elected by the city of Utrecht, should be received as the legal and real representatives of the province by the states general, and that the old legitimate states, who had so long sat at Amersfort, should be excluded from their seats, and consequently their vote, in that assembly. But their high mightinesses, as well as the council of state, resisted this innovation with

such firmness, that, to the great disappointment of the party, all their efforts proved fruitless.

Through the course of these transactions, nothing could appear more deplorable than the aspect which almost every part of the republic presented. The rabble no longer hesitated at any act of the most daring licentiousness; so that the foreign ministers at the Hague thought themselves in circumstances of such danger, that the Russian minister applied, in the name of the whole diplomatic body, to the states general, to provide some effectual security for their persons and houses. It is worthy of observation, that this memorial was not presented to the states of Holland, in whose department the business seemed peculiarly to lie.—In such a state, it was not much to be wondered at, that the most melancholy objects should every where strike the eye. Numbers of ruined and plundered houses shewed, in the towns, unerring marks of the highest desolation; and many families, reduced at once to beggary, where every where to be met in the most piteous situation. The neighbouring countries were filled with the opulent or the industrious Hollanders, who thought themselves happy in escaping from the dangers and miseries to which they were exposed at home. Ostend, in particular, began again to raise its head, and to shake off the languor and despondency which the late peace occasioned, through the number of Dutch families, who, totally abandoning their country, settled there for a permanency, and had no sooner procured houses, than, taking advantage of the port and situation, they resumed their usual habits, introducing new branches of trade,

and opening new sources of commerce.

The king of Prussia, with a quickness of discernment, which did him credit, perceived at once the advantages which were to be derived to his own country, from the giving a proper direction to this spirit of emigration. He accordingly, without hesitation or loss of time, immediately annulled or removed all those laws or regulations, which had injudiciously thrown impediments or discouragements in the way to the settlement of foreigners within the Prussian dominions; particularly those which, depriving men of their power of free agency, chained, as it were, the stranger to the new soil, by forbidding the removal of his person or effects, however contrary to his liking, or ruinous to his affairs, such a compulsion might prove. Restrictions, indeed, so abhorrent to the nature of mankind, that it seems astonishing how they could have been adopted in wise governments. So true it is, that a power of exporting again is the greatest encouragement to importing; and the best way to induce men to come, is to licence their departure. These restraints are now, however, totally done away in the Prussian dominions, and an unrestrained freedom of egress and regress, with respect to person and effects, is decreed to all foreigners.

The states of Holland could not but be grievously affected, and seriously alarmed, at the unexampled depopulation of their country; and to see foreigners at the same time doubly enriched, by the acquisition of its best citizens, and of their wealth. The evil was so sudden and so general, that it was scarcely perceived before it was nearly irre-

mediable. They passed the severest decrees against emigration, laying heavy penalties on all attempts towards it; pointing out to the citizens the duties which they owed to the state; and vainly boasting of their own competence and full ability to the protection of all their subjects. But the spirit of emigration was too strong to be overruled; the boast was laughed at, and the severity of the decrees only increased the rage for departure, and rendered men the more determined in their resolution. In the mean time, the state of misery which that rich province exhibited, would have appeared incredible to those who had before known it, and who did not now themselves behold the vicissitude. All foreign commerce had for some time been seemingly annihilated; and now, through the violent measures pursued by the domineering party in Holland, by the laying on of embargoes, and by stopping or seizing the ships of other provinces, as well as of their own, the internal commerce, which, for the extent of country, was the greatest that ever existed, was equally injured.

Several of the provinces passed resolutions for opening a new congress of mediation; and requesting Great Britain, France, and Prussia, to undertake the friendly office of mediators. This proposal seemed to be cordially accepted by the three powers in question; but Holland still hung back, without an absolute refusal, in direct terms; though the addition of Great Britain to the mediators, was a measure, which nothing but the last extremity could have induced the governing party in that province to admit of. Things were likewise

too

too fast approaching to a crisis, to afford the leisure and time necessary for negotiation.

Though France seemed to lie dormant through the course of these transactions, yet, during the whole summer and the beginning of autumn, she was incessant in her endeavours, by every possible underhand method, to afford encouragement and assistance to the republican party in Holland. Crowds of French officers arrived every day in that province, and either received commissions in the service of the states, or acted as volunteers in their troops. But this not being thought sufficient, several hundreds of tried and experienced soldiers, whose fidelity and discretion could be relied on, were selected from different regiments, and, being furnished with money for their journey, and assurances of future favour, were dispatched in small parties to join the troops, and help to discipline the volunteers and burghers of Holland. It was a new circumstance, that a corps of engineers should be smuggled from one country into another in disguise; and it was rendered still more extraordinary, by the respective countries not immediately bordering in any part. Yet this was now done. The private men were furnished with clothes of the common colours, money, and proper answers to make to any troublesome enquiries; and thus equipped, they were to proceed, in very small parties, to the place of their destination, officers being stationed, in some of the principal towns on their way, to afford any farther succour or advice that might become necessary.

As soon as this influx of French

officers and soldiers into the territories of the republic became, from their number, an object of general notice, the states general lost no time in endeavouring at least to stop the growing progress of the enormity. For this purpose, they not only issued proclamations strongly forbidding the intrusion, but they made very serious complaints upon the subject, both to the French minister at the Hague, and directly to the court of Versailles, by their own minister at Paris. This was all they could do; for those already arrived in Holland were out of their reach.

It was not until the king of Prussia had filled his magazines, advanced his troops and artillery to the frontiers, appointed a commander in chief, completed all his preparations, and was on the point of entering into action, that the states of Holland at length thought proper, in some degree, to descend from that high station of assumed power and dignity, on which they had so long strutted. Without seeming to consider the change in comparative power and estimation which had taken place between other states and their own, without seeming to recollect that they were only a single divided province, opposed by a majority of its fellows, they had assumed all the pride of sovereignty, and all the confidence of dictation, which the united republic could have displayed in the days of its greatest power and splendor. Whether it proceeded from a more perfect recollection of their condition, or because men grow moderate in their language as their resolution becomes more determined; they now, however, when it was too late, and the die already cast, returned

Sept. 8th. returned an answer full of condescension, to the king of Prussia's last memorial. But though they expressed the greatest concern for what had happened to the princess, and nearly the greatest possible degree of regard, and even reverence, for her and the king, although they deprecated his wrath in terms approaching to humiliation, and seemed almost to supplicate his friendship, yet they still persevered in justifying the conduct of the commissioners at Woerden, by denying that they had been guilty in the want of respect to the princess, excepting that the mere discharge of their duty (which they were doubly bound to, by the strictness of their orders, and still more by the unfortunate necessity of the times) should be considered as such. Upon the whole, it teemed with such expressions of humility, and even shewed so conciliatory a disposition, (particularly in throwing themselves upon the king's friendship and mediation for reconciling their differences) that it is probable if such an answer had been returned in the first instance, and its spirit adhered to, things could scarcely have arrived at their present extremity; at least a door would have been open to accommodation and peace.

But the season of peremptory resolutions, ingenious, lively, argumentative replies, boastful threats, memorials, and even apologies, was now at an end; and the controversy hastened to a different issue.

The celebrated hereditary prince of Brunswick, who under that title had gained such early renown thro' all Europe, from the splendid ac-

tions which he atchieved, under the auspices of that great general, his uncle prince Ferdinand, in the last seven years war in Germany; that war in which England bore so distinguished a part, and in which he commenced his career of glory before he had well arrived at manhood, was now, by the death of his father, become the sovereign and reigning duke of that country. This prince, who had long slumbered in the rust of peace, was now called from that enviable tranquillity by his near relation the king of Prussia, in order to undertake a task worthy of his genius and character, that of restoring the stadtholder to his rights, and the republic of the United Provinces to its pristine state of government.—As we were the early historians of this prince's exploits*, so his coming again within our observation, affords that soothing satisfaction, which arises from the revival of dear and early habits long suspended, and from recovering the meridian splendour of virtues we admired in their dawn.

On the 13th of September 1787, the Prussian army, consisting of 25 battalions, and as many squadrons, advanced from their rendezvous in the duchy of Cleves, and entered the province of Guelderland in three columns, that on the right, which directed its course to the northward, being under the command of general Lottum; the center column, led by the generals Waldeck and Gaudi, marched on both sides the Lech, on which, and the Waal, were the boats which conveyed the magazines, the lazaret,

* See the first volumes of the Annual Register, from its commencement to the end of the German war.

and the pontoons of the army; the left column, which took the most southern direction, was immediately commanded by the duke in person. Three of the battalions being left behind to secure the communications from the frontiers, the whole number of effective men, that entered the province of Holland, amounted to somewhat more than 18,000. Their artillery, as might be expected, was excellently chosen for a sudden and short war, in which regular sieges were not the immediate object, consisting only of 16 six-pounders, 8 twelve-pounders, and 8 ten-inch howitzers.

The two former columns crossed the Lech at Westerporter, and encamped near Arnheim; the duke's division passed the Waal at Nimeguen, and encamped near Lend. The only interruption to their progress proceeded from the excessive rains, which rendered the spongy soil of that low flat country a perfect marsh, and the roads nearly impassable, the infantry sinking to the mid-leg at every step. The Prussian hussars were, however, pushed forward on all sides, and a party under the command of a lieutenant, which the duke had detached from Tiel, hearing that the republicans were strong, and seemed determined on resistance at Leerdam, in Holland, on the way to Nieuport, they advanced thither with great rapidity; but they found the place abandoned by the garrison on their approach, and the excessive fatigue rendered their horses incapable of a pursuit.

The duke of Brunswick pursuing the same course, turned to the left to Gorcum, which he found in a considerable state of defence, and the cannon from the ramparts were

fired at him as he advanced with a detachment of hussars to reconnoitre the place. The camp was some miles behind; but colonel Romberg, with a detachment of infantry, escorted by hussars and chasseurs, and accompanied by the necessary artillery, having marched all night, notwithstanding the deepness of the country, with the numberless deep and broad ditches they had to pass, arrived at Dalem, a village near the town, Sept. 17th. by break of day. In this place he immediately raised a battery of howitzers, sending at the same time an officer to summon the town, with a threat of immediate bombardment in case of refusal. An hour's time being allowed for an answer, and none returned, the officer was again sent back, accompanied by a trumpet; but on his approach being fired at by the sentinels, this affront was considered and accepted as the signal for bombardment.

The celebrated colonel and chamberlain Capelle, so eminent for his republican principles, and the part which he took in that cause, was governor of Gorcum, so that more than a common defence was to be expected. A few shot, however, only were fired, and about five grenades thrown, when a house was perceived in flames; and a new instance was given, how unfit an opulent people, tremblingly alive to their property, are to withstand the dangers and calamities of war. A white flag was displayed from the tower, a parley immediately sounded, and the fire of the battery as suddenly stopped.

The governor met colonel Romberg at the gate; the conditions were soon settled, M. Capelle giving

ing up the city, and surrendering himself and the garrison prisoners of war; though, contrary to all military rules, he had previously given orders to the soldiers to make their escape down the Waal, by the boats which lay in numbers off the town. The duke of Brunswick arrived just as the capitulation was signed; and marching along with the troops into the town, received a much greater satisfaction than this first triumph could have otherwise afforded, in his having been hailed by all the inhabitants that appeared (and who were evidently a great majority) as their deliverer, while the air resounded with acclamations in favour of the house of Orange. The prisoners taken in Gorcum, consisted only of five officers, besides the governor, with 63 soldiers; but the artillery amounted to 105 pieces of cannon. Not a single person had been killed or wounded; one house burnt, another damaged, and a windmill blown up by a shell, was the whole damage done.

A greater number of prisoners than were found in the town, amounting to six officers and 90 soldiers, were at this instant brought in by captain Hirschfeld, the duke's adjutant-general, at the head only of seven hussars. That party had been sent to open the sluices of Arkel, and Hirschfeld was dispatched with a battalion of grenadiers to interrupt their design; but he, not waiting the march of the infantry, advanced rapidly with the hussars, and turning a wood, appeared suddenly in their rear. Observing the confusion which this unexpected fight occasioned, he immediately summoned them to surrender; and

the terror of the Prussian arms was so great, that they laid down their arms without hesitation. The fire of the battery had at that time ceased, which he successfully used as an argument that the town had capitulated.

On the first intelligence of the entrance of the Prussian army, the commissioners of defence at Woerden issued immediate orders for inundating the country; but the waters of the Waal and the Lech, happening then to be uncommonly low, this circumstance frustrated the design in the first instance; and the unremitting activity of the Prussian hussars and chasseurs, in dispersing the labourers, and taking the troops appointed to protect them, rendered the execution afterwards impracticable. In the mean time, the different directions in which the Prussian columns intersected the country, the manner in which it was overspread by their subdivisions, and the rapidity by which their hussars and chasseurs seemed to appear at different places in the same instant, not only magnified their numbers in the eyes of the people to a prodigious degree, but the consternation and terror was so great, and all means of communication and counsel so suddenly cut off, that each town seeming abandoned to its fate, without knowledge of the state of its fellows, lost at once the powers of action and defence: the only exertion left among the armed burghers, the volunteers, and every order of the military, being to make their escape at all events from the places they were in, without any certainty where they were to find shelter, and under the trembling apprehension, at every step, of being overtaken or intercepted

cepted by the enemy. Some of these fugitives, however, committed great outrages in their flight, plundering and burning the houses of the Orange party in the villages and open country, while they endeavoured in vain to fix the imputation of these disorders upon the Prussians, who observed, through all these transactions, as strict a discipline as if they had been only changing quarters or marching to a review in their own country. The celerity of the hussars soon put an end to these enormities, by the dispersion and chastisement of the marauders.

The influence of reputation, and the terror bred by opinion, could never be more apparent than at this time; for so great was the dread conceived of the Prussian arms, that no superiority of number could embolden either the regular or irregular forces of the province, to endure any thing like a conflict even with the hussars and chasseurs. Under the general operation of these circumstances, so great a number of fortified towns (and these generally well provided with artillery and ammunition) were, perhaps, never before taken in so short a space of time; and this was performed with scarcely the loss of a single Prussian soldier for the first week.—It was indeed difficult for those who had read the history of the ancient wars of the Netherlands to believe, that those towns which had been celebrated through the world, for the extraordinary length of the sieges they endured, and the unconquerable obstinacy of their defence, should now be given up without firing a shot. But the distance of the respective periods in point of time is not so great, as that differ-

ence which has taken place in the character of the inhabitants.

After the taking of Gorcum, the duke's detachment spread on all sides, and every thing fell before them. Besides places of less consequence, Nieuwport and Schoonhoven, both cities capable of a long defence, if there had been even leisure for regular sieges, were abandoned by their garrisons without waiting for the sight of the enemy; notwithstanding which, a considerable number of the latter were brought back prisoners by the Prussian hussars. Dort surrendered to a handful of hussars who were going on other service, and who seemed to summon it by chance, or merely out of a bravado! Another detachment having boldly advanced to the gates of Rotterdam, they were immediately thrown open to them. In the same manner Leyden and Harlem surrendered, without firing a shot.

Similar success attended the column which advanced on both sides the Lech; Viannen, the Vaart, and every place in their way, was abandoned at their approach. The first advance of these troops on the south side of Utrecht, while the right hand column under general Lottum was at the same time within a few miles of them to the north, threw that turbulent city into the most deplorable state of terror and confusion. Their opinion of their own consequence made them imagine that they were the only object in view with both columns, that they would accordingly close upon the city, and that, surrounding it on all sides, they should at once be equally cut off from all means of relief and escape.

Their numbers were very considerable,

siderable, amounting to above ten thousand armed men, including the legion of Salm, and all the other foreigners who had come to their assistance; their artillery were, in proportion, perhaps still more numerous; and vast sums had been expended in new fortifications, under the immediate direction of able engineers, who were sent by France for the purpose. In these circumstances they despised the prince of Orange's little army of about 3,500 men, which was posted at the Bilt, a few miles to the north-east of the city: and in reality, if their troops had been good, and well commanded, they were in much better condition for offensive operations than the invader; and if no change had taken place in their relative situation, the war might have lasted for years without any absolute decision. But they had been so blind to the apprehension of danger from any other quarter, that the new works were all constructed on that side by which the stadtholder must have made his approaches; trusting to the potency of their allies in Holland for the security of those sides of the city which looked towards that province, and where the old fortifications were accordingly left in their pristine state.

The people of Utrecht were so unwilling to be disturbed from the dream of confidence, greatness, and security, which they had so long indulged, that the first accounts which they received of the entrance of the Prussian army, though authenticated by persons of veracity, were treated with the utmost contempt and ridicule. But when, on the night of the same evening, expresses arrived from Amersford, with intelligence of Gen. Lottum's ar-

rival at that place, within 14 miles of them, and at the same instant others arrived from Wick, in the opposite direction, and about the same distance, with the news that they saw Waldeck's army enter the town, no words could describe the consternation and dismay which ensued. All eyes were turned to their hero, the Rhingrave of Salm, and some remains of hope still lingered, that his courage and military knowledge would have administered relief; but when it was seen that he was no less oppressed by the general terror than the multitude, that he was among the foremost who prepared for escaping, and that he declared the city was indefensible, nothing could exceed the disorder and confusion that prevailed.

Some faint attempts were made to spike the artillery, and to spoil the powder in the magazines; but the fears of those employed soon became so predominant, that every other object and consideration immediately gave way to the desire of escape. In an incredibly short space of time, all the roads and canals leading to Holland were covered with the horses, carriages, and boats of those terrified fugitives, who escaped with their families, and whatever else they could convey. A greater number, who could not procure these conveniences, traversed the roads on foot, loaded with such parts of their effects as they deemed most valuable, and could best carry. Some hundreds, however, of the citizens, with more sense and prudence than any of these, took the resolution of breaking and hiding their arms, destroying their hostile emblems, and waiting quietly in their houses to abide the consequences; and by this

this wise and easy measure, happily escaped all question, and all loss.

This memorable night of terror, confusion, and miserable flight, happened so early after the arrival of the Prussians in the province, as the 15th of September; and it is worthy of observation, that Utrecht was not within the line of operation of any of the columns of that army; for they had no intention of losing time in the siege of a city of such extent, so powerful in men, arms, and money, and where, from the character and past conduct of the inhabitants, they had every reason to expect a most obstinate resistance.

The inhabitants of the town, who were in the Orange interest, did not venture out of their houses during the tumult of this night, but were astonished in the morning at finding the city evacuated by all orders of armed men, and the artillery lying on the works without sentinels or guards. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to the stadtholder's camp; but it seemed so incredible as not to obtain a ready belief; it was on the contrary supposed to be a stratagem of the enemy, in order to lead the troops into an ambuscade. An English volunteer officer soon put an end to this doubt, by galloping himself to Utrecht, and personally examining the city and works. The Prince and his army then entered in triumph, the states of the province were restored to their long lost residence in the capital, and the city soon recovered its pristine tranquillity.

Nothing could have given a heavier blow to the republican cause than the loss of this city; and the weight and effect were much increased by the manner and circumstances of the loss. Utrecht had

long been considered as the great bulwark of the province of Holland, and, next to Amsterdam, as the principal seat and grand citadel of the party. Though its old ramparts could not be deemed sufficient to withstand the regular siege of a numerous army, yet with its numerous garrison and artillery, they would have afforded good cover for resisting the desultory attempts of a small one; and the enemy were neither prepared for sieges, nor would they have accorded with their designs; at the same time that such a body of strength lying in their rear, would have been a great check to their progress in Holland. But if they had even been seriously attacked, and that the defence only lasted four or five days, that small delay would have been a wonderful point gained in favour of the party; for Amsterdam would have had time to shake off its panic, and to have adopted such effectual means of resistance, as it would not only be found very difficult to overcome, but might have been the means of prolonging the war in such a manner as to render it subject to great and unexpected revolutions, and the event perhaps very doubtful on the side of the invaders.

The desertion of Utrecht accordingly excited the most general dismay at Amsterdam, while the fugitives communicated their own fears to all places where they fled for shelter. The Rhingrave of Salm now experienced a sad reverse in popular opinion. The eagerness of party, without reason or experience to justify its partiality, had attributed to him all the great qualities of humanity; and now, without being heard, and without leisure for enquiry, he was universally condemned,

demned, his name never mentioned without execration, and charges of cowardice or treachery were every where laid against him. He soon found it necessary to abandon Amsterdam and the republic altogether, while the place of his retreat was for a long time totally unknown; for so singular was his fortune, or so extraordinary had been his conduct, that while he was charged on one side with betraying the party whom he served, he had rendered himself so exceedingly obnoxious to the stadtholder, and to all his foreign and domestic allies and friends, that it was doubted whether there was a country in Europe that would have afforded him a secure asylum.

We have already seen the quick progress made by the central, and by the left column of the Prussian army. That on the right, commanded by general Lottum, was equally successful, but met with rather more resistance, and consequently was engaged with something more like action. This column having entered the province of Holland at Hilversum, a detachment under major gen. Kalekreuth was dispatched to the right to summon Naarden, a very strong place, lying at the south end of the Zuyder sea, within 13 miles of Amsterdam, and which has always been considered as one of the principal keys of the province. Col. Matha, the commander or governor, disdaining to betray his trust, rejected the summons, and gallantly prepared for defence. The detachment being in no degree equal to the taking of the place, and a siege not being intended if it had, fell off from Naarden, and marched up the Vecht, pushing on parties to surprise three of the principal passages

of that river, in order to gain the left side. Two of these detachments were successful in gaining the passages at Maarsen and Zuylen, and a lieutenant crossing the river with a detachment of cuirassiers, pushed on at full gallop to the fort and entrenchments of Vytermeer, which he mastered without loss before the garrison could recollect themselves, although the fort was surrounded by double entrenchments, and by two ditches full of water.

While the bridges at Maarsen and Zuylen were repairing, general Kalekreuth had the fortune to surprise and make himself master of the sluices near Breukel, by which the whole country might have been laid under water; a circumstance which strongly shews the terror and confusion that then prevailed on the other side. And the general having received intelligence from capt. Kleist, who had been sent to seize the third passage over the river at Breukolyn, that the approaches were so difficult, and the place so effectually covered by the artillery of Nieuwerfluyts, that it was impossible for him to proceed, he immediately marched thither in person. The fort at Nieuwerfluyts was very strong, well covered with artillery, and the approaches exceedingly difficult. The Prussian commander seems, however, to have conducted them with great judgment and dexterity; and, finding that the garrison was supplied with provisions from Amsterdam, he found means to establish such posts on the other side of the river, as entirely cut off their supplies. In these circumstances general Averholt, who commanded the fort, conceiving that the whole country was overrun, and nearly covered by Prussians, so that

that all defence was useless, surrendered the place without firing a shot: Forty officers and 730 soldiers were made prisoners, among whom were a colonel in the French service, and 36 cannoniers of that nation. 54 pieces of cannon were found in the fort.

A party of Prussians having marched all night to surprize Wesep, lost their way in the dark, and thereby arrived too late to succeed in the design; their courage and constant success, however, prompted them to attack the place, though it was then broad day, and the garrison were alarmed, and prepared for their reception. They were accordingly repulsed, with the loss of some men; and two distinguished lieutenants, who commanded the detachment, were severely wounded.

Kalekreuth afterwards pushed on his approaches towards Ouderkerk, which being within a few miles of Amsterdam, was strongly garrisoned, and an obstinate defence intended; at the same time that all the celerity of the Prussians (which was perhaps never exceeded in service) could not prevent some of the dykes being cut through, by which the country was becoming daily more difficult and dangerous.

While Kalekreuth was thus preparing to force his passage to the environs of the capital, by the way of Ouderkerk, the duke of Brunswick advanced with a stronger force, by the way of Gouda, Alphen, and Leimuyden, leaving the Haarlem Meer on his left, towards Amstelveen, another village, which like Ouderkerk lay about five miles short of Amsterdam, and which was likewise strongly entrenched and garrisoned.

But, during these military trans-

actions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague, which greatly changed the face of internal affairs in the province of Holland. We have before seen, that the inhabitants of that place were in general strongly attached to the person and interests of the prince of Orange. The governing party, well aware of this disposition, and knowing that the officers and troops who composed the ordinary garrison were little more to be trusted than the inhabitants, had long since brought in a strong body of volunteers, to rule the one, and to keep the other in check. These were stationed in the center of the town, and had two pieces of artillery, in constant readiness for immediate service, placed before their main guard. Under the consternation and dismay which the deplorable flight from Utrecht, the progress of the Prussians, and the failure of French succours, all together excited on the republican side, it was easily seen that the volunteers would not be long able to keep so populous a place in awe, and several of the principal persons of that party accordingly retired for safety to Amsterdam.

This increased the general hope and confidence, but still some immediate impulse was wanting to bring the long-suppressed spirit into action. This was soon supplied by the courage of the Swiss soldiers, who formerly composed the stadtholder's state guard. They boldly, in the face of the volunteers, and in broad day, carried off their two pieces of cannon in triumph through the streets, while the populace decorated, or rather covered the artillery with orange ribbons, the very possession of which, just before,

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would

would have been highly penal ; and the display have been made at the immediate risque of life. This served as a general signal. Nothing could be more instantaneous than the effect. In a few minutes the whole place displayed orange colours in every form and manner, and no man would be safe who ventured abroad without one of the late prohibited ribbons, or at least some equivalent symbol. The republicans were disarmed. The states of Holland, finding themselves unable to resist the torrent, were thrown into great confusion ; but the most violent of them retiring to Amsterdam, the remainder, who continued the assembly, immediately determined upon the restoration of the prince of Orange, and sent a deputation that very evening to invite his return.

This revolution at the Hague took place on the 18th of Sept. being only the sixth day from the entrance of the Prussian army into the province of Guelderland ; and North Holland having at the same time declared for the stadtholder, the republican party were, within about a week, confined within the narrow compass of Amsterdam, and its neighbourhood.

On the following evening, the stadtholder arrived from Utrecht, in his way to the Hague, at the duke of Brunswick's head-quarters at Schoonhoven, where he lodged in the same house that the prince had so lately been confined in. Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of joy exhibited on the arrival of this prince at the Hague, after so long an absence, though they were perhaps equalled a few days after on the arrival of the prince's.

The members of the states of

Holland who retired to Amsterdam, held a meeting there, as if they had only transferred the assembly from one place to another ; but their number was so inconsiderable, consisting only of the deputies of that city, that they did not attempt to proceed to business. The assembly at the Hague was perfect in its representation, with the single exception of the deputies from Amsterdam. They accordingly proceeded without hesitation in restoring the stadtholder to all those offices and rights from which he had been suspended, and consequently annulled all the proceedings which had been pursued against him in that province.

The assembly of the states of Holland used the utmost dispatch in adopting and carrying into execution all those measures which tended (according to their own words in the invitation to the stadtholder) " to the preservation of the province, and the re-establishment " of the tottering constitution." Their invitation for the return of the prince of Orange was in the terms prescribed, and subjected to the satisfaction demanded by the king of Prussia. On the day the prince entered the Hague, they issued an edict, abolishing and forbidding the assembling of all those armed societies, which had been formed for the purpose of supporting what was called the patriotic cause. This was immediately followed by dispatching an express to the court of Versailles, with information that the disputes between the province of Holland and the stadtholder were now happily terminated ; and that, as the circumstances which gave occasion for their application to the king on the

the toth current, no longer existed, so the succours which they then requested from his majesty would now be unnecessary. They likewise issued an edict, forbidding all attempts to intundate the country; and another, strictly commanding the governors of all towns and fortresses, to give free admission to the Prussian forces.

All this business was transacted, by the states of Holland, between the 18th, the day on which the revolution took place at the Hague, and the 22d of September. In consequence of the last of these edicts, the baron Matha opened the gates of the city of Naarden, on the same principle of duty which had before kept them closed; and the strong fortress of Wesep was given up in the same manner. In the mean time, the republican assembly at Franeker, in Friesland, which had been very violent during the troubles, was suddenly dissolved, and the republicans, who were very numerous, quitted that town in much the same order that Utrecht had been abandoned. The provinces of Groningen and Overijssel now gave up all opposition to the stadtholder; so that the greatest unanimity prevailed in the assembly of the states general, that of the states of Holland, in the council of state, and in all the other great departments of government. All opposition was now centered in the city of Amsterdam, and its environs, whither the most active or the most obstinate of the republican party had fled from all quarters; but the republic was otherwise in a state of perfect tranquillity.

On the first days after the irruption of the Prussian army, the hopes of immediate assistance from

France were so strong, that, with an anxious solicitude, all travellers on the roads were eagerly questioned, whether they had seen or heard of the approach of a French army; but these hopes began now not only to fade away, but affairs seemed so desperate, and the revolution so complete, that it became a doubt with all considerate people, whether they could be retrieved by any assistance which France was capable of speedily administering. On the contrary, it was evident that a long and doubtful war, in which England, with the stadtholder's party (which was now the state) would support Prussia, must be the inevitable consequence; in the course of which, whatever the final event might be, the republic could scarcely hope not to be irrecoverably ruined.

Yet, notwithstanding this apparent state of things, and these obvious consequences, the republican party at Amsterdam, (having now recovered in a considerable degree from that overwhelming panic, into which the unequalled celerity of the Prussian forces, and the admirable dispositions made by the duke of Brunswick had thrown them) made every preparation for the most desperate resistance. The surrounding country was laid under water; strong batteries every where erected; all those posts capable of commanding the roads leading into the town entrenched and fortified; and the citizens declared they would hold out to the last extremity.

We have already seen that the duke of Brunswick was carrying on his approaches for the attack of Amstelveen, as general Kalkreuth was against Onderkerk, two fortified villages and important posts lying

within four or five miles of Amsterdam. In this crisis of danger, a deputation arrived from the regency Sept. 25th. of Amsterdam, requiring a cessation of hostilities from the duke, until the terms of accommodation, which they were empowered by their constituents to offer, should be considered. A short truce was accordingly granted, and the business of negotiation transferred to the Hague.

The Amsterdam commissioners were instructed to demand, what reasons induced the duke to threaten their city, seeing they had given no offence to his Prussian majesty? that if it was on account of obstructing the journey of the princess of Orange, there were weighty reasons for that measure, of which the venerable council would be ready to give his highness a suitable explanation—That the city therefore expects he will forbear to make any attack on its territory, which has already suffered too much by the inundation, although hitherto only partial—That if he should persevere in this intended hostility, not only much blood would be spilt, but that city being exposed to pillage and slaughter, the commercial interests of Europe would thereby be so deeply affected, that not only the subjects of the republic, but those of his Prussian majesty, and of all the neighbouring states, would be involved in the general ruin—And lastly, that the regency have delegated this solemn commission to the duke of Brunswick, that his serene highness might lay those sincere overtures before his Prussian majesty, that his displeasure might be done away, and that he might receive in good part

those testimonies of high esteem which the regency were ever desirous of preserving for his majesty.

The purport of the prince's answer was, That the satisfaction which the king demanded, and insisted on as his right, had been fully announced, and the terms specified, in the last memorial presented by the baron Thulemeyer—That the states, and all the other members of the province, were ready to give this satisfaction, and expected their concurrence—That the moment they have consented, by their deputies, to those terms, he should consider his commission as terminated; and that the king's troops should immediately quit the neighbourhood of their town—That they knew too well the sentiments of the princess of Orange, to entertain any doubt that she would not pass over many things, rather than their town should be exposed to inconvenience or danger.

After the return of the commissioners, the town council of Amsterdam sent two of their number to make proposals of a particular satisfaction, which they were willing to make to the princess in person; but these not being deemed satisfactory, she returned them a note, in which she offered, the said, with pleasure, to engage the king her brother to desist from every point of satisfaction, and to withdraw his troops, as soon as the sincerity of their professions was confirmed by the town of Amsterdam, in acting in concert with the other members of the assembly of the states, and in acceding to all those resolutions which had already been passed for the re-establishment of public affairs; that she would have been very unwilling to accept

accept the invitation of the states of Holland in coming to the Hague, had it not been joined with the assurance that the prince her husband should be restored to all his rights; and that for the security of this purpose it was absolutely necessary, that those persons who had been the authors and instigators of the disorders which had reduced the city of Amsterdam to its present deplorable situation, should be dismissed from their respective stations, and thereby rendered incapable of exciting new troubles.

The city of Amsterdam, through its peculiar inaccessible situation, its artificial strength, with the courage and number of its inhabitants, had, in the severe wars of the 16th century, risen superior to the designs and genius of Don John of Austria, and the duke of Parma, the greatest generals, and at the head of the best officers and troops then in the world. With equal fortune, in the 17th century, it successfully resisted the mighty power of Lewis the Fourteenth, then at its meridian height, and baffled all the attempts of a Luxemburgh and a Conde, similar generals, at the head of similar troops, but with greater armies. All attempts on it have accordingly been long considered as impracticable and visionary; and it has been held, that nothing less than such a frost as would congeal both the salt and the fresh waters of the country, could render it liable to the approaches of an enemy; who must likewise have a prescience of the event, his preparations made, and his forces on the spot, to profit of the occasion; while a sudden thaw would not only overthrow the design, but possibly be the means of overwhelming the invading army.

Besides the difficulties opposed by a very narrow country, every where intersected with dykes, and commanded by sluices capable of laying it suddenly under water, it is covered on the east and north, and shut in from the ocean, by that admirable natural defence the Zuyder sea, whose sands, shallows, and narrow inlets render it impracticable to the designs of an enemy, and badly admit the navigation even of their own flat vessels constructed for the purpose. A long, irregular, crooked branch of the Zuyder sea passes from east to the westward, until it approaches within a few miles of the German or North sea, when suddenly making an angle to the right, it passes northward, and terminates in the open country. Amsterdam lies on the south of this inlet, which is called the *Yz*, and is not only effectually covered by it to several miles in the opposite direction, but it nearly, as we shall see, closes up the approaches to it from the west. For the Haarlem Meer, a lake about 16 miles long, and half as broad, lying to the south and south-west of that city, the land which separates that end of it from the *Ye*, is in no part above three or four miles over, but in one place, called, from its situation on the road to Haarlem, *Half Wegen*, these two great bodies of water actually communicate; and here, by the erection of flood-gates of an enormous size, the waters of the *Ye* are prevented from being discharged into the Haarlem Meer; an event which would occasion a great part of the province of Holland, to the distance of near 30 miles, to be overflowed, as the level of the sea at high water is evidently above that of the lake, and of the adjoining country.

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The only road by land to Haarlem, and the country to the westward, is carried over these flood-gates: and it will be easily seen, that Half Wegen, from its situation, is capable of being rendered a post of great strength, and must be of the greatest importance with respect to the security of Amsterdam. No pains were accordingly spared by the republican party, in order to its being fortified in the best manner. For this purpose they committed the place into the hands of a French officer of some distinction; who had the charge of constructing those works and batteries which he was finally to defend. They besides rendered the approaches on the Haarlem side as difficult as possible, by destroying the bridges, cutting down trees, making deep ditches across the road, and laying the country under water; so that all access to Amsterdam on that side was held to be utterly impracticable, however bold or formidable the enemy.

The country to the south-west, south, and south-east of Amsterdam, was generally composed of low rich meadows, surrounded and intersected by numberless wet ditches; and these meadows being lower than the surface of the adjoining waters, were easily overflowed by breaking the dykes of the Amstel, the Vecht, and the Nieuw Meer. Though these inundations were not in general very deep, yet they served, through the number of undiscoverable ditches which they concealed, to render the meadows totally impassable to an army. In this situation of the country, the only possible method of approaching Amsterdam was along the roads that run on the top of the dykes;

but even these seemed in a great measure impracticable to an army that was to advance in the face of an enemy: for, besides that the water was in many places nearly on a level with the dykes, they were in general so narrow, that very few men could march abreast; and not above one, or at the most two pieces of ordnance, could any where be brought to bear at one time upon the defensive batteries.

These roads leading to Amsterdam along the dykes were five in number. The most northern, which led from Naarden along the dyke of the Zuyder sea, passed through the fortrefs of Muiden, which was still in the hands of the republicans, and lies about six miles east of Amsterdam. The next led from Wesep through the Diemerbrug, a fortified post covered with batteries, and lying at about three miles distance. The third led from the south-east by Abcoude, and was defended by similar works at a place called the Duyvendregter Brug. The fourth, which runs nearly from south to north, by the side of the Amstel, passed through the strongly fortified works of Ouderkerk, where the Amstel is joined by the Bullewijk, and where a junction of four narrow dykes, that pass by the sides of these rivers, was included in one common defence. The fifth and last approach to Amsterdam was that road which, passing from the south-west to the north-east, passes by Leyden and Leymuide, and turning the Haarlem Meer, leaves it at no great distance on the left, until, deviating farther to the right, it passes through Amstelveen, which, as we have seen, was a strongly fortified village five or six miles short of Amsterdam.

None

None of these posts could be approached by any other means than by those single straight roads on the dykes; and they formed a line, which, extending from Mnyden on the Zuyder sea, to Amstelveen, and Half Wegen, where that sea, under the name of the Ye, communicates with the lake of Haarlem, they composed nearly three parts of an irregular circle, from the north-east to the south-west, entirely enclosing and covering Amsterdam on the land side, as it was effectually secured by the Ye to the north. The whole extent of this line was above seventeen miles, the posts lying at different distances from each other, as well as from that city; the nearest being within three miles, and the farthest about six. They were all fortified under the directions of the most able French engineers that could be procured; were abundantly supplied with artillery, and with French artillery-men; and those that seemed most liable to attack, were fully garrisoned with the best troops of Holland. They had all likewise an uninterrupted communication with Amsterdam, from which they could derive every kind of supply, and every degree of succour, and to which, in the worst case, they could make a secure retreat. At the same time, to cover the city equally on the sea side, a number of light armed vessels were stationed on the Zuyder sea, to guard against any attempt which the Prussians might make by an embarkation from Naarden.

Such were the unusual and arduous difficulties which the duke of Brunswick had to encounter in his approaches to the city of Amsterdam; difficulties, which, it may be easily seen, would require all the

united force of an exalted genius, and of the most consummate military skill and ability, to be surmounted.

As the Amsterdammers were more apprehensive of the Prussians making an impression on the side of Amstelveen than any other of the posts, from the approaches not appearing so entirely impracticable, they used their utmost efforts in the fortifications and defences of that place; which were farther secured by its communication with the very strong post of Ouderkerk, to which it was connected by a cross dyke, that afforded means of mutual succour, and in some sort of a common defence. In these circumstances, and under the cover of such seemingly impassable barriers, we are not to consider as the effect of an unfounded and blind security, the confidence with which the city of Amsterdam set that power at defiance, to which the rest of the province had in so few days, and with such little resistance, submitted. Nor were they without motives upon this occasion for running some considerable risque, if the danger had even been greater. For, notwithstanding the grievous disappointment which they had hitherto experienced through the unwilling slackness of France, yet they could not be without hopes, that a long defence, and consequent protraction of the war, would almost force that power to fulfil her engagements, and take an active part in their favour. And indeed, the probability was easily seen, that a long contest might draw on the interference of other powers, and kindle such a flame as could terminate in nothing less than a general war.

It can scarcely pass unobserved by those who know the nature of the country,

country, that Amsterdam upon this occasion passed over one source of defence, which would have effectually secured them from the immediate designs of their enemy. This was no other than the rendering the inundation perfect; for, by letting the waters of the Y flow into the Haarlem lake at Half Wegen, the dykes as well as the fields would have been laid under water in such a manner, as to render all approach to the city impossible. But as this was the last, so would it have been a most desperate resource, and such as could scarcely be warranted by any thing less than the approach of so barbarous an enemy, that extermination, or massacre, were the expected consequences of his success. For a very great part of the province of Holland would not only have been ruined for the present by the inundation, but the beggary would be entailed for some years upon the people, through the length of time, and the very great expence, which a second recovery of the land from the dominion of the water would occasion. Such a measure would likewise exasperate all orders of the people in so great a degree, both in the towns, and in the country, all suffering severely under the common calamity, that the republican party could scarcely hope after to exist among them. From these causes, and from a seemingly well-founded reliance on the security afforded by their present barrier, Amsterdam did not yet resort to this last and dismal extremity.

Nothing undoubtedly can more strongly shew a quick and accurate perception, than for the assailant of a strong post, or rather system of fortifications, as this was, to discover at a glance, all the advantages

and disadvantages of the situation, and consequently the weaker or more vulnerable parts of the defence, however few, or however concealed they may be. The effect of these qualities is heightened, and a lustre reflected on them, by the defect which not seldom appears on the defensive side; where, notwithstanding long possession and full knowledge of the ground, and consequent leisure for due consideration of all its parts, some points of the defence are immeasurably strengthened, while others are overlooked or not sufficiently attended to; as if the assailant was necessarily obliged to make his attack in that spot which the defender wished. This observation is fully exemplified in the present instance; for, while all the other approaches were fortified and guarded as we have seen, the lake of Haarlem was left open; nor was the obvious danger from that quarter so much as thought of, until it was too late to be remedied.

The negotiation being broken off, and the truce expiring on the 30th of September in the evening, the duke of Brunswick, fully sensible of the great importance of rapid action in military affairs, took his measures for an attack on the enemies barrier early on the following morning. In order to render the alarm and consternation general and effective, he not only ordered all the posts to be attacked at the same instant, but that each should be attacked in every quarter that it was possible to be approached. For this purpose, three different attacks were directed against Amstelveen, four against the works of Ouderkerk, one on the Duyvendregter Brug, one on Diemerbrug, one on Muyden, and the last on

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Half Wegen. Some of these were evidently feints, as the nature of the dykes either rendered them absolutely impracticable, or the posts were not of sufficient value to justify the loss of blood which their acquisition must occasion.

The Prussian forces were stationed, previous to the attack, in the villages of Aalsmeer, Kudersteert, Vithorne, Abcoude, and the town of Wesp, forming a semicircle, which enclosed the barrier from the lake of Haarlem on the south-west, to Wesp on the south-east; the latter lying on the Vecht, being scarcely three miles in a direct line, though much farther by following the windings of the river, short of Muyden, which is situated at its mouth on the Zuyder sea.

The great objects of the duke in these various attacks were two, the first and principal, to gain possession of Amstelveen, and of the great road that led from it directly to Amsterdam; the second, and scarcely of less importance, was to gain the strong post of Half Wegen; which we have already seen could not be attacked with any prospect of success on the west or Haarlem side. The diligence and genius of the duke, did not suffer the means to escape him of evading this difficulty. He had accordingly taken care to provide, without notice, a number of flat boats at Aalsmeer, in which an able officer, with about seven hundred men, embarked early on the night of the 30th of September, who having made their passage through the part of the lake intended, landed soon after one in the morning near the village of Slooten, which lies to the south-east of Half Wegen: and proceeding with great silence through that, and another

called Oostdorp, the detachment arrived, before day-light, on the Amsterdam road, in the rear of the garrison.

Nor was a less provident foresight displayed with respect to Amstelveen, which was so effectually secured in front, that any attempt in that part would have been at least as fruitless as at Half Wegen, while the difficulty of approach to a vulnerable part was much greater. The Haarlem Meer was likewise to afford the means of obviating this difficulty; but to attain this purpose it was necessary to be previously well informed of its parts, of the navigation close to the coast in the points where a dangerous experiment was intended, and above all to obtain a perfect knowledge of the situation and nature of the ground lying at the back of Amstelveen, and in the way to the capital. A British volunteer officer had the honour of nobly undertaking and successfully executing this very hazardous and important service. He explored, in an open boat, every necessary part of the lake, passing under several of the enemy's batteries, and particularly examined a long narrow branch or bay of it, called the Nieuw Meer, which striking off to the right, terminates at a great bleach-ground called Lelie, about three miles at the back of Amstelveen. Having landed in different places, and marked every peculiarity of situation and ground, he returned in safety to the duke, with every degree of information that a general could wish for; adding his private opinion, that the enterprize was difficult, but not impracticable.

A similar detachment to that destined against Half Wegen, was accordingly embarked in flat boats at Aalsmeer,

Aalsmeer, and the whole conduct of the embarkation, and direction of the enterprize by water, confided to the officer who made the observations; and who justified the confidence reposed in him so well, upon this new element, that not a boat was overturned, nor a single man drowned by any accident: as soon as the troops were landed his command expired, and he returned to his former state of a mere volunteer. This detachment did not arrive at Lelie until near five o'clock, which was the hour of general attack, and were scarcely cleared from the boats when they heard the three guns fired by the duke, and the same number returned from each of the other posts, which was the signal for immediate action, and followed by an universal cannonading on all sides. This redoubled the ardour of the detachment, whose first object being to gain possession of the great road from Amsterdam, had still considerable difficulties to encounter from the inundations, and the number of deep ditches in their way: but the soldiers were so impetuous in their exertions that these were soon surmounted.

The duke was so apprehensive of the event of this enterprize, that, in order partly to second it, and partly, in case of its failure, that some diversion might notwithstanding be made at the back of Amstelveen, he ordered two companies of infantry to make their way, under the cover of the night, along a narrow footway which led close by the edge of the lake, until they gained a cross dyke, by which they might pass by Karnemelk's Gat round the end of the bay which we have mentioned. This party, after surmounting numberless difficulties from the inunda-

tions and ditches, were likewise at length successful, and either met or joined the former detachment on the Amsterdam road.

We have already seen that the first detachment had penetrated to the back, or the Amsterdam side of Half Wegen. These lost no time, but rushing directly on the enemy's works where they were open behind, and no attack expected, made the French commander and most of his garrison prisoners, and in a few minutes had possession of the batteries and sluices of the adjoining villages of Half Wegen and Swanenbourg, without the loss of a man. This success alone, if every other attack had failed, would have laid the capital sufficiently open on the western side.

The officer who commanded the detachment in the rear of Amstelveen, divided it into two parts, posting one on the road from Amsterdam, to repress any sally made from that city, and advancing himself at the head of the other to attack the enemy's works. These were well fortified in the rear as well as the front; but the impetuosity of the Prussian troops was so resolute, that they soon drove the enemy from a strong battery and seven traverses which lay in their way, and being arrived near the end of the village halted at the last traverse.

The duke had reserved to himself the conduct of the grand and very dangerous attack upon Amstelveen in front; which the enemy had omitted neither pains or judgment in the preparation, nor valour in the defence, to render impracticable; nor would the attempt have been consistent with prudence, if it had not been for the reliance which he placed on the co-operation

of

of the detachment in the rear. At one in the morning he advanced, at the head of the battalion of Droft, preceded by 200 difmounted hufars, and 80 chaffeurs, along a narrow dyke, enclosed by very deep ditches full of water; having with him two fix pounders, and four howitzers. The regiment of Waldeck was ordered to follow at a given, but not near time, in order to prevent the diforder and confufion, which the darknefs, and the narrownefs of the paffage, might otherwife be liable to occafion.

At half after two o'clock the duke arrived at the Noordammer bridge, which the enemy had broken down, but was fpeedily repaired, and covered with ftraw, that the foldiers might pafs it without noife. They then marched to the hamlet of Hond van Leyden, which lay about 1200 yards fhort of Amftelveen, and was poffeffed by the enemy; but they were foon diflodged by the brisk attack of the chaffeurs. At this village the duke made his preparations for the attack on Amftelveen, while the grenadiers and light troops were clearing the dyke of the trees which the enemy had laid acrofs it. An entrenchment, which lay about four hundred yards in the front of the village, was now the firft object of attack, and though it was furrounded by a ditch full of water, and palifaded, it was carried at the firft onfet.

Day now beginning to break, the duke perceived that the enemy had a much ftronger entrenchment than that he had juft taken, in the way to Amftelveen. This work had before it a double ditch full of water, was defended by chevaux de frife, and was fo thickly constructed, that its

artillery bore upon the dyke both to the right and left of the draw-bridge. This determined the duke to halt in the entrenchment he had newly acquired, while the chaffeurs and grenadiers were employed, under the cover of fome hay-ftacks, to endeavour to throw a bridge over the ditch of the entrenchment. In the mean time a moft fevere fire was kept up by the enemy, in almoft every direction, from their different batteries, while the duke could only bring one howitzer to bear with effect, from the dyke upon their works. To fupply this defect, as much as it could be done, he ordered a battery to be thrown up at Hond van Leyden, with a view of enfilading the entrenchments of the enemy. In the mean time, the hay-ftacks being foon fet on fire and burnt by the enemy, the light troops and grenadiers were left entirely expofed, and the duke feeing their perilous fituation, immediately fent orders for their retiring to the hamlet; he continuing himfelf, with only the battalion of Droft, and a fingle howitzer, to maintain the new poft, and endeavour to annoy the enemy. In this very critical fituation, expofed, with very little cover, to a heavy and moft fevere fire, and to the fame common danger with the troops he commanded, the duke was deftined with his party to ftand inactive, as a mark to be fhot at, for between four and five hours, while every eye was anxiously directed to Amftelveen, every moment expecting the co-operation of the party in the rear.

Some explanation, fuch as we have been able to obtain (for no enquiry was intituted or censure paffed) becomes neceffary to account for this failure or delay. It cannot

cannot be supposed, that the officer who attacked and carried a strong battery and seven traverses with such gallantry, should then have suddenly halted at the back of the village through any defect of spirit. It is said to have proceeded, and undoubtedly did, from some misapprehension of, or perhaps too rigid an adherence to, the cautious instructions given by the duke, to guard against the mutual mischief which the cross firing of the troops might occasion, had they entered the village at each end, and at the same precise point of time. It is to be remembered, that neither the assailants in the front or in the rear could possibly know any thing of each other's situation, more than what they might surmise from the distance or continuance of the firing; and the noise occasioned by so many attacks, and so general a cannonade, must have rendered that source of information confused and doubtful.

The officer who had led the two companies along the margin of the lake, happened to be posted with his men close to Amstelveen, and growing impatient at the length of time that the attack continued without effect in the front, determined to use that discretionary licence, which great and sudden occasions must justify even in military affairs. He boldly attacked and rapidly forced his way into the village; threw the enemy into such confusion that they every where abandoned their batteries, and he was in a few minutes master of the place. It happened that the volunteer who conducted the detachment over the lake was of this party, and had the fortune to be the first who passed through Amstelveen, and who con-

veyed the welcome intelligence to the duke that the place was carried.

The duke then immediately seized the strong post which had hitherto retarded his progress, and, having joined the two companies, the enemy in their flight to Ouderkerk were cannonaded from their own batteries. Above three hundred prisoners were however taken. As the fate of Amsterdam was now decided, the duke immediately called off the assailants from the other attacks. The Prussian artillery upon the spot were not sufficiently weighty to make any effectual impression on the strong works of Ouderkerk, and they were so entirely surrounded by the river Amstel and other deep waters, as not immediately to admit of a close assault. It was, however, abandoned by the garrison in the evening, and their vigilant enemy lost no time in taking possession of it. None of the other attacks succeeded, nor was it expected they would. Upon the whole, the valour which the enemy now exhibited in the defence of their works, although it failed of the effect proposed, afforded a full demonstration of the great expence of time, labour, and blood, which the rapid movements of the Prussian forces saved, by turning, through their unequalled celerity, to the greatest possible account, that panic which at first so universally prevailed. And even at the last, when Amsterdam alone was left to sustain the whole weight of the war, if their leaders had not blindly overlooked the lake of Haarlem, at the same time that they took so much pains to shut up all the other approaches, its issue might have been long doubtful. It is said, that the commander of Amstelveen informed

informed them, on the day preceding the attack, that he was apprehensive of no danger from any other quarter, and that they had intended to send a sufficient armament to secure the passage of the lake, upon that very day on which all was over.

The Prussians do not acknowledge that more than something about 150 soldiers and four officers were killed in all these attacks, and a rather greater number severely wounded. Nor could the slaughter have been very considerable on the other side. It does great honour to Amsterdam, that, notwithstanding the animosity and rage which then prevailed, the Prussian wounded soldiers, which were brought in from the different works, were all treated with the utmost care, humanity, and tenderness; and they were so sensible of this kind and hospitable treatment, that they refused money from their visitors, lest it should be deemed any detraction from that general bounty which left them nothing to want. Though this is to be attributed to the admirable institutions of that great commercial city, which have left no degree of human misery unprovided for, yet some praise is due to those by whom, in the present heat and violence of temper, those institutions were resorted to.

All the other out-posts, finding that the Prussian forces were approached so closely to Amsterdam as to cut off their communication with it, and thinking all resistance fruitless, were shortly given up without firing a shot. In the mean time, the magistrates of that city, in order to conceal the real state of affairs from the people, took advantage of the Prussians being foiled or re-

pulsed in several of the attacks, to boast of a victory. But they were so sensible themselves of the danger of their situation, that they sent deputies on the next morning to the duke to desire a cessation of arms, in order to afford time for settling the terms of capitulation. This proposal was immediately acceded to by the duke; but, to guard against the instability of their councils, and the violences of a numerous and heated populace, he made his approaches close to the city, on that side where the long suburb of Overtoom stretches into the country from the Leyden Gate, for more than a mile to the south-west. An elevated ground on the left of this suburb, afforded a convenient place for the erection of batteries, from whence, if the necessity of affairs should require so destructive a measure, that great city would in every part be subjected to a bombardment.

It soon appeared that the duke's precautions were not unnecessary, and that the impressions of terror soon weaken by time, and still more by a familiarity with the objects which occasioned them. The demands or conditions proposed by the magistracy were so high as to be deemed inadmissible. They demanded that the people should be admitted to a share in the government of Amsterdam, by allowing them to vote in the election of magistrates—That they should not be disarmed—That the magistrates in office should not be displaced—That no garrison should enter the city—That no orange ribbons should be worn in it—And, that a general indemnity should be granted to all persons who had taken refuge in Amsterdam.—It is not easy to preserve a serious countenance,

countenance, at seeing the article about orange ribbons inserted in those conditions, on which might possibly have depended the existence of one of the greatest cities in the world.

October 3d. In the mean time, the magistracy of Amsterdam issued a sort of protest, under the form of a proclamation, in which they informed the burghers, that they had ever conscientiously endeavoured to act, to the utmost of their power, in every measure for the advantage of their country in general, and of that city in particular; that nevertheless, being now pressed by the impending danger that threatens the total ruin of the city, they find themselves compelled by necessity to submit to measures, which, they call God to witness, are only extorted from them, lest they should at last be forced to yield to demands still more ruinous and oppressive.—That, since they must yield up all, their last wish was to be able to preserve the internal peace of that great and populous city, the welfare of which was more precious to them, not only than the preservation of their respective property, and the honourable employments they held, but even than their lives. They therefore hoped and expected, that the brave burghesses, who had hitherto acted with such laudable zeal in support of the public cause, would continue with the same zeal to maintain and insure the public tranquillity, and to preserve every individual, of what party soever, from all violence and oppression. These sentiments were full of dignity and moderation, and such as became men who submitted to necessity without abandoning the principles

of their resistance, and without reserving a pretence to renew it.

But the burghers, not being so sensible of the imminent danger of their situation as the magistracy, refused to comply with the terms on which they were willing to give up the city, and would have urged the duke to the extremity of bombardment, if his temper had been less eminent than his valour and conduct. He, however, thought it necessary to seize the suburb of Overtoom, where he fixed his headquarters, to push his approaches to the very walls, to surround the city closely on the land side, and to make every preparation for an assault.

These measures succeeded, and on the 6th of October, the deputies of Amsterdam having joined the assembly of the states of Holland at the Hague, and thereby rendered their number complete, they assented to and confirmed all the resolutions which had been passed during their absence, from the 17th of September, by that body. This was nearly conclusive. The satisfaction demanded by the prince of Orange was immediately decreed, and he sent a list of sixteen persons, whom he wished to be rendered incapable of creating future troubles in the state, by a deprivation of their respective offices; but disclaiming every desire of their undergoing any other punishment on her account. In this list were included the principal and most violent leaders of the republican party; among whom was the celebrated Van Berkel, and two other pensionaries of Amsterdam, besides M. de Witt, magistrate of that city; M. Van Gyzalaer, the pensionary of Dordrecht; the pensionaries of Haarlem;

Haarlem; and the principal magistrates of Alkmaar, Woerden, Gouda, and some other towns. The states of Holland likewise restored to their seats the deposed members of the regency in Amsterdam and other places, as well as the legal officers of the militia in the former. These changes were hardly borne by the burghers and populace in Amsterdam, and gave occasion to some disorders and riots.

Amsterdam, besides consenting to all the resolutions passed by the states, was obliged to annul the prohibition of orange ribbons, and to consent to the disarming of all persons in the town except the legal militia, whether under the denomination of patriots, volunteers, auxiliaries, or troops or refugees from Utrecht. This was not only a grievous mortification, but it became a matter of no small difficulty in the execution, to deprive of their arms and cartridges so great and so mixed a multitude; nor, if the business had even been willingly undertaken, would it have been easy to find them out in the concealments which such a city afforded. The duke of Brunswick was accordingly more than once obliged to insist peremptorily upon the due observance of this condition, and at length to demand the giving up of the Leyden Gate to the Prussian troops, in order that they might facilitate its performance.

This produced a conference between the duke and a deputation from the city, in which the terms of capitulation were settled. By these, only 250 Prussians, with two pieces of cannon, were allowed to take possession of the Leyden Gate. Two squadrons of light horse only, to be quartered at Overtoom. None of

the king's troops to enter the city without the permission of the magistrates. That the magistracy shall guard and be answerable for the sluices: that they shall give the duke a daily account of the progress made in disarming; and that a Prussian commissioner shall attend to receive the arms, and see that the condition is faithfully complied with.

The 10th of October was the fatal day, that the haughty city of Amsterdam, which had so often given the law to other states, and to powerful nations, was condemned to surrender its keys to the duke of Brunswick, to behold a foreign garrison in possession of one of its principal and maiden gates, and in effect masters of the whole. A singular story is related upon this occasion, and affirmed to be a fact; that when the deputies had signed the capitulation, they made it a request to the duke, that none of the English officers, who were volunteers in the army, should be allowed to be present when the troops took possession of the gate.

On the day that the Leyden Gate was delivered to the Prussians, great riots took place between the exasperated members of the opposite parties in different parts of the city, in which some blood was shed. The Jews, who had shewn the most unanimous and inviolable attachment to the stadtholder's cause, were particularly sufferers upon this occasion. In the mean time the magistracy applied to the states of Holland for a garrison, to answer the double purpose of preserving or restoring the peace of the city, and of affording an opportunity for the departure of the Prussian troops, who, notwithstanding the admirable order

der and discipline they observed, were exceedingly terrible to a people, who, besides their being foreigners, had not been used to the military appearance they exhibited.

A regiment of Swiss, the Orange Nassau regiment, with the horse guards from the Hague, and a few other troops, amounting to between two and three thousand men, was the garrison now allotted to Amsterdam. The sullen indignation shewn by the republican party, upon the introduction of this garrison, does them no discredit. Confining themselves to their houses, they disdained to look at the marks of their disgrace and the instruments of their subjection; and, while the troops marched through the streets,

the very women and children of the party repressed that strong curiosity so natural to both, by refraining from going to the windows to behold a sight so novel and so disgraceful. For a conquest gained over citizens by foreign troops, is, even to the successful party, a triumph mixed with considerable alloy. The measure of calling in foreign force to decide domestic differences, if ever it is to be resorted to, is always to be lamented; since the vanquished party are treated, not as honourable enemies, but as culprits, by a power to which they are not naturally amenable, while the conquering party must partake of the servitude which it helps to impose.

CHAP. III.

Undisturbed tranquillity of Great Britain during the recess of parliament. Treaty of commerce with France, signed 29th September 1786. State of political parties. Creation of Peers. King's speech at the opening of the session. Addresses voted unanimously. Remarks by Mr. Fox upon the principles of the commercial treaty. Mr. Pitt's reply. Motion for taking the treaty into consideration; objected to as too hasty. Motion for delay debated, and rejected. Motion by Mr. Fox relative to the state of the negotiation with Portugal; rejected without a division. Petition from the chamber of commerce for further time to consider the tendency of the treaty. House in a committee upon the treaty; Mr. Pitt's speech on that occasion; considers the treaty in three points of view, commercial, financial, and political. Comparative view of the produce, manufactures, and population of the two countries; conclusions in favour of Great Britain. Answers to the objections of the chamber of commerce. Remarks on the treaty of Utrecht. Tendency of the treaty with respect to revenue; the advantage in favour of Great Britain. Political tendency of the treaty. Absurd prejudices answered. Causes of the change that had taken place in the political views of France.—Mr. Fox replies to Mr. Pitt; contends for the importance of the political tendency of the treaty beyond any other consideration. Relative political situation of the two countries. Grounds of the natural enmity subsisting between them. Improbability of any change in the designs of France; her hostile views in the present treaty. Defends the resolutions of the chamber of commerce. Answers Mr. Pitt's arguments relative to the revenue. Moves that the chairman report a progress; supported by Mr. Francis. Different lines of conduct of Lord Chatham and Mr. Pitt. Effects of the treaty upon the navy. Opinion of Mr. Powys; of Mr. Baring. Mr. Fox's motion rejected by a large majority. Resolution moved by Mr. Pitt agreed to. Committee sits again. Resolution moved to lower the duties on French wines. Able speech against the treaty by Mr. Flood; answered by Mr. Wilberforce. Principles laid down by Mr. Wilberforce strongly condemned by Mr. Fox and Mr. Powys. Opinion of Mr. Alderman Watson. Treaty defended by Mr. H. Dundas. Amendment moved by Mr. Fox, respecting the duties on Portugal wines, rejected. Last efforts of Mr. Fox in favour of the Methuen treaty; acquiesces in Mr. Pitt's declaration on that subject. Duty on brandy, on beer, on cottons, on glass; and debates thereupon. Report of the committee. Conversation respecting the omission of Ireland. Resolutions agreed to. Motion for an address to the king upon the treaty; strongly opposed. Extraordinary display of eloquence by Mr. Grey. Captain Macbride's opinion. Mr. Burke, upon the political tendency of the treaty, and its remote effects. Treaty defended by Mr. Grenville, Lord Mornington, and Mr. Pulteney. New objection to the address from Mr. W. Ellis; answered and overruled by a majority of 236 to 160. Address agreed to, and communicated to the lords. Decision of the house of lords upon a motion by Lord Stormont,

Sormont, respecting such of the sixteen peers as should be created peers of Great Britain. Motion opposed by the lord chancellor; defended by lord Loughborough, and carried by a majority of 5: to 38. Debates in the house of lords upon the commercial treaty. Altercation between the duke of Richmond and the marquis of Lansdown. Address of both houses to the king.

DURING the long recess, with which the members of parliament were this year indulged, Great Britain continued to enjoy an undisturbed tranquillity and repose;—for it is scarcely necessary to except the momentary alarm, occasioned by the danger, to which the person of the sovereign was exposed from the attempt of a miserable lunatic, as related in our last volume; nor that contest of loyalty and affection, which it called forth amongst every class and description of his subjects.

On the 29th of September a treaty of commerce and navigation with France was signed at Versailles by Mr. Eden, to whom the negotiation of that measure had been entrusted on the part of Great Britain. We shall forbear making any other remark upon this new and important event, than that it appears to have caused much alarm and apprehension amongst the manufacturing part of the French nation: its expediency and policy, with respect to this country, will be found amply discussed in the proceedings of the British parliament.

The state of political parties remained also without any considerable variation. The right hon. Charles Jenkinson was advanced to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, and made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and president of the board of trade, and, though not admitted in form to a seat in his majesty's cabinet councils, was supposed to be confidentially consulted upon all affairs of importance; the

earl Gower was made marquis of Stafford, and lord Camden an earl; and the duke of Athol, earl of Abercorn, duke of Montague (with remainder to the second son of the duke of Buccleugh) the duke of Queensbury, earl of Tyrone, earl of Shannon, lord Delaval, sir Harbord Harbord, and sir Guy Carleton, were created peers of Great Britain.

On the 23d of January his majesty opened the 23d Jan. fourth session of the pre- 1787. sent parliament by a speech from the throne, in which, after mentioning the friendly disposition of foreign powers towards this country, he informed the two houses, that he had concluded a treaty of commerce with the French king, and had ordered a copy of it to be laid before them. He recommended, as the first object of their deliberations, the necessary measures for carrying it into effect; and expressed his trust, that they would find the provisions contained in it to be calculated for the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries; and, by promoting a beneficial intercourse between their respective inhabitants, likely to give additional permanency to the blessings of peace.

To the house of commons he recommended the state of the revenue as a constant object of their attention; and expressed his hopes that some regulations would, in this session, be carried into effect for the ease of the merchants, and for simplifying the public accounts.

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The usual addresses were moved and seconded, in the house of lords by the earl of Rochford and lord Dacre, and in the lower house by lord Compton and Mr. Matthew Montague, the member for Bossiney. As they contained nothing but matters of mere compliment to the king, they passed without opposition; but in the house of commons Mr. Fox thought himself bound to take notice of some general principles which had been lain down by the proposers of the address, apparently as the ground upon which it was intended to defend the treaty, that had lately been concluded with the court of Versailles.

He observed that much stress had been laid upon certain propositions, which he readily admitted were in themselves incontrovertible;—that peace, for instance, was preferable to war, and commerce to conquest, and that mutual jealousies were the cause of frequent mischiefs; but he denied that they were any way peculiarly applicable to our circumstances at the present moment. They were principles, he said, upon which the government of this country had been uniformly and wisely conducted for the last century; but it remained to be seen how far they would justify any innovation in the established system of our policy, should the treaty, which was soon to become the subject of their consideration, contain in fact such innovation. All the wars of Great Britain had been wars of necessity; and that jealousy of the power of France, which we were now called upon to lay aside, had been founded upon the fullest experience of her ambitious designs. Where then was the necessity of inculcating forbearance upon those who had never acted wantonly, or

the prudence of arguing against a jealousy, to which we owed our very safety?

He deprecated the imputation of being governed by vulgar prejudices, but at the same time he declared it to be his opinion, that the external circumstances of the two nations rendered a rivalry and, in some degree, an enmity between them inevitable, and that it was impossible to prevent them by any measure which human speculation could devise—Nay, he would not hesitate to pronounce, that were such an event possible, it was not to be wished for by any lover of this country.

The treaty, he said, must be either commercial, or partly commercial and partly political; and in one or other of these points of view its merits were to be estimated. If, as he sincerely wished, it was a mere commercial treaty, the framers of it had only to prove that the new channel of trade which it opened would not obstruct or would be more beneficial than all the other ancient channels, which this kingdom had long been in possession of, and which had been found to be the sources of her commercial wealth and prosperity: but if, on the other hand, ministers avowed that the treaty was intended as a political measure, and that they had in view some more close and intimate connection with France, such as should render it in future more difficult for the two countries to go to war than heretofore, they then would have to shew strong and satisfactory reasons for having pursued and concluded a measure so new in the history of these kingdoms, and of such infinite magnitude and importance.

He said, he might venture how-
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ever to prophesy, that such an attempt, admitting it to be safe and prudent, would prove vain and abortive.—Upon this ground he took a general view of the political conduct of France towards this country, and towards the other powers of Europe. However volatile and inconstant the French nation may be supposed to be, the French cabinet, he remarked, had been for centuries the most steady and uniform in Europe. To raise that monarchy to unlimited power had been its unvarying aim; and he defied any man to point out an instance in which that court had let slip any opportunity which seemed to have the least tendency, however remote in appearance, to promote its favourite object.

He demanded what reasons there were to suppose that France had abandoned the purpose she had so long and uniformly aimed at. Her power, he contended, was at this moment greater than in the reign of Louis XIV.; and could any statesman be dupe enough to believe that moderation, at a moment when moderation seemed least necessary, was the real and true motive that had induced France to accede to a treaty, which held forth the specious appearance of rendering all future hostilities between her and Great Britain almost impossible to happen?

But perhaps his majesty's ministers would furnish the house with some explicit and positive proofs of this great change in the politics of France, and of the sincerity of her friendly disposition towards us. They might, as yet, be said to be in the honey-moon of their new connection; and he asked whether,

during that fond period, they felt the influence of France greatly operating in their favour with those powers, with whom they were now negotiating alliances? Did it manifest itself in the court of Vienna, in the court of Spain, in the court of Peteriburg, or at the Hague? He believed the very reverse was well known to be the fact.

But there was another circumstance which deserved their most serious consideration. The army of France was formerly the first in Europe: it was now but the fourth, being inferior to those of Russia, Prussia, and the emperor. On the other hand, her navy was daily increasing, and to that object her whole attention was directed. Was this a favourable symptom of her friendly disposition towards this country? Did it indicate any extraordinary partiality towards Great Britain? Did it not clearly prove that her confidence was placed upon her continental alliances, and that she was looking forward to and preparing for some favourable opportunity of indulging her inveterate animosity against her ancient enemies?

There remained but one supposition, upon which the ardour, that had appeared for a close political connection with France, could be accounted for. He acquitted the first minister of the charge he was going to make; but he believed there were men in this country so lost to the memory of its former greatness, so sunk in their own base despondency, as to think it right for us, diminished as our splendour was, to seize the earliest opportunity of making terms with our rising neighbour, of forming an intimate

intimate connection with her, and by that means artfully securing her favour and protection.

Mr. Fox concluded his speech with some observations upon the effects, which the new treaty would have upon the treaty subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal. The Methuen treaty, he observed, was justly a favourite of this nation: it had been productive, during the course of near a century, of the most important benefits; and he therefore trusted, that before parliament would sanction any new engagements, that might endanger so sure and tried a source of commercial advantage, they would require from his majesty's minister the fullest satisfaction upon that essential article.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Fox, charged him with the most shameful inconsistency, in giving his assent to an address, against the greatest part of which he had been arguing with all the force of his eloquence. He hoped however, for the sake of unanimity in their proceedings, that he would pursue the same line of conduct through the rest of the session; and that whenever he spoke against the measures of government, he would always think it prudent to vote for them. As to his apprehensions of being thought to be governed by vulgar prejudices, they were quite unnecessary, as his opinions were so far from being *vulgar*, that he believed he was the only person in the whole kingdom who entertained them.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to combat the principles laid down by Mr. Fox, which went, he said, to prove the necessity and the policy of a constant animosity with France.

These doctrines, he contended, militated in the most direct manner against both humanity and common sense. He asked, whether he meant to recommend to this country such a species of political jealousy as should be either mad or blind; such a species, as should induce her either madly to throw away that which was to make us happy, or blindly to grasp at that, which must end in her ruin? Was the necessity of perpetual animosity with France so evident and so pressing, that for it we were to sacrifice every commercial advantage we might expect from a friendly intercourse with that country; or was a pacific connection between the two kingdoms so highly offensive, that even an extension of commerce could not palliate it? For his part, he could by no means join in opinion with the right honourable gentleman, that the situation of Great Britain and France was such, as precluded the possibility of an amicable intercourse; and he was sure, if such intercourse was not absolutely impracticable, the treaty now depending was the most likely of any measure to effect it. Such a treaty would make it the interest of each nation to cherish and preserve the connection between them, and would so essentially implicate and unite the views and convenience of a large part of each kingdom, as to ensure, as much as possible, the permanence of the system about to be established.

The honourable gentleman had triumphantly foretold the overthrow of this project, by the restless ambition of France. How soon such an event might take place, he could not possibly foresee; but if war was the greatest of evils, and commerce the greatest blessing that a country could

could enjoy (which, though contrary to the right honourable gentleman's opinions, he believed was the general sense of the nation) then it became the duty of those, to whom public affairs were entrusted, to endeavour, as much as possible, to render the one permanent and to remove the prospect and dangers of the other.

This was the object of the present treaty. For the great advantages likely to arise from it would not only strongly operate upon every succeeding administration in both countries, so as to induce them to avoid a war as long as it could be avoided with honour and prudence, but would also strengthen the resources of the country towards carrying on a war, whenever it should become indispensably necessary to engage in one. This was, he said, the true method of making peace a blessing, that while it was the parent of immediate wealth and happiness, it should also be the nurse of future strength and security. The quarrels between France and Britain had too long continued to harass not only those two great and respectable nations themselves, but had frequently embroiled the peace of Europe; nay, had disturbed the tranquillity of the most remote parts of the world. They had, by their past conduct, acted as if they were intended by nature for the destruction of each other; but he hoped the time was now come, when they should justify the order of the universe, and shew that they were better calculated for the more amiable purposes of friendly intercourse and benevolence.

With regard to the distinction that had been made between *commercial* and *political* treaties, he confessed he could not conceive a com-

mercial intercourse between any two nations, that must not necessarily have a powerful effect on their political conduct towards each other. The right hon. gentleman, when secretary of state, must have been at the point of proposing some treaty with France. If it was his intention to have proposed such a plan, as he now seemed to think the only proper one, a plan of a commercial arrangement, that should not create an interest in either nation to maintain and render it permanent;—such a plan as should not be considered by either party as more desirable than a state of hostility and war; if such was his plan (and it was evident that he would not have approved of any other) he had then acted prudently in destroying all traces of it, and in taking care not to leave any copy of so very notable a project in his office behind him.

With respect to the state of our negotiations with Portugal, he observed, that as it was not a question before the house, he should by no means enter into it; but if any gentleman should desire to know how far our connection with Portugal was likely to be affected by the French treaty, he should then think himself bound to satisfy him by one or the other of the following answers—either that the connection would not be at all affected; or that we were left at full liberty, by the terms of the present treaty, to carry into effect the spirit of the old subsisting treaties with the court of Portugal. The fact was, that the latter was the case; and he should not hesitate to say, that when the court of Portugal shewed herself entitled to receive such a benefit at the hands of Great Britain, he should be ready to concur in granting it;

but

but as long as the court of Portugal continued to withhold from us our proportion of the mutual advantage provided for both nations by the Methuen treaty, as she had done for many years past, so long he should think it the duty of administration to suspend the execution of that part of the French treaty that left us at liberty to secure to the kingdom of Portugal a continuance of that favour, which she had hitherto enjoyed, but to which her present conduct seemed but little to entitle her.

On Monday the fifth Feb. 5th. of February, Mr. Pitt moved, "That the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Monday following, to take into consideration that part of his majesty's speech on opening the session, which related to the treaty of commerce and navigation formed with his most christian majesty."

This was strongly objected to by opposition, as leaving too short a time for deliberation; and accordingly Lord Geo. Cavendish moved, that *Monday se'night* should be substituted in the room of *Monday next*, and that in the mean time a call of the house should be ordered.

In support of the amendment it was urged, that the delay proposed could not be productive of any considerable inconvenience; that a measure of such magnitude and importance, both in commercial and political points of view, called not only for the most mature deliberation, but also for the fullest attendance; and that it was highly proper the nation at large should have it in their power to declare their sentiments of a measure, which went to repeal the established laws, and to reverse the most ap-

proved maxims of our ancestors; to break the bonds of our old alliances, and to connect us with those whom we had long regarded as our rivals and our foes.

Mr. Pitt was admonished to profit of his past experience, and to recollect, that in his proposed commercial arrangements with Ireland, and in his bill for establishing an intercourse with America, he had been rescued, by the salutary delay which had then been procured, from all the mischievous consequences of his own rashness and precipitancy.

Neither the arguments nor the sarcasms of opposition moved the minister. He contended that every moment's delay would be attended with serious inconveniences, as the merchants and manufacturers had already engaged in speculations to a vast extent upon the faith of the treaty. The importance of the measure, he said, had of itself operated as a call of the house, and rendered it totally unnecessary, as fully appeared from the crowded attendance of that day. The whole business had been before the public for more than four months. The watchful jealousy of merchants and manufacturers was well known; and yet not the smallest complaint or objection had yet been made from any quarter whatsoever.

He concluded by retorting upon Mr. Fox the attack that had been made upon him respecting the rashness of his former measures, by referring to the proceedings upon the celebrated India Bill; a measure, he said, which, from its novelty, its magnitude, and its obvious effects, seemed eminently entitled to the most deliberate discussion, and yet which no entreaties,

no persuasion, could restrain him from hurrying through the house with the most shameful precipitation.

On a division there appeared for the amendment 89, against it 213.

Feb. 9th. On the ninth Mr. Fox again endeavoured to bring the consideration of the negotiations with Portugal before the house, previous to their coming to a decision upon the French treaty. The probable state of our future trade with Portugal was, he said, extremely essential for the house to advert to. The most proper period of treating with Portugal would have been before the conclusion of the treaty with France—it would have manifested a fairness and a decency on our part to an old ally, and convinced the world that whilst we were seeking for new friends and new connections, we had no intentions of sacrificing the old.

Besides, such a procedure would have been not less politic than manly and dignified. We were treating with France, under the present circumstances, at a manifest disadvantage;—for if, through any pique or perverseness, the court of Lisbon should refuse to renew the Methuen treaty, now virtually abrogated by the new French treaty, France would in that case derive great additional advantages from the separation, for which we neither should have an equivalent, nor could claim any. The duties on the wines of Portugal would, in such a case, be left as they now stand, and consequently both the real and the comparative duties on the French wines would be greatly lessened.

He concluded by moving for copies of the instructions that had been given to his majesty's ministers in Portugal, respecting the com-

plaints of the British merchants; and of the answers of the court of Lisbon to such representations.

This motion was opposed by Mr. Pitt upon several grounds. If its object, in bringing under the examination of the house papers relative to a negotiation pending between the two courts, was to induce them to take an active part in the formation of the treaty, it was clearly unparliamentary.

He denied that the conclusion of the French treaty would necessarily put an end to the Methuen treaty. This consequence, he said, might be avoided. If it should be thought proper, by their coming to a resolution to lower the duties upon Portugal wines before the day specified, upon which the reduction of the French duties should take place.

He defended the policy of concluding the French treaty first, upon this obvious principle, that it was always best to reserve in our own hands a resource, in case of disagreement with those, with whom we are negotiating. Before we opened our negotiations for the remedy of our complaints against Portugal, we had shewn that court, that we could do without her, by having formed such a connection with France, as would make it eligible for us to transfer to that country, should she reject them, those advantages which she at present enjoyed.

But waving these arguments, and allowing that the French treaty might throw difficulties in the way of our negotiations with Portugal, and even upon the supposition of a final rupture with that country, he was ready to defend the former treaty upon its own merits, and under these disadvantages.

The motion was rejected without a division.

Feb.

Feb. 12th. Before the house resolved itself into a committee upon the treaty of commerce and navigation with France, a petition was presented by Mr. Alderman Newnham from certain manufacturers, assembled in their chamber of commerce, praying that the house would not that day come to any decisive resolution upon the commercial treaty with France, as the petitioners had not had leisure to understand the treaty, and consequently were not yet aware to what degree their interests, and the interests of other manufacturers, were likely to be affected by it.

Upon this petition Mr. Pitt remarked, that its contents, and the moment of presenting it, were somewhat singular. The French treaty had been published between four and five months, during which time the petitioners, it seems, had not *chosen* to find leisure to examine and understand it; and now, on the day upon which the house had agreed to take it into their consideration, without pointing out one specific objection to it, they had the modesty to request parliament would delay for an indefinite time all further proceeding upon it.—This, he said, he thought the house ought by no means to consent to.—The order of the day was accordingly loudly called for, and the house being resolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt rose again, and, in a speech of three hours, entered into a full explanation and defence of the treaty.

He considered it in three points of view, as affecting our manufactures, our revenues, and our political situation.—With respect to the first, he undertook to prove, that though the treaty had been formed upon principles of strict reciprocity, yet

that this country must, from the nature of the case, unavoidably have the advantage. To understand this, he said, it would be necessary for the committee to consider the relative state of the two kingdoms. It is a fact generally admitted, that France has the advantage in soil and climate, and consequently in her natural produce; while it is equally true, that Great Britain is decidedly superior in her manufactures and artificial productions. The wines, brandies, oils, and vinegars of France are articles which we have nothing to put in competition with, except our beer. But it is equally clear that we, in our turn, possess some manufactures exclusively our own, and that in others we have so eminently the advantage of our neighbour, as to put competition at defiance. Such is the relative condition, and such the precise ground on which it is reasonable to suppose that a valuable correspondence and connection between the two nations might be established. Having each its own distinct staple, having each that which the other wanted, and not clashing in the great and leading lines of their respective riches, they resemble two opulent traders in different branches, who might enter into a traffic mutually beneficial.

But nothing, he said, could be more evident, than that trade was more or less advantageous to any nation, in proportion to the degree of labour, industry, and capital employed in bringing its commodities to market, and to the excess in value of the perfect manufacture above the raw materials; and this principle gave a decided advantage to us over the French. For, granting that large quantities of their
natural

natural produce would be brought into this country, would any man say that we should not send more cottons by the direct course now settled, than by the circuitous passage formerly used?—more of our woollens than while restricted to particular ports, and burthened with heavy duties?—would not more of our earthen ware, and other articles, which, under all the disadvantages they formerly suffered, still, from their intrinsic superiority, forced their way regularly into France, now be sent thither?—and would not the aggregate of our manufactures be essentially benefited in going to this market loaded only with duties from twelve to ten, and in one instance only five per cent.? The article charged highest in the traffic, viz. saddlery, gave no sort of alarm. The traders in this article, though charged with a duty of fifteen per cent. were so conscious of their superiority, that they cheerfully embraced the condition, and conceived that a free competition would be highly advantageous to them.

On the other hand, we had agreed, by this treaty, to take from France, on small duties, the luxuries of her soil, which our refinements had already converted into necessaries. Was it in the power of high duties to prevent the introduction of them at our tables? Was it then a serious evil to admit their wines on easier terms?—With respect to brandy, the reduction of the duties would chiefly affect the contraband trade. It is an undoubted fact, that the legal importation bore no proportion to the clandestine; for, while the former amounted to no more than 600,000 gallons, the latter, by the best-founded calculations, did not amount to less than

between 3 and 4 millions of gallons. As this article then so completely possessed the taste of the nation, it could not surely be deemed wrong to give to the state a greater advantage from it than heretofore, and, by crushing the illicit, to promote the legal traffic in it. The oils and vinegars of France were, comparatively, small objects; but, like the former, they were luxuries which had taken the shape of necessaries, and by receiving them on easy terms we could lose nothing.

In the next place it was necessary to enquire whether, in addition to the above, which were the natural produce of France, that kingdom had any manufactures peculiar to itself, or in which it so greatly excelled as to give us just cause of alarm on account of the treaty, when viewed in that aspect? Cambric was the first that presented itself; but in this article it was notorious that our competition with France had ceased, and there could be no injury in granting an easy importation to that which we were determined at any rate to have. In every other article there was nothing formidable in the rivalry of France. Glass would not be imported to any amount. In particular kinds of lace, indeed, they had probably the advantage, but none which they did not enjoy independently of the treaty. The clamours about millinery he thought vague and unmeaning. Viewing the relative circumstances of the two countries in this way, our superiority in the tariff was manifest. The excellence of our manufactures was unrivalled, and in the operation must give the balance to England.

Another circumstance comparatively

tively favourable to this country above France in the treaty, was the state of population in both kingdoms. We had a market opened to us in a country containing above twenty millions of inhabitants, whilst we admitted France to trade with a nation that was supposed to contain not above eight millions.

He next proceeded to answer the several objections that he understood had been made to the treaty in the chamber of commerce.

The first related to the facility of conveying out of the kingdom the raw materials and implements of manufacture, and of enticing away our artizans and workmen, under pretences, which the new treaty would make it impossible to guard against. This, Mr. Pitt said, was an idle apprehension, as no one pretext or means, whereby the law in those cases could be evaded, would exist after the confirmation of the treaty, which had not existed before. The same answer, he observed, would apply to the doubts that had been expressed, whether the rights of certain privileged towns and corporations, and of persons enjoying patents for improvements or inventions in manufactures, were not endangered by the treaty; they were in fact as effectually protected as before, and no contrivance whatever of the treaty could injure them.

It had also been objected, that although a drawback was allowed on the exportation of French wines, and other articles of that country, from Great Britain, yet no provision was made for a drawback of the duties upon our manufactures when exported from France. On this he observed, that such a stipulation would be highly improper, and

inconsistent with the principles of negociation: for as the allowing of the drawback would be only for the purpose of our own interest and convenience, we had no right to expect from France a bonus correspondent. A similar convenience might, indeed, operate with them to induce them voluntarily to follow our example; but as it had not been demanded of us by France, nor stipulated for in the treaty, we had no right whatsoever to make any demand for it in return.

Lastly, it had been remarked by the chamber of manufacturers, that the commodities, in which France traded, were in general the produce of the soil, which could not diminish in their quantities nor suffer in their qualities from time;—whereas ours were principally manufactures, which owed all their value to the labour and ingenuity bestowed upon them; the consequence of which, they apprehended, might be, that the French, by becoming in time as industrious and as ingenious as our people, would carry on a successful competition with us in those articles in which we had at present a superiority; while it was impossible for us, from the nature of our soil and climate, ever to expect to equal them in any of the articles of their produce. This was, he said, an idea that could by no means apply as an argument against the present treaty;—for however fluctuating in its nature trade might be, it was absurd to suppose, that in so short a space of time as twelve years (the length of time for which this treaty was to last if not renewed) any such essential change should take place in our commerce, as to transfer to France that decided superiority, which we now enjoy, in almost every article

article of manufacture. In other respects this circumstance, as he had before remarked, was of decided advantage to us.

The rejection of the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of Utrecht, by the house of commons, in 1712, and the general opinion of the impolicy of that measure, had been insisted on. But allowing that an open commercial intercourse with France would, at that time, have been injurious, it did not follow that it would be so now; for at that period those manufactures, in which we now excel, had hardly existence, but were on the side of France, instead of being against her. The tariff did not then, as now, consist of articles in which we were comparatively superior; but in addition to the produce of France, which at all times must be the same, the balance of manufactures was also in her favour. Nor was it true, that we had invariably considered it as sound policy to resist all connection with France; she had been more jealous of us than we of her. Prohibitions originated on the part of France, and we only retorted in our own defence.

He next took a view of the treaty, as likely to affect our revenue; and began by stating the objections that had been made to it on this head. It had been suggested, that as a considerable reduction must unavoidably take place in the duties on French wines, and probably on the duties on Portugal wines, should the provisions of the Methuen treaty be still kept in force, the revenue would, *prima facie*, undergo a present diminution to the extent of the several reductions of duties, which could only be compensated by a propor-

tional increase of consumption of articles of the same or similar quality.

To obviate this ground of objection, he stated the present circumstances of the wine trade—that notwithstanding the late regulations for the prevention of smuggling and subjecting the wine trade to the superintendence of the excise, there was a clear proof, arising from a comparative view of the stock-books of the excise officers, and the entries at the custom-house, that within these few months past the consumption of wines was infinitely greater than the legal importation. This arose partly from a contraband and clandestine importation, but chiefly from the manufacture of home-made wine, which was brought to market as foreign wine. Now the consequence of a reduction of duties, accompanied, as was designed, by further regulations of collection, must necessarily be the encouragement of the fair trader and the suppression, as well of smuggled importation, as of the pernicious home manufacture; so that although our consumption might not increase, yet our legal importation, and of consequence our revenue and navigation must be materially benefited.

But even supposing, by the reduction of our duties on wine, something to be lost, and not compensated by the increase of the legal importation, still in other parts of the arrangement there were provisions made that would amply meet any defalcation that could arise in the revenue on wine. An article, which he had already mentioned, that of canbric, would alone go a great way towards indemnifying us for our loss on wine. This article at present

present laboured under an actual prohibition, and yet it was in constant use, and would, if legalized, bear a tax, and, as he was instructed and believed, produce 50,000*l.* per annum. Now, calculating the reduction on wine as an entire loss to the revenue, which could not be expected to be made good, even in part, by the increased legal consumption, the whole sum so lost would amount on Portugal wine to 150 or 160,000*l.*; and on French wines and brandy to about 20,000*l.* When it was considered then what a very considerable revenue would arise from other new branches of importation, as well as cambric, how considerably the demand for our own manufactures would increase, and how much the revenue would be thereby improved by the increase of the excise duties, which many of those manufactures pay; and, above all, how much it would operate in favour of the population and navigation of the kingdom—there was no person could be so desponding as not to hope for a full and complete compensation, in those several channels, for any loss we could possibly sustain from the lowering the duties on wine.

He further remarked, that there was another circumstance, which he had had occasion to mention before, and which gave us a considerable advantage in the present treaty over the French in point of revenue. The principal articles of trade which the French markets supply, were the natural growth of the soil, and were produced by the earth almost in a state fit for consumption, and were of a nature that, on importation into other countries, would

bear a very considerable duty in comparison to their prime cost: whereas the commodities, that Great Britain would have to supply France with, were such as acquired great value from the labour bestowed upon them, and therefore were not able to pay any great internal duty. Our most ingenious and laborious manufactures, in steel and other metals, were to be admitted into France on paying a duty only of 10 per cent.; so that if we should import their commodities only to the amount of 500,000*l.* we should have a clear income to our revenue of more than that sum; but, if they were to import to the value of one million of ours, they would have only a revenue of about 100,000*l.*

Add to all this, that the principal articles we shall import from France employ but few hands in their preparation, give but small encouragement to navigation, and produce little to the state. Our manufactures give employment to millions, and in collecting the raw materials from every quarter of the world advance our maritime strength, and in all their combinations, and in every stage of their progress contribute largely to the state. The high price of labour in England arises chiefly from the amount of the excise, and three-fifths of the price of labour were said to come into the exchequer.

The third point of view in which he considered the treaty, was that of its political tendency. It was objected to, he said, inasmuch as it went to compose those jealousies, and destroy that rivalry, which had so long subsisted between the two countries, and which it was stated was of the most salutary

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consequence to Great Britain; and it was further insinuated, that there was no dependance to be placed on the faith of the other contracting party.

The first of these objections had, he said, unfortunately gained some degree of consideration from the uniform practice of the two countries for many centuries past; and he was scarcely surprized to hear, even from such enlightened men as he had heard speak upon the subject, that France and England were naturally and necessarily enemies. The fact, he was persuaded, was directly the reverse; for, however ambition or accident might have embroiled them with each other, still there had always been in the individuals of both countries a disposition towards a friendly intercourse, and the people of France and Britain had each of them virtues and good qualities which the other had liberality enough to acknowledge and to admire. To suppose that any two states were necessarily enemies, was an opinion founded neither in the experience of nations, nor in the history of man. It was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the original frame of man.

But after all, what reason was there to imagine that the treaty was not only to extinguish all jealousy from our bosoms, but also completely to annihilate our means of defence? Was it to be supposed that the interval of peace between the two countries would be so totally unemployed by us as to disable us from meeting France in war with our accustomed strength? Did it not rather, by opening new sources of wealth, speak this forcible

language:—that the interval of peace, by enriching the nation, would be the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hostility should come?—It quieted no well-founded jealousy; it slackened no necessary exertions; it retarded no provident preparation—but simply tended, while it increased our ability for war, to postpone the period of its approach. That we should not be taken unprepared for war, depended in no degree on this treaty, but simply and totally on the ability and vigilance of the administration for the time being.

That France had, in the instant of our distress, interfered to crush us, was a truth which he did not desire to blink; but when he recollected the whole of that dreadful controversy, he thought it not impossible to reconcile the present conduct of France to more equitable and candid principles of policy than gentlemen seemed willing to attribute to our rival. When France saw the enormous combination against us, who were unsupported by a single ally—and perceived that in such circumstances we not only saved our honour, but manifested solid, and, he was almost tempted to say, inexhaustible resources; when she reflected, that though she had gained her object in dismembering our empire, she had done it at an expence which involved herself in extreme embarrassment; may we not be led to cherish the idea, that, feeling our steady and unconquerable vigour, and experiencing the inefficacy as well as ruin of hostility, she is sincerely desirous to try the benefits of an amicable connection?

Mr. Pitt concluded with moving the

the first of his resolutions; viz. "That it appears to be expedient that all the articles of the growth, produce, and manufactures of the European dominions of the French king, which are not specified in the tariff of the treaty, shall be imported into this kingdom on payment of duties as low as any which shall be payable on the like articles from any other European nation."

Mr. Fox followed Mr. Pitt, and in a speech of nearly the same length objected to several of his principles, as too narrow and partial for the great subject they were discussing, and to the conclusions he had drawn from them in favour of the treaty, in its three great points of view, policy, commerce, and finance, as fallacious and unwarranted.

Upon the first head he illustrated and enforced, by a variety of new topics, the arguments he had used in a former debate. He contended that the only situation in which Great Britain could stand in the general system of Europe with honour, dignity, or safety, was as a counterpoize to the power of France; that this had been our invariable policy in all the most flourishing periods of our history, if that of queen Elizabeth be excepted, when the Spanish empire held the same relative place that France has since held; and that of the protector Cromwell, whose conduct was evidently directed by a regard to the security of his personal power.

It was this circumstance of our policy, operating upon the restless ambition of France, not any inward antipathy of mind, not the memory of Cressy and of Agincourt, that made the two nations natural

enemies. That France considered us in this hostile point of view, and as the only obstacle to her ambitious designs, was evident from her unceasing endeavours to diminish our power. To prove that this object was still the first in her contemplation, and the nearest her heart, we had but to recollect her conduct towards us in the American war; and to prove that no assurances of her friendship were to be trusted, when that object was in view, we had only to read the correspondence between the French ministers and lord Stormont during the first years of that contest. And, when it was further considered, who the monarch was that then sat on the throne of France, a monarch of the most mild and benevolent character, and celebrated for his love of justice; and that the minister, who directed his councils, was far advanced in the last stage of life, of a feeble and timid disposition, and therefore unlikely to be led away by any new and visionary projects of ambition; not a doubt could be left in any one's mind but that the French nation was actuated by a regular, fixed, and systematic enmity to this country.

But it was said, that, convinced at length by dear-bought experience that this empire was inexpugnable, and that notwithstanding the threatening contests in which we had been engaged, we still firmly maintained our rank, she had opened her arms to us, adopted other sentiments, and courted a connection with us upon liberal and mutually advantageous terms. That she had changed her policy was probable; but what proof had we that she had changed her

her sentiments? Was it not more reasonable to suppose, that her end was the same, though the means she meant to pursue were different? that instead of force, which she found would not avail, she intended to employ stratagem to put us off our guard, to lull us into security, to prevent our cultivating other alliances, to lessen the dependence of foreign states upon us, to turn all our views to commercial profits, to entangle our capital in that country, and to make it the private interest of individuals in this rather to acquiesce in any future project of ambition she might engage in, than come to a rupture with her? These he was convinced were the designs of France in seeking to establish a commercial intercourse with us.

Having urged these and other topics of the same tendency with great energy and animation, Mr. Fox proceeded to consider the treaty in a commercial point of view. He first adverted in general to the presumption drawn from the silence of the trading part of the nation respecting it. The same presumption, he said, had been exactly drawn from the same circumstance in the case of the Irish propositions, and yet they all recollected how the boasting of the minister had turned out upon that occasion.

But, in the present case, a petition had been presented from the chamber of commerce, signed by some of the most considerable and the most respectable manufacturers of this country. Would any one, he asked, assert, that he understood the interests of the cotton manufacture better than Mr. Walker of Manchester, or the interests of the woollen, better than the house of

Milnes in Wakefield; and when persons so deeply concerned in the business expressed their doubts upon the tendency of the treaty, it surely afforded sufficient ground at least for further deliberation and enquiry.

Mr. Fox then defended the objections made by the chamber of commerce against the answers of Mr. Pitt, and contended that at least there was such strong ground for their doubts and apprehensions, as to make it little short of madness to proceed without farther investigation.

Mr. Fox proceeded in the last place to consider the treaty as it might affect the revenues of this country. It had been admitted, he said, that it would occasion an annual defalcation to the amount of 200,000*l.* and upwards. This loss Mr. Pitt had contended would in part be compensated by the decrease of the contraband trade, in consequence of the reduction of the duties. But the fallacy of this expectation, Mr. Fox said, was manifest from his own principles. He had declared, when the commutation act was under discussion, that 40 per cent. was a sufficient inducement for smuggling. Now the first price of brandy was not more than 2*s.* per gallon; the reduced duty was about 7*s.* 6*d.*; so that there remained a premium for the smuggler of about 400 per cent. ten times more than what had been esteemed sufficient to encourage a contraband trade.

Another article of compensation mentioned was cambric. That this would produce a considerable revenue he was ready to grant; but the same advantage might have been gained to this country without

out the intervention of the treaty, by merely legalizing its importation.

An increase of the excise revenues, to arise out of the increase of our manufactures, had also been insisted upon; but as he had before expressed his doubts respecting the probability of that increase, or at least of its amounting to any thing considerable; he must also put the other contingency out of the present question.

Upon the whole Mr. Fox inferred, that the revenue of this country would suffer a very serious and uncompensated loss; and concluded with moving, "That the chairman leave the chair, report a progress, and ask leave to sit again."

Mr. Francis followed Mr. Fox, and concurred in opinion with him upon the mischievous political tendency of the measure under their consideration. He went even farther: he dreaded the effects of an intimate political connection with France upon the character of the British nation. The first step towards enslaving a free people was to endeavour to corrupt them; and he was convinced that a freer intercourse with France would produce that effect.

There were other reflections, he said, which belonged to the subject, too obvious to require explanation, and too delicate to be expressed. There might be too strict an union between the two crowns through the medium of an union between the two nations; and that union might be fatal to the liberty of Great Britain.

He reminded Mr. Pitt of the opposite opinions of the late lord Chatham, and lamented that the

pomp of modern eloquence should be employed to derogate from the merits of his administration. The polemical laurels of the father must yield, he said, to the pacific myrtles which shadow the forehead of the son. The first and most prominent feature in the political character of lord Chatham was *antipallican*. His glory was founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the house of Bourbon. The present minister had taken the opposite road to fame; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of lord Chatham, was the *gent amicissima* of the son.

With respect to its commercial effects, he was also of opinion, that the consumption of British manufactures in France would not be so great as was expected; and that our superiority, in the articles of cotton and woollen especially, was in its nature transitory, and from many circumstances very precarious.

With respect to the revenue, he observed, that there was something very extraordinary in the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer. He had declared the finances of the country to be in so flourishing a condition, as to afford an unquestionable surplus of a million and upwards annually. From what cause could a fact so full of consolation and encouragement to this country arise, but from that long-established, wise, and successful system of commerce, which the present treaty with France was intended to subvert?

Mr. Francis concluded with remarking, that there was a fourth point of view in which the treaty had not yet been considered; and that was, from the effect it might have upon our navy. One certain effect,

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effect, and indeed an avowed principle of the treaty was, to substitute a near commercial market in the place of a remote one. Now what was the immediate operation of such a substitution? A commercial intercourse with France would be carried on by short trips, and by sea-men, perhaps even by landmen, who neither wanted much experience, nor could possibly gain any in such a navigation. The whole of it would be performed by skippers, smugglers, and packet-boats, and just as easily by the French as the English.

Mr. Powys was of opinion, that the treaty was not safe in its policy, and that it put the commercial interests of this country unnecessarily to hazard. He conceived the glass manufactory might be utterly ruined; and he greatly doubted whether in the end the cotton trade would not be injured considerably.

Mr. Baring, the member for Exeter, and himself a person of great commercial dealings, thought the treaty, as far as his consideration of it had gone, had both its advantages and disadvantages; but upon the whole, commercially considered, his opinion went in its favour. He expressed, however, great anxiety upon the subject of the treaty with Portugal: he did not think our trade so necessary to that country as was imagined; she might supply herself with woollens and fish from France; and as to her wines, it was the opinion of many people in that country, that she would profit by rooting up all her vineyards, and growing wheat, of which she is now obliged to import a very great quantity.

The treaty was defended by Mr. Grenville upon the ground occu-

pied by Mr. Pitt; and the question being at length called for, Mr. Fox's amendment was negatived; and the resolution moved agreed to by a majority of 248 to 118.

This day, the house Feb. 15th. having been engaged for a considerable time in other business, Mr. Pitt at a late hour proposed, that the committee should again be formed for the consideration of the commercial treaty. This was strongly opposed, as taking the house by surprise; but, upon a division, Mr. Pitt's motion was carried by a majority of 145 to 59.

The house being accordingly resolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt read, without any preface, his second resolution, "That the wines of France be imported into this country upon as low duties as the present duties paid on the importation of Portugal wines."

Mr. Flood, in a long and eloquent speech, took this occasion of delivering his opinion upon the general merits of the treaty. He concurred with Mr. Fox in considering Great Britain and France as natural rivals. They have been rivals, he said, for more than a century, and they must continue rivals, unless France on the one hand had completely changed the principles of her conduct, and unless Great Britain had abandoned her character and condition as the guardian of the balance of power, and of the liberties of Europe, on the other. It has often been the aim of France to connect herself with this country by a commercial treaty; and it has ever been the uniform determination of this country to refuse to enter into any such connection. It followed then, as a necessary consequence, that if the former

former conduct of Great Britain had been wise and prudent, its present conduct was weak and impolitic.

He then considered the treaty in a commercial point of view, and particularly the stress that had been laid upon the idea, that Great Britain was a country of manufactures, France a country of produce. The position, he contended, was incorrect; the fact being, that France at this time was one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world; and it was notoriously a country every way our superior in respect to the natural produce of the soil.

He observed, that it had been maintained that the silence of our manufacturers was a strong proof of their acquiescence, and of their being perfectly satisfied with the treaty. He denied the inference, and he also denied the fact upon which it was founded, namely, that the manufacturers had four months to consider the treaty, to examine its bearings, and to form a judgment on its probable effects. The treaty, he said, was not completely before the public till the convention came, and was printed. From that time it had been open to consideration only fourteen days, previous to its being brought forward in the house; and when the day came for his majesty's ministers to bring on the discussion, on that day a petition was presented from the manufacturers.

Mr. Flood said, that he had a right to assume, that if the manufacturers could be brought to the bar and examined, they would give their opinion against the treaty; and if he was asked, what induced him to entertain such a belief? he would

answer, the evidence the manufacturers had already delivered on oath. If he was asked, where that evidence had been deposed? he would say, when the treaty with Ireland was under discussion. If the manufacturers were brought to the bar, and upon being interrogated, said they approved of the treaty with France, he would ask them, why they had been afraid of Ireland, and were not afraid of France? Was it that France was a manufacturing country, and that Ireland was not? Was it that France had four times the credit of Ireland, eight times the population, and forty times the capital? He pursued the comparison further, and shewed that France had every circumstance in her favour as a powerful rival and competitor in commerce with Great Britain, whilst Ireland had every thing against her. After putting this very pointedly, he proceeded to shew, that true policy would have chosen a commercial connection with Ireland, in preference to a commercial connection with France. The latter, being, as he had described her to be, a great manufacturing country, as well as a country eminent for its superiority in respect to its natural produce, was able to supply its own wants; whereas Ireland was not able to supply herself, but must be supplied from Great Britain. He contended, that a country that wanted much, not a country that wanted little, was that alone which was likely to prove useful to Great Britain in a commercial connection.

It was, he said, to be lamented, that the treaty with Portugal had not been settled before we treated with France, who, instead of being the

the first, ought to have been the last power with whom we negotiated. He argued very forcibly to prove this, and shewed, that Portugal was put into an unsafe situation with regard to us, by having been left as she was. The treaty with France put it out of our power to prove as useful to her as we had hitherto been. The reason of her connection with us was the character and station we had filled, of guardian of the liberties of Europe, and a protection against the inordinate ambition of France. That station we no longer filled, and consequently we could no longer prove that useful friend we had hitherto been to her.

He mentioned the trade which France was endeavouring to carry on with America;—America, he said, wanted long credit, and France could not give it her; but now she would take credit from the English merchants, and lend it to that country.

Mr. Wilberforce rose in answer to Mr. Flood. He said, that the right honourable member's speech abounded with false reasoning, and unwarrantable conclusions. He had asserted that the manufacturers disliked the treaty: of his own knowledge he could take upon him to assert the reverse was the fact. He had seen a great number of the manufacturers of different descriptions, he had conversed with them upon the subject, and they all highly approved of the treaty. He next addressed himself to Mr. Fox, and said, he heartily wished he would come down to that house coolly and dispassionately; that he would sometimes forget that he was a politician, and consider matters under discussion with a greater degree of

attention to their particular merits. He asked, to what end it was to tell a poor cottager, groaning under a load of taxes and sitting with scarcely a snuff of candle to light him, while he was poring over a new-paper, containing a violent speech of the right honourable gentleman, so put together that the sense of it could scarcely be made out, that he was a balancer of the power of Europe, and a protector of its liberties! Was that, said Mr. Wilberforce, a proper language to be told to such a man? Was it likely to stimulate him to better exertions or industry? He declared he had been run away with frequently by the oratory of the right honourable gentleman, and obliged to appeal to his reason and his principles to prevent being declaimed out of his understanding. Lastly, Mr. Wilberforce addressed himself to Mr. Powys, as a country gentleman, and pressed it home to members of that description, whether the way to get rid of a four shillings in the pound land-tax was by holding the balance of Europe, or by extending our commerce, and increasing the sale of our manufactures.

Mr. Fox rose to condemn the low and desponding arguments urged by the last speaker. He wished to know if that was the language meant to be maintained; he wished some persons in authority would stand up and say so, because he could then meet it fairly. Would the right honourable gentleman opposite to him declare, that we were no longer in a situation to hold the balance of power in Europe, and to be looked up to as the protector of its liberties? He should be glad to come at that point. As to the assertion, that
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a poor cottager was not to be talked to in that strain, he must maintain that he was; and notwithstanding the pressure of taxes under which the lower order of people in this country laboured, yet it was a comfort to him to hear that he was the balance of power, and the protector of the liberties of Europe. This it was that enabled him to bear his poverty with cheerfulness, and to feel the satisfaction, amidst all his distress, of reflecting on the thought of his being one of the subjects of a free country, whose characteristic it was to balance the power of Europe.

Mr. Powys also rose in answer to Mr. Wilberforce's address to him as a country gentleman, and said, the country gentleman who should govern his public conduct by mere consideration of private interest, was a miserable animal indeed. No impression arising from the circumstance of the land-tax being four shillings in the pound, or even more, should induce him to vote upon a matter of great public importance differently from what he conscientiously believed would be most for the good of the country. It was upon that impulse that he had voted against the resolution of Monday, and the same motive would direct his vote that night.

Mr. Alderman Watson was against the treaty, as running too great an hazard when we had so much to lose. He begged the committee to recollect to what an astonishing height of prosperity our commerce had risen upon its old and established principles. In the year 1677 we had but one vessel, with lingering sails, a single solitary bottom, that went to the Baltic; in 1786 we had several hundreds. He

commented on this difference, and argued that it proved in how flourishing a state the trade of this country now is, and at the same time shewed how cautious we should be in taking any step that might affect it. He further remarked that France and America were in connection; that the latter sent her produce to France, and was supplied from France. France, therefore, by the commercial treaty with Great Britain, might enable herself to fulfil all her American commissions at the expence of British credit. This, he conceived, deserved their most serious consideration.

On the part of administration, the treaty was defended by Mr. Dundas. He had heard, he said, a great deal of excellent political speculation, but he did not conceive in what manner those arguments could be brought to bear upon the present treaty. He could not see what relation they had to it, being fully satisfied that there was nothing in the treaty that in the smallest degree tended to throw a difficulty either in the way of this country's taking any political part against France that she thought proper, or of entering into an alliance with any other power. What was the treaty, but a measure calculated to enable her to circulate the manufactures of her own artisans in a much greater degree than ever she could do heretofore, by opening to her one of the most extensive markets in the world; and in doing so where was the danger? He contended that it was wise in this country, during a time of peace, to take advantage of the circumstance and, by extending our commerce, to reduce her debts and to fill the coffers of the state. It was the first object of a minister

of this country, that he should not be afraid of saying to a French minister, "If you want to make war with this country, begin when you please, and where you please; if in the east, you will find an army ready, and a full treasury; the same in the west, and the same in Europe."

Before the question was put, Mr. Fox moved, by way of amendment, that the following words be added to it: "That the duties on the importation of Portugal wines should at the same time be lowered one-third." This, Mr. Fox observed, would be an effectual means of preserving the Methuen treaty in full force, so far as related to our part of the obligation, and would enable government more advantageously to negotiate the pending treaty with Portugal.

This motion was negatived without farther discussion, by 91 to 76; and the original resolution put and carried.

The day following Feb. 16th. Mr. Fox made his last effort to induce the house to take some step for securing the continuance of the Methuen treaty and averting the danger, to which he contended it was exposed by the resolution they had come to the preceding night—a resolution, which, if not followed by some correspondent proposition respecting Portugal, would manifest a disregard to that nation little short of a direct affront.

He had been described, he said, on the former day, as a person fond of talking of alliances with foreign courts, of treaties, and of negotiations. He did not conceive how he could avoid in that house frequently discussing topics of that nature, un-

less they were to take the advice that one member had given, and no longer to consider themselves as politicians. Till then he must be excused if he continued to think that it became him and every gentleman, who sat within those walls, to consider himself as a politician, and to direct his opinions and conduct accordingly.

Mr. Fox then proceeded to state the immense importance of the object he brought before them; a sure market for our manufactures to the amount of near a million annually, and principally for a species of manufacture saleable in no other. He next adverted to her importance to us as an ally; and remarked, that but for her we should not have had in the last war a friendly port from Gottenburgh to Gibraltar.

Having strongly stated these facts, he contended, that if the house did not come to an immediate resolution "That the duties on the wines of Portugal should be lowered one-third," they not only virtually broke the Methuen treaty, but paid France a compliment at the expense of Portugal, by holding it out to all the world, that during the course of their proceedings France was preferred, and her interests first attended to.

Nor was there, in due parliamentary form, any grounds whatever, upon which they could decently suspend an act expressive of their readiness to comply with the Methuen treaty. They had indeed heard of negotiations pending with Portugal, and they had heard of grievances complained of; but they neither knew the grievances nor the state of the negotiations, and therefore, as a house of parliament, they had no grounds whatever to induce them

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to act otherwise than as if no negotiation was pending, nor any complaints or grievances existing. He concluded with moving an instruction to the committee on the commercial treaty to the purport he had before mentioned.

The motion was supported with great ability by sir Grey Cooper, and opposed by Mr. Pitt, as interfering by a premature resolution in a matter delegated by the constitution to the executive government. With respect to what had been said of the house having no parliamentary knowledge of a pending negotiation, he asserted that a declaration delivered by him in his place, and as a minister, that such a negotiation was pending, was entitled to be considered as formal parliamentary information. He concluded with repeating his declaration, that he had every reason to expect the negotiation would prove successful; if, however, it should not succeed, he would lay before the house, for their judgments, the grounds upon which it had failed.

Upon this issue, and the responsibility which the minister agreed to take upon himself, Mr. Fox consented to withdraw his motion; and the house being resolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt proceeded to move the several resolutions for imposing certain duties upon the various articles of merchandize specified in the tariff, as contained in the sixth article of the treaty.

When the reduced duty upon brandy was moved, Mr. Pitt was asked, whether he meant to accompany that alteration with a reduction of the duties on rum? He answered, that he did; and that it was intended to place them exactly in the same

relation to each other in which they stood in the year 1778.

The resolution respecting a reciprocal duty of 30 per cent. upon beer occasioned some conversation, in which Mr. Whitbread, the most eminent brewer of this country, gave it as his opinion, that when it was considered that to this import duty were to be added the existing internal duties in each country, which in England were very high and in France very low, the terms upon the whole were in our favour.

The duty of 12 per cent. upon cottons was objected to, as not sufficient to protect the home manufacture, and more especially as so much of the raw material was purchased from foreigners, who might charge it with what duty they pleased. The French, it was said, had already shewn a disposition to throw this obstacle in our way, by a treaty they were endeavouring to negotiate with Portugal, to purchase all the Brazil cotton wool, and by laying an additional duty of five-pence per pound on that of her own colonies. In answer to these objections it was asserted, that the superiority of our manufacturers, both in industry and ingenuity, was so manifest, as to leave no room for any apprehensions of their suffering by any competition; and that the short duration of the treaty, which was only for twelve years, was a sufficient security against the dreaded emigration of our manufacturers. With respect to the raw material, our ports would always command it; and some gentlemen conceived we might soon be able to supply ourselves from our own islands.

With respect to the article of glass, it was objected by sir M. W.

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Ridley, that it would entirely ruin the British plate-glass manufactory in England. For, he said, a glass of ninety inches would cost one hundred guineas, whereas in France a glass of the same dimensions might be purchased for forty; to this if twelve and a half per cent. were added, it would still leave the French almost one half cheaper than the English. Our home duties on glass were so high, that twelve and a half per cent. scarcely amounted to one fourth of the duty that would be sufficient to protect that article.

Mr. Pitt observed in reply, that the twelve and a half per cent. were not the only duties that would be payable in future on French plate glass imported, a right being reserved by the treaty to lay on duties to countervail the internal duties of excise paid on the glass manufactured in the country into which the importation should be made.

Mr. Fox allowed, that if France would consent to understand the treaty in this light, and admit the distinction between the nominal and internal duties, it would do very well; but the treaty would not bear that construction.

Mr. Grenville said, that the two countries, intending to act with good faith and plain dealings towards each other, would take such measures as should remove all doubts on the subject.

Resolutions upon the several articles of the tariff were then moved and agreed to.

Feb. 19th. On the Monday following the report of the committee upon the commercial treaty was brought up, and on the usual motion being made, that the house do agree to the same, notice

was taken of the omission of the mention of Ireland both in the treaty and the tariff; and it was asked, whether or no she was understood to be included in it? To this question Mr. Pitt replied, that Ireland was undoubtedly entitled to all the benefits of the French treaty; but it was entirely at her own option, whether she should choose to avail herself of those advantages; for it was only to be done by her passing such laws as should put the tariff on the same footing in that country as it was stipulated should be done in this. Had the adoption of the treaty by Ireland been a stipulation necessary to be performed before it could be finally concluded on by this country, then this country would have been deprived of all the benefits resulting from it in the event of Ireland's refusal.

This explanation did not satisfy Mr. Flood, who again asked, what security Ireland had for her share of the advantages which the treaty held out to Great Britain, if any advantages were likely to arise from it, any more than she had that the court of Lisbon would extend to her the advantages of the Methuen treaty, of which it was well known she had refused to suffer Ireland to participate, in violation of the spirit and meaning of that treaty; of which breach of treaty on the part of Portugal, although it had been five years in negotiation, no redress had yet been obtained for Ireland? Mr. Flood stated his conviction, that the commercial treaty was neither likely to be a benefit to Great Britain nor Ireland; and he thought a stronger proof of its defects could not be stated to the friends of Ireland (and every honest Briton must be the friend of Ireland, because her interests

terests were so deeply involved and interwoven with the interests of Great Britain, that they were inseparable considerations) than the extraordinary position in which it would place the two countries of France and Ireland, with respect to England and to each other; by entitling France to commercial privileges and advantages in Great Britain to which Ireland was not entitled, and by entitling Ireland to greater privileges and advantages in France than she could obtain in Great Britain.

This speech produced a warm reply from Mr. Grenville, who said, that Great Britain had two years ago made a liberal offer to Ireland, which the parliament of that misfed and infatuated people had been persuaded to refuse; and that it ill became those who had principally stood forward to persuade that assembly to reject the offer, to be afterwards among the foremost to endeavour to prevent this country from carrying into execution a treaty with France, which was concluded with a view to the benefit of Great Britain, and in which Ireland was also included, if she chose to avail herself of the benefit.

The report was finally agreed to, upon a division, by a great majority.

Feb. 21st. We are now arrived at the last debate which this important measure gave rise to in the house of commons. It was upon an address moved by Mr. Blackburne, member for Lancashire, "to thank his majesty for the solicitude he had been graciously pleased to evince, in forming a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France; assuring him, that the house con-

ceived that the most happy effects would result from it to his faithful subjects, and that they would take every necessary step to render the negotiation effectual."

In support of the address, he said, that he had received letters from several of his constituents, informing him, that a numerous meeting of the cotton manufacturers had been held at Manchester, in consequence of a kind of remonstrance which they had seen in the public prints against the commercial treaty, from the chamber of manufacturers; and that, after a serious deliberation, and a full discussion of the subject, they considered the treaty as highly beneficial to this country in general, and to the cotton manufacture in particular. They desired him also to inform the house, that they neither approved of the conduct of the chamber of commerce, nor had delegated any person to represent them in that body, when the petition, praying for time to consider the subject, was carried.

The hon. captain Berkeley, (member for Gloucestershire) seconded the motion; and said, that the treaty had met the approbation of many bodies of woollen manufacturers amongst his constituents. It was in France only that it was condemned, as being too advantageous to England, and likely to ruin the French manufactures. The people of Abbeville in particular had already declared, that, if the treaty should be carried into effect, they must be inevitably undone.

In opposition to the address, Mr. Grey, the representative for Northumberland, made his maiden speech, and astonished the house by another of those wonderful displays of oratorical abilities, which in the course of a few

a few years had burst forth in such torrents, on every side, amongst its younger members. Mr. Grey was not inferior to any of those who preceded him, in copiousness and elegance of diction, in strength of argument, or in perspicuity of arrangement, and superior to them all in the graces of elocution. It is to be lamented that we are not able to give our readers a specimen of his extraordinary talents; and must content ourselves with a bare enumeration of the arguments he principally rested upon.

He agreed with Mr. Fox in considering the general policy of the measure as by far the most important object it involved; he stated at large the relative situation and political interests of the two nations, and from thence inferred the wisdom of that established system of our policy, in which France had always been regarded with the most suspicious jealousy at least, if not as our natural foe. He confirmed these opinions by a reference to our unvaried experience; and asked upon what grounds it was presumed that she had at once totally abandoned all her ancient political principles, and had no longer any object in view inimical to our interests?

He endeavoured to prove, that the present moment was perhaps that, of all others, in which our jealousy ought to be the most awake, and in which we had the least reason for reposing any confidence in her. With this view he read a state paper, which had passed between the French minister and the plenipotentiary of the United States of America in Paris. It contained a proposition on the part of France to concede to that country, without stipulation, a great variety of com-

mercial advantages detrimental to her own revenues, in which no other European nation, not even the Spaniards, were indulged. And was it to be supposed that France really expected no equivalent? She doubtless expected it in a monopoly of that trade which we once enjoyed, and which constituted two-thirds of our commercial marine:—she expected it in the augmentation of her own navy, and in the ruin of ours. Whilst she was enticing us by what had been justly called a tempting bait, to conclude a treaty of commerce with her for the supply of her own market, she had been securing customers to take the commodities off her hands; and thus not only to become the carrier, but to trade to an extent she had hitherto been unable to aspire at, upon the capital of this country.

Another object which he believed France had in view, was to render us as much politically insulated, as we were insulated in our local situation.—One effect which she would look for in this tempting treaty was, to draw us off from seeking alliances with the rest of Europe; it had already, in some degree, produced this effect, as was manifest from the coldness which ministers discovered with respect to the Methuen treaty.

He earnestly recommended, instead of the present treaty, a more intimate connection with America; such an intercourse would be the most eligible for Great Britain that could be devised, and entirely consistent with her true political interests; and such an intercourse he had the best reasons for believing America was both willing and eager to enter into upon fair and equitable terms.

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He remarked upon the indecency as well as the impolicy of granting to France what we had refused to Ireland, and of giving to a rival and a natural enemy what we had withheld from our friends and fellow subjects. With respect to all the temporary advantages, some of which he believed might reasonably be expected from the treaty, they were to him additional reasons for rejecting it. Every offer of service from France, he regarded with suspicion—

—timeo Danaos & dona ferentes—

— An ulla puteris

Dona carere dolis Danaum?

Capt. Macbride condemned the treaty as highly detrimental, in many particulars, to our marine. The goods deemed contraband in the 22d article were, he said, such as might be essential in a country whose army was its first object, but had scarce any reference to the preservation of a navy. The 34th article he conceived gave such advantages to privateers as would enable them to get seamen much sooner than the king's ships; and he reminded the house, that France, by the register of her seamen, had an evident superiority in point of expedition in filling her ships' complements; and he therefore warned them against throwing any additional difficulty in the way of manning our navy. Lastly, he conceived, that the treaty in its general tendency went to increase the strength of the French navy, by throwing a greater proportion of the carrying trade into her hands.

Mr. Burke also took this opportunity of delivering his opinion of the treaty. He took notice of the narrow and confined views upon

which it was formed, and had been defended. It had been talked of as if it were an affair of two little counting-houses, and not of two great empires. It seemed to be considered by its supporters as a contention between the sign of the Fleur-de-lis and the sign of the Red-Lion, which house should obtain the best custom. Such politicians, he said, when in power, converted large cities into small villages; while those of more enlarged and liberal minds acted upon another scale, and changed small villages into great cities.

It was also curious, he said, to remark, how, with our policy, we had changed our language. Whilst our tongues were let loose in the foulest asperity against other states;—Ireland was a weak, an insatuated island; Portugal an unnatural, a base, a worthless, an ungrateful nation—nothing had been heard for some time past but panegyrics upon the French. And what were the topics we had chosen for our panegyrics? Did we commend the French gallantry, their valour, their ingenuity, their opulence, their wit?—No: it was their sincerity, their moderation, their truth, their kindness and good-will to this nation, that we were so extremely taken with.

Mr. Burke then entered into a minute examination of the future and ultimate tendency of the measure; and from a full and judicious comparison of the relative circumstances and situations of the two countries, of which both sides of the house joined in applause, he inferred that we risked much by it, and could gain but little.

He seemed to agree with the opposite side of the house, that there was

no immediate danger to be apprehended from a free commerce with France, either to our trade or manufactures. He conceived that our manufacturers, in point of ingenuity, industry, and skill, had so far got the start of our neighbours, that they could not, for a considerable time at least, rival us in our commodities. But it was the superiority we possessed in capital which enabled us, he said, to set all their efforts to cope with us at defiance; a capital formed and supported by that general partnership between the landed property, the monied property, and the commercial property of the nation, which, from the peculiar nature of our establishments, existed in this country. The powers of this capital were irresistible in trade; it enticed the strong, it controlled the weak; it over-awed, it domineered, it even tyrannized, in all the markets of the world. This capital the treaty had a direct tendency to open gradually to France. The moment the prohibitions upon her trade were taken off, she would begin to insinuate herself into the partnership, and in the end come in for a share in the capital; and she was content to submit to any temporary loss in trade, which might arise from the superiority of our manufactures, for the sake of greater and more permanent future advantages.

The same provident policy, he remarked, appeared to direct her conduct towards America, which it was evident could make no return at present for the bounties and free ports so liberally granted her; and was even unable to pay the debts she had contracted with the French government and merchants. When to these proofs of this evident line of policy were added many other

circumstances which he enumerated, such as her negotiations with Portugal, her unceasing attention to her navy, the stupendous works she was erecting at Cherbourg, and others of a like nature, by which she appeared as it were stretching her arms all round to grasp and stifle us, he said he conceived the strange and unnatural desire that had all at once possessed us of running into her embraces, to be nothing less than infatuation.

The treaty was ably supported by Mr. Grenville, Mr. Pulteney, Lord Mornington, and others, upon the grounds which have already been stated; but at a late hour an objection to the address, of another nature, was started by Mr. Welbore Ellis. He contended that the motion for an address in the present stage of the business was premature, unprecedented, and unparliamentary, tending to deprive the house of its powers of deliberation, and to pledge them to pass bills for carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect.

The proceedings of parliament upon the treaty of Utrecht were referred to as a case in point, and as an useful lesson to the house against hastiness and precipitation. That treaty was laid before the house by a message from the queen. A committee of the whole house was appointed to take the 8th and 9th articles into consideration. After a long debate in that committee, on the question, that the house be moved for leave to bring in a bill to make effectual the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce, the question was carried by a very large majority, greater than on any vote on the present treaty. The bill was brought in, and read a first time, at the distance of a fortnight

night from the vote in the first committee. There was an interval of a week between the first and second reading of the bill. Petitions now came in from all quarters; and the committee on the bill sat for many days to hear the petitioners by their counsel against the treaty. The report from this committee was received and agreed to. But on the question, that the bill with amendments be engrossed, it was carried in the negative by a majority of nine. No address was presented to the queen till after the rejection of the bill.

This proved the importance of a regular compliance with the forms of the house, and a due exercise of their deliberative powers. A large majority had thus been, by mere dint of debate and discussion, converted into a minority, and one of the worst, and most hostile treaties to the British constitution that ever was heard of, was put an end to and annihilated. The reason that the minister did not proceed in the same way now was obvious. Aware of the event of 1713, he was determined to proceed in another manner; and in order to ensure the success of his treaty, instead of risking the chance of deliberation, he had profited by the fate of the treaty of Utrecht, and had caused an address to be moved, to tie up the hands of the house, and preclude all debate and all danger of future opposition.

In answer to these objections, the chancellor of the exchequer insisted upon the address on the Irish propositions, but two years before, as a precedent in point, in favour of the mode of proceeding he had adopted.

As to the merits of the objection itself, he observed that the delibe-

rative function of the house in the present case was confined to one general point, whether they should carry into effect the treaty at large; it left the discussion of the mode of doing it perfectly open and free. Such gentlemen as felt themselves prepared to decide in favour of the treaty, were certainly bound to vote for the address, as there could be nothing improper in any person's undertaking to do at a future period that, which, if circumstances were ripe, he should be willing at present to do.

The debate continued till near three in the morning, when the previous question, which was moved by Mr. Ellis, being put, the same was carried in the affirmative, by 236 to 160, and the address was afterwards agreed to without a division.

Feb. 23d. On the 23d the address was communicated, at a conference, to the lords, and their concurrence requested; and the first day of March was appointed by them for taking the subject into their consideration.

Whilst the commons were engaged in the discussion of the commercial treaty, the attention of the house of lords was called, by the viscount Stormont, to a question in which the constitution of that branch of the legislature, together with the rights of the Scottish peerage, were essentially concerned. It arose out of a circumstance, already mentioned, that took place during the late prorogation of parliament—the creation of two of the sixteen peers of Scotland to be peers of Great Britain; and it was simply this, whether or not, after such creation, they could continue to sit as representatives of the peerage of Scotland?

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The act of union was silent upon the subject; the only precedent that existed, that of the duke of Athol, upon whom, in 1736, being then one of the sixteen peers, the English barony of Strange devolved by inheritance, was for the affirmative; and it was well known that the lord chancellor's opinion was in favour of the same side of the question. On the other hand, the negative appeared to lord Stormont so strongly supported by every principle of equity, analogy, and fair construction, as to induce him to bring the question, in the face of all those difficulties, to a public decision.

Accordingly, on the 12th of February, the lords having been previously summoned, the house resolved itself into a committee of privileges, for the purpose of taking it into their consideration. The motion made by lord Stormont was as follows:

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that the earl of Abercorn, who was chosen to be of the number of the sixteen peers, who by the treaty of union are to represent the peerage of Scotland in parliament, having been created viscount Hamilton by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, doth thereby cease to sit in the house as a representative of the peerage of Scotland."

In support of this motion, he observed, that the question appeared to him to lie in a narrow compass, and was to be decided upon a few plain obvious principles, which he would endeavour to state to the committee.

It is provided by the act of union, that the peers of Scotland, who were thought too numerous to be admit-

ted to hereditary seats in parliaments, should be represented by sixteen, to be chosen out of their own number. By this act the peerage is made to consist of two distinct orders of men, having different rights, and standing in very different situations. The one, together with all the other privileges of peerage, have individually a right to a seat in parliament, whose authority now extends over the whole united kingdom. The other has the inferior rights of the peerage throughout the whole kingdom also; but is abridged of the most valuable right of all, an hereditary seat in parliament. They are therefore in fact two distinct orders of men, the one having individually a share in the legislature, the other only a virtual share by representation. No line of distinction can be more strongly drawn.

The question then, fairly stated, is this, what, according to the true meaning and intent of the union, is to be the condition of him who passes from the one order to the other, from the representative to the individual class? Why clearly this; he acquires all the rights of an hereditary seat as an individual, and of course the rights of representation cease, as appertaining exclusively to that condition in which he no longer remains. No one can appear in person, and at the same time be represented by his proxy. The one right being in lieu of the other, they cannot be co-existent.

The committee, he said, well knew that the right of representation is so far from being inherent in peers, that it was strenuously contended at the union, that it was inconsistent with and repugnant to the nature of peerage. It certainly is a right incidental

incidental to the change of situation made by that act. From the situation in which the union placed them, the two noble lords had emerged by the favour of the crown, and were raised to those rights, to that condition in the British parliament, which in the parliament of Scotland they before enjoyed.

It was upon these principles that the house in 1709, in the case of the duke of Dover's vote, resolved, "That a peer of Scotland, claiming to sit in the house of peers by virtue of a patent passed under the great seal of Great Britain, and who now sits in the parliament of Great Britain, has no right to vote in the election of the sixteen peers." The determination was as solemn, as deliberate, as any that stands on the records of parliament. It rejected the vote of a person intimately connected with the lord treasurer (Godolphin). The resolution passed at a time when all that related to the union was fresh in every man's memory, and the true meaning and intention of that treaty were generally known. It passed in the presence of many of those who had been commissioners on both sides, actors in that great scene; and the journals shew that there was not a single protest. It has been constantly acted under, has stood unquestioned, unshaken, for near fourscore years.

It follows evidently, from this resolution, that as a peer of Scotland, under the circumstances described in it, cannot vote in the election; so neither can he be elected one of the sixteen. For the act expressly directs, that he shall be chosen out of their own number, that is clearly out of the number of those who chuse; and to this conclusion their

uniform practice had been consonant.

But another question still remained behind. For though they could neither vote in the election, nor be elected, yet it may be urged, that having been elected previous to this disqualification, they might retain their seats till the next general election. The act of union provides for no cases except those of death and legal disqualification. That the circumstances upon which the present question is founded do not amount to a legal disqualification, strictly speaking, cannot be denied; but they may come within the real intent and meaning of the act, which is to be collected from its general principles, applied to the particular case.

A virtual representation in the British parliament was the compensation given to the Scottish peers, for the surrender they made of their individual rights in the parliament of Scotland. But the chance of being actually chosen, and of sitting as a representative, is doubtless to be considered as a very material part of this compensation; and of the chance of enjoying this part of his compensation every peer is evidently deprived, so long as another person, who has no claim to any share in it at all, is in possession of it.

Again, an hereditary seat, and a temporary seat by election, are incompatible, for this obvious reason--the hereditary seat takes away the whole effect of the relation that should subsist between the representative and those who chuse him. This connection is stronger in some governments than in others; but it obtains universally in all, and is of the very essence of representation. But
suppose

suppose for a moment that the representative is bound to obey the instructions of his constituents, what would be the condition of an hereditary peer, who was also a representative? Clashing duties might arise. His own judgment marks out to him one line of conduct, the orders of the electors another: which is he to follow? There is but one mode of obviating this difficulty, that of allowing him two voices; a mode which the form of our constitution does not admit.

Again, the same prerogative that had raised two of the sixteen to an hereditary seat, might extend the same favour to the whole number. What then would become of the Scotch representation? This way of putting it makes the absurdity more glaring; but there is no real difference between the one case and the other, the violation of the principle of representation is the same in both.

He then stated particularly the case of James duke of Athol, upon whom an English honour devolved in 1736, and who continued to sit in parliament as duke of Athol and baron Strange. He observed, that there never had been any decision, any question, any even the smallest discussion upon the subject; the whole had passed *sub silentio*. Why it did so is, perhaps, at this distant period, rather to be conjectured than known. It probably was thought a thing of little consequence, as there was very little chance that a similar case, that of an old English honour devolving upon a Scotch peer, should happen again. The case now in question could not happen under the then circumstances. The Scotch peerage were then smarting under the wound which the rash and violent hand of party gave

in the case of the duke of Brandon, in 1711. In that situation of things the peerage of Scotland might think it a point of little moment; but the case is very different now. The Scotch peers are restored to their rights—the right of prerogative is restored. The royal favour may now flow in that channel, as freely as in any other.

I have purposely waved, said he, all considerations of policy, as the cause stands in need of no such collateral aid. But thus much I may say, the best, the wisest, and most dignified policy will chuse to do that, which is attended with no possible inconvenience, rather than hurt the rights and wound the feelings of a considerable and respectable body of men; and if there were any shadow of doubt in this business, which, he protested, after the fullest consideration, he could not perceive; yet surely, even in that case, the fairest and most upright mind might incline towards that decision, which is favourable to the interests of many, prejudicial to the real interests of none.

He concluded with saying, that he was persuaded their lordships would upon all occasions be disposed to interpret every article of the treaty of union in the fairest and most liberal manner, and especially that which respects the peerage of Scotland. The change the union made in their condition is known to you all. I hope, said he, you will keep in constant remembrance this day, that, before an event so beneficial to both countries could take place, the peers of Scotland had great difficulties to conquer: to the attainment of that desirable end they made as large a sacrifice as ever was made by men. Had they retained their hereditary seat in parliament,

liament, at the expence of half their property, they had made a happy and noble exchange. No man can deserve an hereditary seat in the great counsel of a free nation, who does not consider it as the first of all rights, the most valuable of all possessions. That right, that inestimable possession, for reasons of public utility, our ancestors were contented to forego. In a word, they did that which has ever been counted a mark of exalted virtue—they chose rather to be little in a great state, than great in a small one. Deciding on the rights of the descendants of men so circumstanced, you would be disposed rather to extend than diminish those rights. We ask no extension; we demand nothing but what the union gave. All we desire is, that you will not, in contradiction to the clear and obvious meaning of that agreement, to the sense entertained and declared of it by those, by whom it was framed, and in contradiction to the clearest principles of representation, abridge our rights, by curtailing the slender compensation allotted us for the greatest loss, which men, who have any dignity, can sustain.

With respect to the new-created peers, added he, when we chose them, they were in the same situation with ourselves; they were fellow sufferers. Being no longer in that situation, they can no longer be entitled to a share of that compensation, which was given to the aggregate body for the loss it sustained. They now sit here in their own right, they cannot sit in ours. We are proud of every connection with them, but what is incompatible with their condition and ours. We hope these two noble lords, and all

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who were formerly of our number, retain their former zeal for the maintenance of our rights. We hope they, who have reached the shore, will not be indifferent to the condition of those, whom they have left behind.

The motion was opposed by the earl of Moreton and the lord chancellor. It was contended by the latter that the present was of the nature of a judicial proceeding, and that they were bound not to listen to arguments grounded on supposed or real inconvenience to this or that set of men; nor were they entitled to consider what an act of parliament should have been, but were bound to take it as it was, and to comply with the letter of it. By the act of union nothing short of legal incapacity could put any of the sixteen peers out of the situation of representatives till the sitting of parliament should expire; and it seemed agreed on all sides that letters patent creating a Scotch lord an English peer induced no legal incapacity.

Lord Loughborough, in answer to the chancellor, observed, that though he had no objections to arguing the point juridically, yet the present was clearly not a judicial but a political proceeding; it had not one circumstance of a judicial proceeding attending it. With respect to their being bound by the letter of the act of union, the present was a case not directly provided for by it; and he would ever maintain, that the intention and spirit of every statute (penal statutes alone excepted) were to be looked to in the construction of it.

The motion was carried by a majority of 52 to 38, and was followed

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ed by another motion of the same kind respecting the duke of Queensberry created baron Douglas.

Previous to the discussion of the commercial treaty in the house of lords, two motions were made by the duke of Norfolk respecting the Portugal trade, to the same purport with those moved by Mr. Fox, and met with the same fate. On the 1st of March, the day fixed for going into the committee, lord Stormont begged leave to call the attention of the house, before they entered upon the business of the day, to the unconstitutional and unprecedented nature of the proceeding they were about to adopt.

Whenever, he said, both houses joined in an address to the throne upon any subject, the discussion of which was not concluded in both houses, it had been customary to form the address in general terms of thanks for the communication, and so as not to preclude the freedom of future debate; but the address sent up from the lower house was drawn up in such particular and precise terms, as to pledge parliament with respect to their future conduct in the subsequent stages of the business.

He contrasted this mode of proceeding with that used upon the treaty of Utrecht; and shewed that the minister of that day, notwithstanding his powerful party connections and personal authority, had shewn so much respect for the constitution as not to venture to adopt a proceeding like the present. To obviate therefore the dangerous consequences of such a precedent, if it should be adopted, he should move the house to come previously to the following resolution, "That no address to the throne, and no reso-

lution of this house, can bind this house in its legislative capacity, or bar the subject's right of petitioning this house upon any bill depending in parliament, though such bill be founded upon and conformable to resolutions to which this house has previously agreed."

Though the doctrine laid down in this motion was not controverted by administration, but allowed to be just, yet they contended that it was by no means necessary to put it upon their journals, and therefore called for the order of the day; which being read, and the house resolved into a committee, the marquis of Buckingham opened the business in a long speech, in which he defended the treaty upon the same ground that had been taken in the other house, and concluded with moving the first of the resolutions that had been sent up for their concurrence.

The motion was opposed with great ability by the bishop of Llandaff. The arguments used by him were comprized in the two following propositions, which he concluded with stating to the committee as the sum of his speech.

1. That to abandon a commercial system, by which we had risen to our present height in the scale of nations, was a measure, abstractedly considered, dangerous and impolitic, and not to be justified except by some urgent necessities of the state, which necessities did not at present exist. 2. That to adopt a commercial system, which our ancestors from long experience had reprobated as detrimental to the kingdom, was an unwise measure, and not to be justified, except by a change in the relative situations of

Great

Great Britain and France; the certainty of which change having taken place had not been proved or rendered highly probable.

In support of the first proposition, he entered into a detail of our commerce with foreign nations; the result of which was, that we enjoyed a clear balance in our favour of at least four millions a year. From the vicissitudes incident to the current of all human affairs, a few obstructions had of late years been formed in some of the channels through which this wealth flowed; but surely, he said, the wisdom of the nation would have been much better employed in removing these obstructions, in widening and securing these ancient channels, the advantages of which were known to our fathers and ourselves, than in opening a new one, the rocks, and shoals, and whirlpools of which were unexplored; the dangers of which no mortal eye could foresee; the advantages of which were certainly speculative, might be delusive, and, if delusive, must be ruinous to our wealth, our consequence, and our independence.

He would not assume, he said, the prohibition of our commerce with France as an efficient cause of our commercial prosperity; two simultaneous events might exist together, without one being the cause of the other; but if it could be shewn, that our commerce did not flourish, when the trade with France was open, as clearly as it had been shewn that it did flourish, when our trade with France was shut, men of plain understandings would suspect that there was some connection between these two circumstances.

In proof therefore of his second

proposition, he read the preamble of the act passed in the time of Charles the Second, prohibiting an open trade with France, to the following purport: "Whereas it has been by long experience found, that the importing French wines, &c. had much exhausted the treasure of the nation, lessened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof, and brought much detriment to this kingdom in general—"

It might be objected, he said, that in consequence of the great improvements of our manufactures, the relative circumstances of the two nations were much changed; but he doubted much of the weight of this observation. He entered into various particulars on the point, and said, that after the most minute examination and enquiry, he could find no probable ground for admitting that the circumstances of the two countries were so entirely changed as to render a trade, which in the time of Charles the Second was thought highly detrimental to this kingdom, and by which we lost a million a year, lucrative and safe at present. Our manufactures were doubtless much improved, and so also were the manufactures of France, and in the course of still farther improvement; and if this were really the case, the argument from experience was conclusive against the treaty.

In a second speech, the bishop entered into a farther detail of the comparative excellence and cheapness of French and English manufactures. He mentioned the exertions they were making in the manufactory of iron, and particularly cutlery, and seemed to think that the importation of hardware into France,

France, one of the most favourite features of the treaty, would not at present amount to much, would soon be nothing, and might in the end turn against us. Upon this occasion he also mentioned the discoveries that had been made of mines of pitcoal in almost all the provinces of that kingdom.

With respect to glass, he declared that he had seen a cut-glass cup, bought at a retail shop in Paris for 2s. 11d. and that for one of the same form a workman in London had charged 5s. for the cutting alone. With respect to cottons, he remarked that some years ago the use of Swisprinted linens in France had nearly ruined their home manufactory: that this had excited the manufacturers to exert themselves, and that they now made as beautiful printed linens and cottons as any in the world. Our coarse woollens would be secure till the French learned how to manage their sheep properly; but our superfines would be beat out of the home market.— Since the year 1760, this manufacture had been brought in France to the highest perfection, and did not fear a competition with the English: had there been the least apprehension for its safety, the French ministry would never have suffered the importation of our woollens upon so easy a duty; they would cautiously have protected a manufactory which had been nursed by their government at an immense expence for above a century. They might take a few more coarse goods from us, in order to mix them with their own, for the American market; and this he thought would be their practice, much to our detriment, in other articles besides our woollens. He allowed, after all,

that these speculations, on both sides, were from their nature subject to error. It was the misfortune of the treaty that we could not judge of it but from experiment, and in making the experiment we might be undone.

He concluded by taking notice of two arguments that had been much relied upon in the defence of the treaty. It was said that France opened to us a market of 24 millions of people, in return for ours of only eight millions: but to give this argument any weight, it should be shewn, which had never yet been done, that these 24 millions of people had as much occasion for our commodities as we had for their's, and as much money to lay out in purchasing them. It should be shewn that they would as certainly clothe themselves in our woollens and cottons, as we should drink their wines and brandies.

The other argument was, that by extending our commerce and multiplying our manufactures, it would increase our resources, and make us more able to contend with France in war. But this, he observed, was upon a supposition that it would not proportionably increase the resources of France. If it tended, as it manifestly did, to incite the French to become a commercial and manufacturing nation, their resources would increase in as much a greater proportion as their population exceeds ours. If it were asked how it tended to incite France to commercial exertions, he answered, by opening to her our home market, the richest market in Europe; by exciting the industry and ingenuity of her own people to support their own fabricks; and above all, by giving her every opportunity,

ity, she could wish for, of acquiring that manufacturing skill, by which we at present surpass her and all the world.

The bishop of Llandaff was answered by the marquis of Lansdown. He said, there were two fundamental points for the committee to decide upon: the first was, whether our old commercial system should be changed, as totally erroneous;—the second, whether, if it should be thought right to open our trade to the world, France, for any political reasons, should be excepted?

With respect to the first; before persons of their lordships enlightened understanding, he believed it would require very little discussion. In fact, truth had made its own way. Commerce, like other sciences, had simplified itself. He gave a short account of the change that had taken place in the opinions of mankind upon this subject, and shewed that the old system, with all its monopolies, prohibitions, protecting duties, balances of trade, and all the calculations formed upon them, was generally and justly exploded; and consequently, that with them all the learned prelate's arguments which were gounded upon that system, fell to the ground. It was a proud day, he said, for the manufacturers of this country, to see them come down in a body from their strong holds, fenced in by prohibitions, and mixing with the world. Seated as they had been on the throne of monopoly, they generously chose to descend from it; and seeing the true policy of the measure, consented without a murmur to give up all their fences and fortifications, to meet the foreign manufacturer on equal terms at their own

or at his market—to venture abroad with perhaps but one-eighth of the advantages of many other commercial countries—and to bring home wealth in one hand and revenue in the other.

The second point they had to consider was, whether, in case it should be thought right to remove all unnatural restrictions from our commerce, and to open it to the world, France should be an exception? The ground taken by those who contended for the affirmative was the invariable and systematic political enmity of that country to this. But he denied the fact: nothing, he said, could be less founded; and this he proved at large from the history of the two nations, from a view of the political state of Europe, and from his own conversations with several of the most eminent statesmen of France.

Having cleared these points, and declared that he heartily approved of the principle of the treaty, and was only sorry that it had not been carried to a greater extent; he said, there were some particulars upon which he was not entirely satisfied with the conduct of the negotiators. He was free to own that he thought greater advantages for this country might have been obtained. What floated in his own mind was something of this sort: to have admitted freely, article for article, all manufactures, where the first materials were equally attainable, any momentary superiority, under such circumstances, being in negotiation of no account. Some unreciprocal articles would remain on both sides; wine, brandy, vinegar, and oil, on the side of France; coals, lead, tin, on ours. Theirs were luxuries, which we can get elsewhere; ours

ours are necessities which they cannot, at least, to advantage; we had consequently a right to expect an equivalent for both: There was besides, the political tendency of the treaty, in doing away prejudices, and removing the probability of war, which manifestly in the end tends to double the force of France by putting her at her ease. Compensation therefore was due for these three points; and what occurred to his mind was, to get some advantage in point of navigation, and to have said something of this sort to France: In proportion as we give up to you land, you must give up to us sea.

Secondly, he thought a favourable opportunity had been neglected of doing something for the settlement and security of India.

Thirdly, he expressed his astonishment at seeing the neutral code recognized in the treaty. He was authorized, he thought, from what passed at making the peace, in giving it as his opinion and conjecture, that it was a point the French would never have insisted upon. It was not the interest of either country to suffer new marines to start up and grow too powerful. Hitherto, at least, these were the politics of France relative to Russia.

Fourthly, no steps appeared to have been taken for putting a stop to the erections at Cherbourg.

He lastly adverted to Ireland, and said it was scarcely credible that we had no settlement either made or in view with that country. It was idle to talk of the Irish propositions having been made and rejected, and that therefore nothing was to be done. Such language was much too humourfome to use towards a great country. If a minister were

to tell the public and parliament of Great Britain, that they did not know their own interest, and must abide the consequence, he would be looked upon as infatuated. He hoped therefore something would be done without delay, and that Ireland would not be left to receive greater favour from France than from Great Britain.

He concluded with declaring his opinion, that if this country should decline, it would not be on account of this treaty, but for other obvious causes. If we continued under a perpetual fluctuation of administrations, and, in consequence, of systems, as we had done for many years past, if we went on rotting in our corruption, and sacrificing the army, the church, and the state, to the paltry purpose of procuring majorities in the two houses of parliament, we could never expect to be prosperous, wealthy, or powerful.

The defence of the treaty, during the whole progress of its discussion, fell almost totally upon Lord Hawkesbury, who to the objections of its adversaries opposed the various arguments which we have already stated in its favour, with great judgment and ability. The marquis of Buckingham also took a considerable share in the debate on the side of government; and the duke of Manchester, the lords Stormont, Loughborough, and Portchester, on the side of opposition. The greatest number that divided in the committee was upon the first resolution, when there appeared contents 81, not contents 35.

In the course of these debates a singular altercation took place between the duke of Richmond and lord Lansdown, relative to contradictory

dictory opinions, charged by the former to have been held by the marquis in different situations, upon his grace's plan of fortification*. It was asserted, on the one side, that when lord Shelburne was at the head of the treasury, the plan had been communicated to him, and that he had expressed a direct approbation of it. This assertion was as positively contradicted by the marquis, who nevertheless acknowledged, that at the time the communication was made he had not had leisure to consult with those of his friends, who were most capable of giving an authoritative opinion on the subject. That it happened at the moment of settling the preliminaries of the peace; when particular circumstances, known he believed to most of their lordships (he meant the divisions which subsisted in the cabinet) might make it necessary for him to use some address with the noble duke, and to be cautious of provoking a very irritable mind by a direct rejection

of a favourite scheme. And as a proof that he had never given a direct approbation, he read a letter written to him by the duke, subsequent to the time of the supposed approbation, in which he requests him to turn the matter in his thoughts, and give him an answer thereon as soon as he conveniently could; adding, that when he knew his opinion, he should form his ordinance estimate accordingly. To rebut this presumptive evidence, the duke of Richmond read a letter from Mr. Pitt, who was present at the time the approbation was alledged to have been given, in which he declares, "That the impression made upon his mind at the time was, and had continued so on every reflection since, that his lordship did signify his approbation of the plans of fortification."

On the 7th of March the concurrence of the lords in the resolutions and address was communicated to the commons; and the day following the address was presented by both houses to the king.

* Our readers will recollect the decided and active part taken by the confidential friends of lord Lansdown in the house of commons, upon the debate on the ordinance estimates of the last session.

C H A P. IV.

Consolidation of the duties of custom and excise. The speech of the chancellor of the exchequer upon that subject; states the origin of the duties of tonnage and poundage; the nature and inconveniences of those duties; the method hitherto adopted for remedying them; their insufficiency. Explanation of the new plan of consolidating the duties of custom, and of excise. Provisions to be made for the security of the public creditors. Upwards of three thousand resolutions to be moved. General concurrence of the house in this measure. Mr. Burke's speech on the occasion. Sir Grey Cooper mentions the progress made in it during the administration of Lord North. Bill brought in for the consolidation of duties. Provisions relative to the French treaty included therein; objected to on that account. Motion for separating the latter from the former, rejected. Motion to the same effect, by Mr. Bastard, rejected. Warm debate, and motions on the same subject rejected in the house of lords. Bill receives the royal assent. Innovation in the mutiny bill again carried, after much debate. Pension of Sir John Skynner; Mr. Burke's speech on that business. Motion in the upper house, by Lord Rawdon, relative to the Spanish convention, and the evacuation of the Mosquito shore; speeches of lord Carmarthen and the lord chancellor on the same subject. Motion by Mr. Beaufoy, for taking the corporation and test acts into consideration; endeavours to prove that the latter was never designed to include protestant dissenters, and that the reasons for the former had ceased; that no man ought to be punished for opinions; that disqualifications are punishments; that the disqualifications were not defensible by any state necessity. Dissenters vindicated from the charge of republicanism, and of aiming at the revenues of the church; tests, that would remain after the appeal, sufficient. Objection answered relative to the union. Remark on the impiety of a sacramental test. Mr. Beaufoy answered by Lord North, and by Mr. Pitt; supported by Mr. Fox; his remarks on the late conduct of the dissenters. Mr. Beaufoy's motion rejected by 178 to 100. Budget; flourishing state of the finance; controverted by Mr. Sheridan. Notice given by Mr. Alderman Newnham, of a motion relative to the embarrassed state of affairs of the Prince of Wales. Retrospect of various matters relative to that affair; first establishment of the Prince's household; difference of opinions on the allowance to be made him; debt contracted; meritorious conduct of the Prince of Wales. Application to the king for assistance rejected. Reduction of all his establishments and savings appropriated for payment of the debt. Misunderstanding between the King and the Prince. Generous offer of the duke of Orleans. Application to parliament. Conversation on the subject in the house of commons; numerous appearance of the Prince's friends. Mr. Pitt's declaration, that he should have to disclose circumstances of an unpleasant nature. Mr. Rolle's menace, to bring forward an enquiry concerning the connection between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzberbert. Prince of Wales demands to have the whole of his conduct enquired into; authorizes Mr. Fox to explain certain parts thereof. Mr. Rolle's behaviour warmly censured, and defended by Mr. Pitt. General disposition in favour of the Prince. The matter privately accommodated with the Prince the day before

before Mr. Newnham's motion was to be made. Message from the King; state of the Prince's debts; address to the King for their payment.

16 Feb. **T**HE celebrated plan of consolidating the duties of custom, alluded to by his majesty at the close of his speech from the throne, was brought forward in a committee of the whole house, by the chancellor of the exchequer, on Monday the 26th of February. In opening this business, Mr. Pitt began with observing, that a reform had been long necessary in the collection of the revenues, and could not be too soon introduced. Great and multiplied grievances existed both in the excise, the stamp office, and more especially in the customs: but it was to the last department that he had principally directed his attention, because in it the evil was most predominant.

The first institution of the present subsisting duties of custom, was by a statute of the 12th of Charles the second, under the names of *tonnage* and *poundage*. The first of these was an imposition on wines, laid on by the quantities imported; and the other was a proportionable duty calculated on the value of the several articles. This last duty of poundage, which was calculated on the value of the several articles, was of a nature liable to great inaccuracy and irregularity; the value of the goods was ascertained by a book of rates, and was computed on the quantities of the goods, either with respect to gage, to weight, or to *taille*—it was not a real value that was fixed upon them, so that the duty should bear a certain proportion to that real value, but an arbitrary value, perhaps according to their actual standard at the time of imposing the duty; but which, from the natural

fluctuations of trade and manufactures, was necessarily liable to many changes and variations. This principle of taxation being once adopted, was pursued in every fresh subsidy that had been granted for the payment of the interest of the several loans that were raised from time to time. In some instances it was done by imposing additional duties, calculated by a per-centage on the duty before paid; in others a further duty was laid upon a different denomination of the commodity, either with respect to its value, its bulk, its weight, or its number; and proceeding in this manner from period to period, it had at length, by the numerous additions so made, and the unbounded increase of the articles of commerce, produced that mass of confusion, that was now so universally complained of, was productive of infinite inconvenience and delay to those, whom it was the interest of the country to have as free from all unnecessary embarrassments as possible, the mercantile part of the nation.

Two modes had been devised for obviating these evils. The first was, the forming of a compilation of the customs on each article. This was useful to the merchant, who perhaps had neither leisure nor inclination to make such extracts from acts of parliament. But from the various revolutions that had so frequently occurred in the customs, the system had been so fluctuating, that in many instances it had undergone a change, before the compilations to which he alluded were published.

But even if this disadvantage did not attend the custom-house officer's book

book of rates, it yet only tended to relieve, in a very inconsiderable degree, the grievance complained of; for although the calculations contained in the book might have been ever so accurate, yet the merchant could not go to the custom-house and enter his goods immediately, by paying down the sum stated in the book of rates. For as almost all of the additional subsidies had been appropriated to some specific fund, for the payment of certain specific annuities, he was obliged to wait until all the usual calculations on each subsidy had been made, the several acts by which such subsidies had been granted having so directed; and thus, in point of time, nothing was saved by the merchant.

The other mode which had been employed, was to apply for information to the custom-house officers. This had, in many instances, been useful to the merchant, but it was certainly improper to leave the mercantile part of the country at the discretion of such persons. Nor was it less so that the officers themselves, who were intended to be a check upon the merchants, were forced to become their agents—a thing repugnant to every principle of reason and policy. Those abuses, which he had stated to exist in the customs, obtained also, though not to the same extent, in the excise, and in a certain degree in one other great branch of the revenue, the stamps. He should therefore include those last in his general plan.

The mode, by which he proposed to remedy this great abuse, was by abolishing all the duties, which now subsisted in this confused and complex manner, and to substitute in their stead one single duty on each

article, amounting, as neatly as possible, to the aggregate of all the various subsidies already paid—only, in general, where a fraction was found in any of the sums, to change the fraction for the nearest integral number—in general taking the higher, rather than the lower. There could, he said, be no great objection to this very trifling rise; for otherwise an equivalent diminution must take place, or the confusion consequent on fractions must still continue. This advance from the fractions to the integral would produce an increase of revenue to the amount of about 20,000*l.* per annum, and would lay upon the public a burthen most amply compensated by the great relief, which the merchant would experience from the whole of the plan.

These were the great outlines of his plan relative to the customs, a branch of the revenue in which reform was allowed on all hands to be the most necessary. It was impossible to enter into a regular discussion on each point; but, if he could convey a general idea of what he intended, he should, in a great degree, attain his end.

The next object that claimed attention was the excise. Here many of those evils prevailed, which had been the ground of complaint in the customs; and though the modes of collecting this part of the revenue were neither so complex nor multifarious as in the other, yet they stood much in need of new regulations. All the articles of excise, such as beer, candles, spirits, &c. &c. should be brought into one point of view, and the duties on each rendered so simple in the collection, that there could be no danger of mistaking them, and of trusting

trusting implicitly to the opinion of the officers of excise. This object he conceived would be attained by making one duty serve for all.

Having explained his intentions respecting the consolidation of the duties, as far as the question stood upon its own merits, he proceeded to observe in what degree it might affect the security of the public creditor. As many of the subsidies which it was proposed to abolish were particularly appropriated to the payment of certain specified annuities, and as some of the annuitants were entitled to a *valuable* priority of payment, it was doubted, whether such right of priority might not be infringed upon by abolishing those funds, from which such prior payments were to issue, and consolidating them all into one general mass. But it was by no means his intention that this valuable priority should be at all affected. The right of priority might as well be maintained by paying them all out of one general fund, as by paying first one set of annuities out of several funds, and the remaining annuities out of the surplusses of those funds, provided that out of that general fund the first payments were actually made to the annuitants entitled to that priority. In fact, this mode of proceeding at present actually prevailed. For the payments made to the annuitants were not out of the respective funds appropriated to the different annuities, but the whole of that business was, at this moment, conducted at the Bank nearly in the same manner as it would be when the whole of the revenue was to be consolidated into one general fund. The state, he apprehended, had a right, consistently with its good faith

to its creditors, to make such alterations in the nature of its securities as it should see to be convenient and necessary, provided on every such alteration it took care to substitute such a security as should be substantially equivalent to that which was so changed. But to put the public creditor perfectly at ease, he should recommend, that not only all the several funds then consolidated should become chargeable with the public annuities, but that every other resource of the country, of any description whatsoever, should be a collateral security for the payment of those debts—even the aids of the current year.

Thus the demands of the creditor would be always satisfied; though at the same time he was of opinion, that the proposed appropriation would never be necessary; and he mentioned it rather as an expedient fitted to remove apprehensions and scruples, than as a measure to which necessity would ever oblige them to have recourse.

The plan he had proposed was not brilliant, but simple in its nature. It promised no flattering accumulation of revenue, but such an arrangement as would relieve the officer of government from much trouble, and exempt the subject from embarrassment and injustice. He had not adopted this scheme on the authority of his own judgment only: it had been submitted to the consideration of gentlemen connected with the customs and excise, and had obtained their approbation.

He would encroach no further on the patience of the committee than to remark, that the rescinding of so many laws and regulations, as this extensive system demanded, would

would require a variety of resolutions. They amounted to three thousand. With each of them, however, he would not at present trouble the committee; but would content himself with making a general motion to the following report: "That all the duties of custom and excise, and certain duties of stamps in Great-Britain, do cease and determine, and that other duties be substituted in their stead."

The plan thus offered by Mr. Pitt met with the general concurrence of the house. Mr. Burke, who rose immediately after the minister, declared, that the measure proposed was in itself so obviously necessary, beneficial, and desirable, and the right honourable gentleman had opened it with such extraordinary clearness and perspicuity, that he thought it did not become him, or those, who like him unfortunately felt it to be their duty frequently to oppose the measures of government, to content themselves with a sullen acquiescence; but to do justice to the right honourable gentleman's merit, and to return him thanks on behalf of themselves and the country.

Sir Grey Cooper also gave it his hearty concurrence, and said, that its advantages were so obvious and indisputable, that he could not avoid mentioning to the committee, that a considerable progress had been made in the same scheme during the time in which a noble lord had presided in the treasury, under whom he had the honour to serve: that in the years 1780 and 1781 he had, by order of the noble lord, often seen and held correspondence on the subject with a very able and intelligent commissioner of the customs.

He admitted that it was competent to the house to vary the security given to public creditors; but he thought, that no variation or shifting of the appropriation of security ought or could be made consistently with the extreme delicacy, with which public faith to creditors ought to be preserved, without the consent of the public creditors, who were to be affected by any arrangement, however advantageous to the public.

Mr. Fox rose merely to ask, whether due notification would be given to every public creditor, and that all such as were afraid, and did not approve of taking the new security of the general fund, with the collateral security of the aids of the year, would have the option of the appropriated fund the right honourable gentleman had described? Mr. Fox added, that he should always contend that the security given to the public creditor, when he lent his money, ought not to be changed without the consent of such public creditor.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he certainly meant that there should be a full time allowed for notification to every public creditor of the intended change of the security, and that each public creditor should have the option that had been mentioned.

As the duties to be imposed upon French 7th March. merchandize, in pursuance of the late commercial treaty, were necessarily a part of those which were to be regulated in the plan of a general consolidation, the chancellor of the exchequer declared his intentions of including them in the same bill; and accordingly, on the 7th day of March, the house having

ing previously agreed to the various resolutions proposed, he moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill pursuant to the resolutions the house had come to relative to the commercial treaty with France, and to the consolidation of duties." This was objected to by Sir Grey Cooper, as unfair and unparliamentary. The resolutions relative to the French tariff, though agreed to by the house, it had been agreed, were still to be left open for further discussion, when the bills to be brought in upon them were debating. The manifest object therefore of mixing them with the consolidating resolutions, of which they made but fourteen out of three thousand seven hundred, and of including them in the same bill, was to keep the treaty as much as possible out of the sight and out of the mind of the house. He therefore proposed, as an amendment to the motion, that instead of a *bill*, the word *bills* should be inserted. In answer to Sir Grey Cooper's objection it was said, that the discussion of any matters relative to the commercial treaty was by no means precluded, since in the course of passing the bill, when those parts came to be read which related thereto, members might then propose their amendments or objections to them. But on the other hand, it was said, that it threw an almost insuperable obstacle in the way, since it would oblige all the members, who wished to bring forward such objections, to attend the whole progress of a bill formed on near four thousand resolutions. Upon a division the motion was rejected, by a majority of 137 to 64.

On the 21st, the bill having been twice read, and referred to a com-

mittee, Mr. Bastard, member for Devonshire, revived the objections made by Sir Grey Cooper, and moved, "That the committee should have power to divide the bill into two bills, if they should think fit." He contended, that the consolidation of duties, and the commercial treaty, being separate and distinct considerations, upon which different opinions might and in fact had arisen, members ought to have an opportunity of giving a distinct and separate vote upon each subject; and that to submit to the evasion of this right by suffering two objects to be put into one bill, was treachery to their constituents, who had also a right to know their distinct votes upon every question that might arise in parliament. In support of the plan proposed it was again urged, that it deprived no member of the opportunity of expressing his opinion distinctly upon any specific regulation relative to the treaty with France, and that as to its general merits they had already decided upon them. The argument drawn from their being separate objects would prove too much; since, if admitted, it would make it necessary to bring in as many bills as there were resolutions. The motion was rejected by a large majority.

The bill having passed the house of commons, met with a warm opposition in the house of lords. On a motion for its being committed, the earl of Carlisle requested the serious attention of their lordships to a matter, which he conceived essentially affected the rights and indeed the very existence of that house as a deliberative branch of the legislature. When the address to his majesty upon the commercial treaty

was

was agreed to, it was understood and allowed by every part of the house, that the provisions to be made for carrying it into execution were still left open for future discussion and debate. But by the mode of proceeding adopted by the minister in the other house, their lordships were almost totally precluded from any farther deliberation on the subject; they were put to the necessity either of consenting to those provisions as they stood, whether they approved of them or not, or of rejecting a plan of regulation relative to another subject, which separately might merit their warmest approbation.—He referred to the resolution passed by that house in the time of Charles the second, by which the bringing into parliament any bill, which connected with a money bill any matter in itself distinct from that money bill, was declared to be unconstitutional and subversive of the rights of that house. In the present case the bill purported to raise money by new taxes, to regulate the present subsisting duties, and at the same time included provisions for carrying into execution certain commercial treaties with France, Spain, and Portugal, a matter evidently of a high political nature. His opinion therefore was, that the bill should be divided, that the treaty with France should be the subject of a separate bill, the consolidation of duties of a second, and the new taxes of a third.

Lord Hawkesbury endeavoured to remove this objection; by making a distinction between bills of supply, which he contended were the only money bills to which the resolution cited had a reference, and such bills as the present, where money was not the primary object, but came in

collaterally as a branch of a system.—This distinction was ridiculed by lord Loughborough and earl Stanhope, and supported by the lord chancellor, who declared, that the present was not a money bill in any respect more than a turnpike or canal bill was a money bill.—The question for committing the bill was carried by a majority of 70 to 29; and after passing through the remaining stages it received the royal assent.

The alteration introduced last year into the mutiny bill, by which brevet officers were made subject to martial law, being continued in the bill of the present year, was again warmly opposed in both houses of parliament. We have fully stated in our last volume the arguments, by which this innovation was attacked and defended. Nothing new occurred in the debate upon the present occasion. Lord Stormont moved in the upper house, that to the words "officers commissioned and in pay" should be added "and in a situation of discharging military duty." This, he said, was necessary, in order to confine the operation of the act to those who alone could constitutionally be made amenable to the articles of war, and it would include the officers by brevet whenever they were actually engaged in the discharge of such duty; but his motion was rejected without a division.

This day a message from his majesty was 19th March, delivered by the chancellor of the exchequer to the house of commons, in which he acquaints them "of his being desirous of conferring a mark of his royal favour upon Sir John Skynner, late lord chief baron of the exchequer, in consideration of his diligent

diligent and meritorious services, and of his faithful and upright conduct in the execution of that office; and recommends to them to consider of enabling him to grant an annuity, clear of all deductions, of 2000*l.* per annum, during the term of his natural life, to be paid out of the civil list revenues."—On the 21st Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the purposes above-mentioned, and was seconded by Mr. Burke, who said, that having frequently interfered in matters of supply, he could not avoid expressing on the present occasion his conviction, that there never came a proposal for a grant on better grounds of acknowledged service and merit than the one before them; never was an office so exalted and laborious filled with more diligence and integrity, and resigned with more dignity.—The motion and the bill passed both houses unanimously.

On Monday the 26th of March, the lords having been previously summoned, lord Rawdon rose to call their attention to a matter which he conceived to be of no small importance, though it had hitherto apparently escaped the notice of the public. The subject which he had to offer to their consideration was that part of the convention concluded between his Britannic majesty and the king of Spain in July last, which related to the surrender of all the British possessions on the Mosquito shore, for the paltry consideration of a few miles in the bay of Honduras.

He stated, that the Mosquito shore had been in the possession of Great Britain for more than a century, and our right to it as valid as the right we had to Jamaica. It consisted

of a territory of near 500 miles in length, and was nearly of the depth of 100 miles inland from the sea.—That there were on it various settlements, and that the residents at the time of its cession consisted of near 1500 British subjects, black and white—That a regular form of government had been established on it many years since; and that it was of great value and importance to this country, not only from the cotton, logwood, indigo, and sugar it afforded, but also from its being a protection to our other possessions in that quarter from the insults of the Spaniards.

But another circumstance in this business deserved, he said, a still severer censure. In the 14th article of the convention it was said, that "his Catholic majesty, *prompted solely by motives of humanity*, promises to the king of England, that he will not exercise any act of severity against the Mosquitos inhabiting any part of the countries to be evacuated, on account of the connections which may have subsisted between the said Indians and the English." He commented upon this article with great severity, contending that it was a most degrading humiliation of Great Britain, and such as called loudly for the censure of that house on those ministers who had consented to suffer it to stand a part of the treaty.

His lordship concluded with moving, "That the terms of the convention with Spain, signed on the 14th of July, 1786, do not meet the favourable opinion of this house."

In answer to this charge, the marquis of Carmarthen begged leave to observe, that if the Mosquito shore had been given up and

and evacuated upon a principle of exchange, as argued upon by the noble lord, who had brought this subject before them, he should be most ready to acknowledge that ministers deserved every possible censure. But he well knew, that the convention had been formed on far different grounds than the mere exchange of territory. The 6th article of the definitive treaty of peace with the king of Spain rendered a convention necessary, and on that ground it had been negotiated and concluded. He was also ready to admit, that in peaceable times the Mosquito shore might be looked upon as a valuable possession; but considering its situation, with a jealous neighbour at the back of it, we might have found ample reason to have regarded it otherwise. In this, as in many other cases, where, upon the face of the transaction, ministers might appear to be to blame, there was strong and sufficient ground of justification, if the discretion due from men in high executive offices did not teach them rather to risk their own character, and to be contented with a consciousness of their innocence, than resort to that mode of justification, which must necessarily rest on a disclosure of facts, highly necessary for the purposes of national safety, and the continuance of the public peace and tranquillity, to be kept concealed. On the present occasion, he would not be the minister mean enough to justify himself by the betraying of any secrets, that ought not to be made public without the consent of the crown, and which, if made public, might be attended with consequences prejudicial to the country.

The duke of Manchester said that

he rose in consequence of the blame that might otherwise be thought imputable to him for the part he had taken in negotiating and concluding the definitive treaty, under the authority of one of the articles of which it had been declared, that the convention with Spain was necessary. He owned he felt himself particularly embarrassed in what manner to speak on the present occasion, since it was almost impossible for him to explain his own conduct without going into a variety of matters, that the house could not properly comprehend, unless they had all the papers before them, to which those matters referred; the production of which his majesty's ministers might not think it prudent to permit. He would not therefore attempt to say any thing that might be considered as betraying state secrets; he would content himself with merely declaring that the convention went a great deal farther than the definitive treaty made it necessary to go. The duke wished it to be thoroughly understood, that he felt no unwillingness to go fully into the matter, but was ready to do it, if the papers in question could be brought regularly before the house.

The lord chancellor left the woolsack, for the purpose of answering the various arguments that had been urged in support of the motion. The Mosquito shore, he observed, had been talked of as a tract of country extending between four and five hundred miles, without the smallest mention of the swamps and morasses, with which it was interspersed, or any allowance for the parts of it, that were actually impossible to be either cultivated or inhabited. With regard to settle-
ments,

ments, it would be imagined by those, who were strangers to the fact, that there had been a regular government, a regular council, and established laws peculiar to the territory; when the fact was, there neither had existed one nor the other. His lordship went into the history of the settlement, tracing it down from the year 1650 to the year 1777, mentioning lord Godolphin's treaty, and all its circumstances, and deducing arguments from each fact he mentioned, to prove, that the Mosquito shore never could be fairly deemed a British settlement; but that a detachment of soldiers had been landed from the island of Jamaica, who had erected fortifications, which had been afterwards, by order of the government at home, abandoned and withdrawn. He adverted to what passed on the subject at the peace of Paris in 1762, when governor Littleton governed Jamaica. He endeavoured to shew, that this country, by the peace of Paris, had renounced whatever claim she might before that period have fancied she had, and had given a fresh proof of her having done so in the year 1777, when lord George Germain, the secretary for the American department, sent out Mr. Lawrie to the Mosquito shore, to see that the stipulations with Spain were carried fully into execution. With regard to the degradation of the country, which the 14th article was pretended to hold out, he denied the fact. The Mosquitos were not our allies; they were not a people we were bound by treaty to protect, nor were there any thing like the number of British subjects there that had been stated, the number having been, according to the last

report from thence, only 120 men and 16 women. The fact was, we had procured a stipulation, or, if noble lords pleased, the king of Spain had gratuitously promised not to punish those British subjects and Mosquitos, who had possessed themselves improperly of the rights belonging to the Spanish crown, and in consequence of such irregular possession had persisted for a course of time, but with frequent interruption, in the enjoyment of those rights. His lordship repelled the argument, that the settlement was a regular and legal settlement, with some sort of indignation; and so far from agreeing, as had been contended, that we had uniformly remained in the quiet and unquestioned possession of our claim to the territory, he called upon any noble lord to declare, as a man of honour, whether he did not know to the contrary. Would they say the trade carried on from the Mosquito shore was any thing, either more or less, than a smuggling trade upon the Spaniards and their settlements? And would any noble lord say, that a British minister, in any given situation, ought to maintain and support such a trade in the face of parliament, or in negotiation with any one foreign court whatever?

Lord Rawdon rose to confirm by additional proofs the arguments he had before used. He produced some documents signed by general Dalling, when governor of Jamaica, to prove that a superintendant had been sent over to the settlement on the Mosquito shore at that time, with a view to form a government. His lordship also quoted a state paper, dated in the year 1744, as one proof that there had existed a council of trade, &c. publicly recognized by this country

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country so long since. With regard to there having been mutual claims equally urged by Great Britain and Spain, the ability of ministers, he said, would have been proved by their having made good our claims, and not by their having ceded them to the claims of Spain.

At length the question was put, and the house divided:

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On the twenty-eighth 28th March. of this month Mr. Beaufof, member for Great Yarmouth, at the request of the deputies of the dissenting congregations in and about London, made a motion for taking into consideration the repeal of the corporation and test acts.

The points which Mr. Beaufof endeavoured, in a long and able speech, to prove, were chiefly three.

First, that the test act, which constitutes the most extensive grievance of which the dissenters complain, was not originally levelled against them; and that the causes which dictated the corporation act have ceased to operate. The former act, which passed in the year 1672, at a moment when the first minister of state and the presumptive heir to the crown were professed papists, and the king himself generally believed to be one in secret, bears the express title of an *act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants*. The minister, lord Clifford, who was a catholic, attempted to persuade the dissenters to oppose the bill, as subjecting them to penalties, who confessedly were not in any respect the objects of the law. The dissenters, on the contrary, through the mouth of alderman Love, member for the city, declared, that in a time of public danger,

when delay might be fatal, they would not impede the progress of a bill, which was thought essential to the safety of the kingdom, but would trust to the good faith, the justice and humanity of parliament, that a bill for the relief of the dissenters should afterwards be passed. The lords and commons admitted, without hesitation, the equity of the claim, and accordingly passed a bill soon after for their relief; but its success was defeated by a sudden prorogation of parliament. A second bill was brought in, in the year 1680, and passed both houses; but while it lay ready for the royal assent, king Charles the second, who was much exasperated with the dissenters for refusing to support the catholics, prevailed upon the clerk to steal the bill.

With respect to the corporation act, which passed in the year 1661, when the kingdom was still agitated with the effects of those storms that had so lately overwhelmed it, it was allowed to have had the sectaries of that day, who had borne a conspicuous part in the preceding troubles, for its object. But the dissenters of the present day were not responsible for them, and were as well affected and peaceable subjects as those of any other description.

The second point which Mr. Beaufof endeavoured to prove was, that every man having an undoubted right to judge for himself in matters of religion, he ought not, on account of the exercise of that right, to incur any punishment, or to be branded with a mark of infamy; but that the exclusion from military service and civil trusts was both a punishment and an opprobrious distinction.—To prove that it was in strictness a punishment,

punishment, he observed that it was in fact that punishment which the laws inflicted upon some of the greatest crimes. Has an officer, he said, in the civil line of the public service been detected in a flagrant breach of the duties of his trust? Has he violated his oath wilfully and corruptly?—What punishment does the law inflict upon his deliberate perjury? It declares him incapable of serving his majesty in any office of honour, emolument, or trust: it imposes upon him the same species of disability which it inflicts upon the dissenters. Thus the punishment which is annexed by the law to one of the greatest crimes, the punishment of perjury, is inflicted upon a large proportion of his majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects, not for any crime committed, not for any charge or suspicion of guilt, but for opinions merely; for opinions that have no relation to civil interests; for opinions that weaken none of the obligations which bind the individual to the state; for opinions that diminish none of the motives which urge him as a citizen to a faithful discharge of his duty—but for opinions purely religious.

The only question, he observed, that remained to be considered was, whether the public good required that the dissenters should be subjected to these penalties and stigmas. He allowed that a regard to the general good ought to control all other considerations. But then considerations of general good can never justify any invasion of civil rights that is not essential to that good; and therefore the third point he undertook to prove was, that the continuance of the acts which invade the rights of the dissenters were not

necessary to the general good of the kingdom, nor to the security of the established form of government, or of the established national church. For this purpose he remarked, that being admitted without hesitation or reserve to the higher trust of legislative power, it was absurd to suppose they might not safely be entrusted with the lower executive offices: it was absurd to suppose that a stronger pledge ought to be taken from those who are to execute laws, than from those who are to make them; that greater security should be required from those who cannot change the established constitution either in church or state, than from those who can. Mr. Beaumont took this occasion of vindicating the dissenters from the charge of republicanism, by referring to the known principles of the Scotch nation, and to the conduct of the English dissenters ever since the revolution. And with respect to the established church, he said, that her establishment consisted in the exclusive enjoyment of her revenues, and not of civil or military offices; and that the dissenters had never claimed, nor ever wished to claim, a participation in the former. On the other hand, he believed that the abolition of the penal law would give additional security to the church, by removing the only ground that existed of their resentment against it, and the only bond of union by which they were induced, in their various denominations, to make a common cause, and support each other.

Having cleared up these points, Mr. Beaumont proceeded to observe, that if he should be asked, what test he meant to establish in the room of the sacramental? He answered, those

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only which by the present acts would still remain, the oath of abjuration and supremacy, and the declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. The former being sworn to upon the faith of christians, would exclude all jews and infidels, the latter would exclude the Roman catholics. But it might, perhaps, again be asked, why should the Roman catholics be deprived of their natural rights, and subjected to opprobrious penalties, for an opinion so purely religious, and so harmless as to its political tendency, as transubstantiation? To this he should answer without hesitation, that if the catholics can prove, that though they are of the church they are not of the court of Rome; if they can give a sufficient pledge of loyalty to the sovereign, and of attachment to the laws and constitution of their country, he thought they ought to be admitted to the civil and military service of the state. He referred here to the examples of Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Russia, Prussia, and the dominions of the emperor; in none of which, as he said, were religious opinions made the ground of civil disqualifications.

Mr. Beaufoy answered the objection that was sometimes drawn from the treaty of union, which provides, that no alteration whatever should ever hereafter be made in the establishment of the two united kingdoms, either in church or state. He contended, that the intention of the agreement was, that nothing should be taken from Scotland, but what was then stipulated; but that it could never be meant, that nothing was ever to be given her. If, by an agreement with another person, I acquire a right of common on his manor, I certainly shall not

violate that compact, by afterwards voluntarily giving him a right of common upon mine.

Lastly, he dwelt much upon the impropriety and scandal of profaning a most sacred and awful sacrament, by mixing it with concerns that were merely temporal; and noted the distressing situation in which it placed the clergy, who were under the necessity of giving it to all who offered themselves for the purpose of qualification, or of subjecting themselves to grievous prosecutions. He concluded with moving, that a committee of the whole house should take into their consideration so much of the acts referred to, as requires persons, before they are admitted into any office or place in corporations, or having accepted any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the church of England.

Mr. Beaufoy was answered by lord North, who had lately had the misfortune of losing his eye-sight, and came down upon this occasion, for the first time in the session. He began with begging, that no one would draw any unfair conclusions from his opposition to the present motion, or believe upon that account that he was an enemy to toleration of opinion upon religious subjects. In the year 1778, when he had the honour of serving his majesty in an high office, he thought that a finishing stroke had been put to the penal restriction upon religious opinions; and that as general a toleration had been then granted as was consistent with the security of the established form of government. If, said he, there remains any thing that

that can operate as a burthen upon any man's conscience, in God's name let it be done away; but let not the admitting of persons of particular denominations into the offices of the state be confounded with liberty of conscience. If government finds it prudent and necessary to confine them to persons of particular principles, it has a right so to do; it is a right belonging to all states; and all have exercised it, all do exercise it, and all will continue to exercise it. If dissenters claim it as their undoubted, their natural right, to be rendered capable of enjoying offices, and that plea be admitted, the argument may run to all men; the vote of a freeholder for a representative to parliament is confined to those who possess a freehold of forty shillings or upwards; those not possessing that qualification may call it an usurpation of their right, to prevent them from voting also.

We are told, that other countries have no test acts, and that their established churches are not endangered for the want thereof. France has protestants at the head of her army and her finances; and Prussia employs catholics in her service; but it must be considered that these are arbitrary governments, and conducted upon principles totally different from ours. Holland, indeed, admits men of all religions into her army, because, not having subjects enough of her own, she is obliged to have recourse to foreign troops; but there is no place where they restrain their civil officers more to the established principles of the country; and the same policy prevailed in Sweden.

It had been said, that by the corporation and test acts, every man

who refuses to submit thereto, is subject to the same punishment with those who may be convicted of great and heinous crimes. That was not the fact. No man, because he does not choose to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the church of England, is subjected to any punishment whatever. The act holds out punishment to those who fill offices; and they are punished for wilfully flying in the face of an act of the legislature. Nor was any indignity offered to the dissenters, by not admitting them to offices, unless they qualified by the test act. Have not the country resolved that no king or queen should sit on the throne of the British empire, who refused to comply with the test act?—If the throne was offered to any prince who would not comply from motives of conscience, the refusal of the throne to him would be offering him no indignity, no insult.

With respect to the intention of the legislature in those acts, it was evident from their conduct, singular as it was, that they meant to include both papists and dissenters. The corporation act clearly meant to exclude the sectaries, and was not meant to extend to the papists; but it did exclude both; the test act was chiefly intended against the papists, but also included both; and when the parliament passed both these acts, they knew both papists and dissenters were included. What was the opinion of parliament at the revolution? That parliament, taught by the miseries they had experienced, and by the dangers they had escaped, deliberately went through all the acts, and repealed every one except the corporation and test acts, which they considered

considered as mere civil and political regulations; they preserved them, and they thought them necessary for the safety of the church, and for the preservation of the constitution. By that parliament a just line was drawn for the relief of conscience on one hand, and for the safety of the church on the other. He considered the test act as the corner stone of the constitution. King James, when he wished to gain the prince and princess of Orange to his views, wished to have their opinion on the propriety of repealing the test and corporation acts. The answer of the prince of Orange was, that he agreed to the removal of the corporation act, but not of the test act; and declared it to be the practice of Holland, to confine all civil employments to those who professed the principles of the states, but the army could not be so restrained, on account of the want of troops. Nothing brought James so speedily to the crisis of his fate as the test act, which restrained him, and rendered it impossible for him to fill all offices, civil and military, with those of his own sect, which he hoped to be enabled to do by gaining the repeal of the test act, and then there would have been an end to all liberty. He conceived it to be the duty of every member of that house, to prevent that which in a future period might subject the nation to the same dangers it had before experienced.

He next remarked on the arguments respecting the clergy of the church, who were forced to give the sacrament to all who desired it. He said, so far from its being the wish of the clergy of England to gain a repeal of the test act, they were all alarmed at the inten-

tion of proposing the repeal, and were determined to oppose it with their greatest strength.—Every minister is bound by his holy office to refuse the communion to any unworthy person—if he refuses according to law, by law he will be justified—the fear of an action should not prevent a man from doing his duty. If the sacrament, in many instances, was taken unworthily, he feared many false oaths were also taken; but could that operate as a reason for the abolition of oaths, which, in many cases, are absolutely necessary? The legislature is not to be answerable for the consequences of the sacrament being taken unworthily, any more than for false oaths.

He concluded by warning the house of the danger there might be in breaking down the barrier which had heretofore guarded the constitution. They all knew the perilous nature of the cry, "The church is in danger;" and an incendiary watching his opportunity, might do as much mischief by that cry, as by the cry of "No Popery." Though we owe much to the Brunswick line for the blessings of liberty which we enjoy, much is also owing to the church for its promotion of harmony, by its submission to the government, and its liberal principles—principles which have encouraged bringing forward the present motion.

Mr. Pitt followed lord North, and took the same side of the question. He stated fully the distinction which it was necessary to make, between a participation in the offices of state, and liberty of conscience. He observed, that there must be a restriction of rights in all societies: that, for instance, in this nation, all the modes

modes of representation necessarily included modes of qualification. But was a man to be considered as punished or disgraced, because he does not vote for a city, a county, or a borough? The true question was, whether there was any substantial interest which made it necessary that one part of the community should be deprived of a participation in its civil offices? He said, the security of the established church was an interest of this nature, and that he thought it would be endangered by the repeal proposed. It had been, indeed, asserted, that the dissenters had not a wish to encroach upon the establishments of the church. But of this he must beg leave to doubt: he must look to human nature to find out the springs that moved their actions. If the danger was not certain, at least it was not chimerical; it would afford sufficient foundation for the fears of the members of the established church; and their apprehensions were not to be lightly treated. It was even reasonable to conclude, without imputing any injustice to the dissenters, that if they saw an opening fairly before them they would attempt changes: there is a natural desire in all men to extend the influence of their religion; the dissenters were never backward in this, and it was necessary for the establishment to have an eye to them. There are some dissenters who declare that the church of England is a relique of popery; others, that all establishments are wicked and unlawful. These may not be the opinions of the majority; but no means can be devised to admit the moderate part of the dissenters, and to exclude the more violent; the same bulwark must be kept up against all. Mr.

Pitt further remarked, that a corporation brought exclusively into the hands of dissenters, which might not unfrequently happen in case the act was repealed, was a very different thing from a dissenting member sitting in that house. When a dissenting representative was chosen by members of the church of England, he was more likely to come in with sentiments friendly to the establishment, than if he was chosen by a majority of dissenters: in this latter case it would be his interest to play the game of the dissenters against the established church. He concluded, with declaring, that the discretionary power wisely lodged and liberally exercised every year in bills of indemnity by the legislature, left the dissenters no reasonable ground of complaint; and that they possessed as perfect a toleration as the security of the established constitution in church and state could admit.

Mr. Fox, in a long and able speech, supported the motion for a committee, and went over all the arguments which, on former occasions, he had urged in support of the repeal. He concluded with remarking, that on the present occasion he should be suspected of being biased by any improper partiality towards the dissenters. Their conduct in a late political revolution was well known; but he was willing to let them see, that though they lost sight of the principles of the constitution upon that occasion, he should not upon any occasion lose sight of his principles of toleration.

The motion was also supported by sir Harry Houghton, Mr. Smith, and sir James Johnstone; and opposed by sir William Dolben; who, in proof of dangerous designs en-

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tertained

tertained by the dissenters, read a passage from a book written by a distinguished minister of their body, in which he observes, "That their silent propagation of the truth would in the end prove efficacious. They were wisely placing, as it were grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which a match would one day be laid to blow up the fabric of error, which could never be again raised upon the same foundation." The question being put, it passed in the negative: ayes 100—noes 178.

On the 20th of April, the house being in a committee of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer opened his budget for the service of the current year. It was a matter, he said, of great satisfaction to him, and the house, he doubted not, would be rejoiced to hear, that he had such an account of the state of the finances to lay before them, as would justify the sanguine expectations which on several former occasions he had ventured to express before them. The services of the year would be found amply provided for; and though it had not yet been practicable to reduce some of our most expensive establishments to the level which he had expected, and to what the committee of revenue in the preceding session had fixed as an adequate peace establishment, yet, without the imposition of any additional burthens, the plan for the diminution of the national debt would be strictly pursued, and the several quarterly payments of 250,000l. regularly made.

He then proceeded to state to the committee the several public charges, and the ways and means for defraying them.

The amount of the charge for the navy was - - - - - £. 2,286,000

For the army - - - - - 1,881,169

The reduction, he said, which had been intended in these estimates, was unavoidably defeated; the former exceeding the estimate of the committee 486,000l. the latter 231,000l.

The ordnance estimates were less than that of the committee, and amounted to - - - £. 328,576

Miscellaneous services to - - - - - 328,000

Scotch roads, &c. &c. 96,760

For deficiencies, &c. 1,435,000

Some few other particulars made the total amount of the supply 6,676,000l.

The ways and means by which this sum was to be raised were as follow:

The land-tax and malt duties - - - - - £. 2,437,868

The surplus from the sinking fund - - - - - 1,226,000

Increase of customs 250,000

Increase of assessments 400,000

Army savings - - - 240,000

The savings from army accounts - - - 180,000

Revenue from consolidating plan, and cambrics - - - - - 180,000

The sum to be paid from the East-India company, and carried to the service of the present year - - - 320,000

Such were the specific sums intended for the discharge of the public expences; and there were others which might be added, and which he would state to the committee. Two principal circumstances operated to the diminution of last year's receipts in the customs; one was, the

the failure of the crops in our West India Islands, which, in the article of sugars alone, occasioned a defalcation of 320,000*l.*; the other was, the suspension of trade, arising from the various negotiations that were pending, which, from the uncertainty to traders, caused also a considerable decrease in the customs. But these were circumstances not likely to happen this year, nor, probably, to recur for a considerable time. No doubt then remained of the income of the present year equalling, if not considerably exceeding, the average of any one that preceded it. These expectations were warranted by the increase of trade which, in consequence of the treaty, must take place with France; and by the promise of the most exuberant crops in the West Indies. From these, and other circumstances, he should take the whole of the ways and means at 6,767,000*l.* from which deducting 6,676,000*l.* there would arise a surplus to answer any extraordinary expence of 91,000*l.* After a few other observations, he said, he would not trouble the committee further on the present occasion, than by a motion for the disposal of the surplus now in the exchequer; and by again intimating his intention of augmenting the duty on licences for the retailing of spirits. This, he conceived, might be attended with a collateral good effect, that of preventing the consumption of spirituous liquors in an inordinate degree: however, as he did not mean to state it as part of the ways and means, he would bring it forward on another occasion. He had omitted giving notice that there would be a lottery, as that business had been formerly determined, and

as the produce would undoubtedly answer the claims of the loyalists.

Mr. Sheridan observed, that the air of triumph with which the chancellor of the exchequer had set out, but ill became the humiliating and mortifying situation in which he stood, obliged to come forward and state the finances of the country to be in so very different a condition from that in which he had last year so confidently asserted they would at present stand. The right honourable gentleman would be pleased to recollect, that he had again and again warned him of the fallacy of the principles upon which the select committee had proceeded. He then read part of the report of the committee, and said they had there asserted, that the receipts would amount to 15,397,000*l.* but he affirmed, that an actual deficiency of 900,000*l.* existed; as, from the 5th of January 1786 to the 5th of January 1787, the income was but 14,445,000*l.* To the expenditure of 15,563,000*l.* must be added the million for the purpose of reducing the national debt; the expenditure of the country would then amount to 16,563,000*l.* while the total income amounted to no more than 14,445,000*l.* Such was the real state of the revenue. Pressing the East-India company for the money due from them was, in his opinion, a most dangerous resource, and would, he apprehended, shake their very foundation. With respect to the increase expected on sugars, from the prospect of an abundant crop, he considered it as merely speculative; and in the same light he could not but view most of the other plans of increase. They were, at best but temporary, and to expect from them a permanent revenue was absurd.

absurd. New taxes must be levied, or some strong measure adopted, to render the income superior to the expenditure. A clear account should have been laid before the public, who did not expect a surplus, and appeared convinced of the fallacy of the calculations of the board of revenue; and he doubted not but the committee would concur with them in opinion, if a fair statement of the business were submitted to their inspection.

Mr. Grenville said, he could not sit silent when the board of revenue, of which he had the honour to be a member, was so severely reprehended. He maintained, that every expectation which the board held out had been completely answered. He then read a part of the reports, and desired Mr. Sheridan to point out any passage that could be interpreted as an acknowledgment, that the average of the year 1785 was to be taken for subsequent years, as it was expressly said, "that the taxes must always be liable to temporary variations." He agreed with the honourable gentleman, that the public ought not to be deceived by fallacious appearances of advantage; and he hoped that the honourable gentleman would agree with him, that their hopes should not be damped by misrepresentations of a contrary nature. To him the state of the revenue appeared particularly flattering, as well as that of the East India company, whose foundation could not be shaken by the payment of part of the sum which they owed to government; for, perhaps, at no former period were their affairs in a happier situation; and this country might reasonably consider India as

the most valuable part of its foreign possessions.

Mr. Fox begged leave to know from the minister, whether the report of the committee of revenue, stating 15,390,000*l.* to be the income of the country, was the foundation of his appropriating a million annually to the discharge of the national debt? He insisted, that the manner of forming an average of the taxes by one year was fallacious; and contended, that the annual revenue was considerably less than the expenditure.

Mr. Pitt said, that the basis of the appropriation of the million was on the income of the country; and defended the report of the committee of revenue, whose statement, he insisted, was fair and accurate. He then took notice of Mr. Sheridan's assertion, that the income should be rendered superior to the expenditure, even by strong measures, or by new taxes. These were principles of which he did not approve; for he thought it far better to make old taxes productive than to levy new ones. He concluded with saying, that a concurrence of circumstances warranted the expectation of a large increase of revenue, particularly in the department of the customs.

Mr. Fox desired to know what was to be done with the appropriated million, if the income fell considerable short: if a loan were proposed, unless in circumstances of a very peculiar kind, he should think it his duty to oppose it. He agreed that it was better to render old taxes productive, than to impose new ones; and it was fairer to make just estimates at once than to come afterwards. The publicity of the finances

finances of this country was its greatest blessing, and had been the safeguard of the constitution. He concluded with recommending to ministry to come forward in a manly and ingenuous manner, and state at once the real situation of the revenue.

Mr. Pitt said, he did not intend to adopt the measure of a loan, if the revenues fell off; but to raise a permanent income to answer the fixed expenditure of government.

On the 20th day of April, previous to the opening of the budget, a subject was brought forwards in the house of commons by Mr. Alderman Newnham, which had for some time before strongly engaged the attention and feelings of the public—namely, the embarrassed state of the finances of the prince of Wales. Our readers will be pleased to recollect, that the establishment of his royal highness's household took place upon his coming of age, in the year 1783, during the administration of the duke of Portland. It is well known that a great difference of opinion subsisted at that time between the great personage, with whom the final settlement of the affair rested, and the persons, whose duty it was to give him their advice upon the subject, respecting the sum to be allowed for that purpose. Upon a full consideration of what was thought becoming the credit of the nation, and the exalted rank of the heir apparent to the throne, the great increase in the value of every article of expenditure, and the economy of such a liberal provision as might totally supersede the necessity of incurring debt, the ministers of that day are said to have proposed, that an annual income should be

settled upon him by parliament of 100,000*l*. This proposition is said to have been, not only entirely disapproved of by the king, but rejected with expressions of such marked resentment, as to make the immediate resignation of those ministers more than probable. In this emergency the prince of Wales, who had early manifested a favourable opinion of that party, interposed, and gave the world, upon this his first step in public life, a striking proof both of filial duty and public spirit. He signified his desire, that the whole business should be left to the king; and declared his readiness to accept of whatever provision the king in his wisdom and goodness might think most fit; and, at the same time, he expressed his earnest wishes, that no misunderstanding should arise between the king and his then ministers, on account of any arrangement, in which his personal interest only was concerned. In consequence of this interference the affair appears to have been accommodated, and an allowance of 50,000*l*. a year, payable out of the civil list revenue, was settled upon his royal highness.

A very few years experience made it but too manifest, that this provision was inadequate to the purpose for which it was designed. In the year 1786 the prince was found to have contracted a debt to the amount of about 100,000*l*. exclusive of 50,000*l*. and upwards expended on Carleton-house. Without presuming to make any reflections upon this debt, we cannot avoid doing justice to the subsequent conduct of his royal highness. He was no sooner acquainted with the embarrassed state of his affairs, and the great distress, in which it necessarily involved

involved a considerable number of his creditors, than he came to a resolution of taking some effectual measures for their relief.

His first application was to the king his father, upon whose affection alone he wished to rely, and to whose judgment he declared his readiness to submit his past and to conform his future conduct. By his majesty's directions, a full account of the prince's affairs were laid before him; but (whether it was from any dissatisfaction with those accounts, or with any other parts of the prince's conduct, or from some other cause, has not transpired) a direct refusal to afford him any relief was conveyed to his royal highness through one of his principal officers of state.

In consequence of this refusal, the prince of Wales appears to have conceived himself bound in honour and justice to have recourse to the only expedient, that was now left him. His determination was prompt and manly. The day after he received the message from the king, he dismissed the officers of his court, and reduced the establishment of his household to that of a private gentleman; he ordered his horses to be sold, the works at Carleton-house to be stopped, and such parts, as were not necessary for his personal use, to be shut up.

From these savings an annual sum of 40,000*l.* was set apart, and vested in the hands of trustees, for the payment of his debts.

This conduct, however laudable it may appear, did not escape censure. It was represented, especially by the followers of the court, as precipitate, and disrespectful to the king, and was said to have been

a principal cause of that distance which, unhappily, has too long and too manifestly subsisted between them. An event, which happened soon after, afforded a public proof of the displeasure he had incurred; we mean the danger to which his majesty's life was exposed in the month of August 1786. Upon that occasion no notice whatever of the accident was conveyed to the prince of Wales by the court—He learned it at Brighthelmston from the information of a private correspondent. He immediately flew to Windsor. He was received there by the queen, but the king did not see him.

It was impossible that the situation, to which the heir apparent to the throne was reduced, should be regarded with indifference either at home or abroad; and what made the indignity of his condition the more generally felt and lamented was, that no man was ever more highly qualified by distinguished affability, amiable manners, and a noble and liberal disposition, to adorn the splendour to which his exalted birth entitled him. It is reported, that the duke of Orleans, the richest individual in Europe, who was at this time upon a visit in this country, pressed him in the strongest manner to make use of his fortune, till some favourable change should take place in his circumstances, to whatever extent he might find necessary. This offer, though doubtless generously intended, yet full of danger, in its possible tendency, to the public welfare, the prince of Wales, from a nice sense of duty to the public, declined. The same public principle withheld him also from availing himself of those resources, which the

the usurious speculations of monied men are well known to keep constantly open in this nation to the temporary wants of the necessitous.

It was in these circumstances of private distress and public spirit, that the expedient was suggested to his royal highness by several respectable members of the house of commons, of appealing to the justice and generosity of the nation in parliament. To this measure the prince appears to have assented, not more from a natural wish to free himself from his pecuniary embarrassments, than from a desire to do away any bad impression, that the misfortune of having incurred the royal displeasure, and the consequent refusal of affording him any relief, might have left upon the minds of the public.

Accordingly on the day already mentioned Mr. Alderman Newnham demanded, in his place, of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to bring forward any proposition for rescuing the prince of Wales from his present embarrassed and distressed situation? For though his conduct, under the difficulties, with which he laboured, reflected the highest honour upon his character, yet he thought it would bring indelible disgrace upon the nation, if he were suffered to remain any longer in his present reduced circumstances. To this question Mr. Pitt replied, that it was not his duty to bring forward a subject of the nature that had been mentioned, except by the command of his majesty. It was not necessary therefore that he should say more, in answer to the question put to him, than that he had not

been honoured with such a command. Upon this Mr. Newnham gave notice of his intentions to bring the subject regularly by a motion before the house on the fourth day of May.

In the mean time the friends of the prince of 24th. Wales were indefatigable in their endeavours to procure the support of the independent members of parliament to the proposed motion; and at several meetings, which were held for that purpose, their numbers were so considerable as to give cause of serious alarm to the minister. On the 24th of April, Mr. Pitt, after requesting that Mr. Newnham would inform the house more particularly of the nature of the motion he intended to make, adverted to the extreme delicacy of the subject; and declared, that the knowledge he possessed of many circumstances relating to it made him extremely anxious to persuade the house, if possible, to prevent the discussion of it. Should however the honourable member persist in his determination to bring it forward, it would be absolutely necessary to lay those circumstances before the public; and however distressing it might prove to him as an individual, from the profound respect he had for every part of the royal family, he should discharge his duty to the public, and enter fully into the subject. At the same time Mr. Rolle, an adherent of the minister's, who distinguished himself greatly by his zeal upon this occasion, declared, that the question involved matter, by which *the constitution, both in church and state*, might be essentially affected; and that if the friends of the prince

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of Wales persisted in their attempt, it would be necessary to enquire into those circumstances also.

What the circumstances so solemnly adverted to by Mr. Pitt in this conversation were, the house was left; for the present, to conjecture. The menace thrown out by Mr. Rolle was well known to allude to some supposed connection between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady of a very respectable Roman catholic family, to whom he had for some time manifested a strong attachment. For, notwithstanding the possibility of a marriage between those two parties was effectually guarded against by the royal marriage act, great pains had been taken, and not entirely without success, to mislead the ignorant, and to inflame the minds of the vulgar upon that subject; with what view, it would have been more easy to conceive in former times than at present, when all the enemies of the house of Brunswick are supposed to have ceased from amongst the nation.

On the 27th of the same month Mr. Newnham, in compliance with the request that had been made, signified to the house, that the motion he intended to make would be to the following effect, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying him to take into his royal consideration the present embarrassed state of the affairs of the prince of Wales, and to grant him such relief as his royal wisdom should think fit, and that the house would make good the same." Several members on both sides of the house having risen to deprecate the further discussion of this business,

and to express their earnest wishes, that it might be accommodated in some other manner, Mr. Sheridan got up to declare, that the insinuations and menaces, which had been thrown out upon a former occasion, made it impossible for the prince to recede with honour. He said he had the highest authority to declare, that his royal highness had no other wish, than that every circumstance in the whole series of his conduct should be most minutely and accurately inquired into; that no part of his conduct, circumstances, or situation, should be treated with ambiguity, concealment, or affected tenderness, but that whatever related to him should be discussed openly, and with fair, manly, and direct examination; and that he was ready, as a peer of Great-Britain, to give in another place the most direct answers to any questions that might be put to him. Mr. Rolle observed, in reply, that he had acted and should act as it became an independent country gentleman to do, when the dearest interests of the nation were at stake, from the conviction of his own mind; and that if the motion proposed was persisted in, he should state without reserve his sentiments upon the subject he had alluded to, according as the matter struck him. Mr. Pitt declared, that he had been greatly misunderstood, if it was conceived that he meant to throw out any insinuations injurious to the character of the prince of Wales. The particulars, to which he alluded, and which he might find it necessary to state fully to the house, related only to his pecuniary affairs, and to a correspondence that had taken place on that subject, and which he thought would

would satisfy the house of the impropriety of complying with the proposed motion.

On the 30th Mr. Newnham rose again, to make a few observations upon what had passed on Friday preceding. He remarked, that much had been said of the tenderness of the ground upon which he trod, and of the dangerous consequences that might arise from his perseverance. He declared himself totally ignorant of the grounds of those apprehensions, with which others were so unaccountably filled. If there was danger in the measure, let those who gave occasion to it tremble at the consequences. He saw none; the prince saw none: and it was by his express desire that he now gave notice he should pursue his design. Highly honoured, as he conceived himself to be, by the prince's confidence upon this occasion, he was not to be intimidated; and he could assure the house, that neither was his royal highness to be deterred from his purpose by the base and false rumours, which were spread abroad concerning him.

Mr. Fox, who had been absent on the former debate, came down this day with immediate authority from the prince of Wales, to assure the house there was no part of his conduct that he was either afraid or unwilling to have investigated in the fullest manner. With regard to the private correspondence alluded to, he wished it to be laid before the house, because he could take upon himself to assert, that it would prove the conduct of his royal highness to have been in the highest degree amiable, and would present as uniform and perfect a picture of duty and obedience, as ever, in any instance, had been

shewn from a son to his father, or from a subject to his sovereign. With respect to the debt, which was the cause of his present difficulties, the prince was willing, if the house should deem it necessary, to give a fair and general account in writing of every part of it; and if any suspicion should exist, that this or that general article might comprehend sums of money improperly applied, he would give a clear explanation of the particulars to his majesty, or to his ministers. Lastly, with respect to allusions made by one member, to something full of *danger to the church and state*, he wished he had spoken more explicitly. If he alluded to a certain low and malicious rumour, which had been industriously propagated without doors, he was authorized to declare it to be a falsehood. He had thought that a tale, fit only to impose upon the lowest of the vulgar, could not have gained credit for a moment in that house, or with any one who possessed the most ordinary portion of common sense and reflection; but when it appeared that an invention so gross and malicious, a report of a fact, which was actually impossible to have happened, had been circulated with so much industry and success, as to have made an impression upon the minds of the members of that house, it both proved the uncommon pains taken by the enemies of the prince of Wales to depreciate his character and injure him in the opinion of his country, and ought to be a caution to the house, and to the nation at large, how they gave credit to any other scandalous and malignant reports that were circulated to his prejudice. Mr. Fox concluded with adding, that he was further authorized

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by his royal highness to declare, that he was ready, as a peer of parliament, to answer in the other house any the most pointed questions, that could be put to him respecting this report, or to afford his majesty or his ministers any other assurances or satisfaction they might require.

Mr. Rolle replied, that he was not singular in his fears for the church; other gentlemen had been equally alarmed, and he should be happy to find that their apprehensions were groundless. The right honourable member had said, that the fact alluded to was impossible to have happened. They all knew, indeed, that there were certain laws and acts of parliament which forbade it, and made it null and void; but still it might have taken place, though not under the formal sanction of law; and upon that point he wished to be satisfied. Mr. Fox observed, that though what he had said before was, he thought, sufficient to satisfy every candid and liberal mind, he was willing, if possible, to satisfy the most perverse. When he denied the calumny in question, he meant to deny it, not merely with regard to the effect of certain existing laws, but to deny it *in toto*, in point of fact as well as law. The fact not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen in any way whatsoever, and had from the beginning been a base and malicious falsehood. Mr. Rolle rose again, and desired to know, whether what Mr. Fox had last said, was to be understood as spoken from direct authority. Mr. Fox replied, that he had direct authority.

It appears to have been expected, that upon this declaration Mr.

Rolle would have expressed his full satisfaction; and being called upon by a member so to do, he said that nothing should induce him to act otherwise than to his own judgment should seem proper. An answer had certainly been given to his question, and the house would judge for themselves of that answer. This conduct occasioned some warm reflections from Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Grey, who said, that the member, after having put a pointed question for the solution of doubts existing in his own mind, and having received an immediate answer, was bound in honour and fairness either to declare that he was satisfied, or to take some means of putting the matter into such a state of inquiry as should satisfy him. To remain silent, or to declare that the house might judge for itself, was neither manly nor candid: it tended to aggravate in a high degree the malicious falsehood that had been propagated, by admitting a supposition, that the prince might authorize a false denial of the fact. Mr. Pitt defended Mr. Rolle with great warmth, and declared, that what had been said by the members who preceded him was the most direct attack upon the freedom of debate, and liberty of speech in that house, that he had ever heard since he sat in parliament. Mr. Rolle stated shortly the part he had taken, declared that he had been induced so to do by his affection for the prince; that he had not said he was unsatisfied; and that he left the whole to the judgment of the house.

The favourable impression, which this debate, the open and manly conduct of the prince, and the harshness with which he had been treated

treated in his most private and personal concerns, left upon the minds of men both within and without the doors of parliament, appears to have given the minister a serious apprehension, that upon the question itself he might be left in a minority — For the 1st May.

next day overtures were made to his royal highness to bring the business to a private accommodation. On Thursday the 3d of May Mr. Pitt had an audience at Carleton-house, and the same night the prince was informed by his majesty's command, in general terms, that if the motion intended to be made the next day in the house of commons should be withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his royal highness's satisfaction. Accordingly on 4th May.

the 4th, Mr. Newnham being in his place in the house, in which upwards of 400 members were assembled, rose and said, he felt the highest satisfaction in being able to inform the house that his intended motion was no longer necessary. — Several members joined in expressing in the warmest terms the great satisfaction this information gave them.

In consequence of the accommodation abovementioned, the accounts of his royal highness were submitted to the inspection of commissioners named by the king, and on the 21st of May the following message from his majesty was delivered to both houses of parliament :

" It is with the greatest concern
" his majesty acquaints the house
" of commons; that from the ac-
" counts which have been laid be-
" fore his majesty by the prince of
" Wales, it appears that the prince

" has incurred a debt to a large
" amount, which, if left to be dis-
" charged out of his annual in-
" come, would render it impossible
" for him to support an establish-
" ment suited to his rank and
" station.

" Painful as it is at all times to
" his majesty to propose an addi-
" tion to the heavy expences neces-
" sarily born by his people, his
" majesty is induced, from his pa-
" ternal affection to the prince of
" Wales, to recur to the liberality
" and attachment of his faithful
" commons for their assistance on
" an occasion so interesting to his
" majesty's feelings, and to the
" ease and honour of so distinguish-
" ed a branch of his royal family.

" His majesty could not, how-
" ever, expect or desire the assistance
" of this house, but on a well-
" grounded expectation that the
" prince will avoid contracting any
" debts in future.

" With a view to this object, and
" from any anxious desire to remove
" any possible doubt of the suffi-
" ciency of the prince's income to
" support amply the dignity of his
" situation; his majesty has direct-
" ed a sum of 10 000l. per ann.
" to be paid out of his civil list, in
" addition to the allowance which
" his majesty has hitherto given
" him; and his majesty has the sa-
" tisfaction to inform the house,
" that the prince of Wales has
" given his majesty the fullest as-
" surance of his determination to
" confine his future expences with-
" in the income; and has also
" settled a plan for arranging those
" expences in the several depart-
" ments, and for fixing an order
" for payment under such regula-
" tions as his majesty trusts will
" effectually

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"effectually secure the due execution of the prince's intentions.

"His majesty will direct an estimate to be laid before this house, of the sum wanting to complete, in a proper manner, the work which has been undertaken at Carleton-house, as soon as the same can be prepared with sufficient accuracy, and recommends it to his faithful commons to consider of making some provision for that purpose.

"G. R."

23d May. On the 23d the following abstract account of the debts and of the expenditure of the prince of Wales were laid before the house.

<i>Debts.</i>	<i>£.</i>
Bonds - - - -	13,000
Purchase of houses - - -	4,000
Expences of Carleton-house - - - -	53,305
Tradesmen's bills - - -	90,804
	<hr/>
	161,109
	<hr/>

Expenditure from July 1783 to July 1786.

Household - - -	29,277
Privy purse - - -	16,050
Payments made by col. Hotham; particulars delivered to his majesty -	37,203
Other extraordinaries	11,406
	<hr/>
	93,936
Salaries - - -	54,734
Stables - - -	37,919
Mr. Robinson's extra -	7,059
	<hr/>
	193,648

The day following an humble address was ordered to be presented to the king, in which, after the usual thanks to his majesty, they humbly desire, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to direct the sum of 161,000*l.* to be issued out of his majesty's civil list for that purpose, and the sum of 20,000*l.* on account of the works at Carleton-house, as soon as an estimate shall be formed with sufficient accuracy of the whole expence for completing the same in a proper manner; and assure his majesty, that his faithful commons will make good the same.

CHAP. V.

Motion by Mr. Fox, for repealing the shop tax; supported by Mr. Lambton; reply of Mr. Pitt; motion rejected. Bill brought in for forming the post-horse duty; meets an early opposition; Mr. Pitt's defence of the measure, as not being repugnant to the constitution, nor dangerous as a precedent; opposed on the second reading by Mr. Bligh, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Baskard, and Mr. Wyndham; bill passed. Singular petition from debtors in Newgate. Insolvent bill passes the house of commons; opposed and rejected in the house of lords; sentiments of the chancellor upon measures of that nature; of lord Harcourt. Motion by Mr. Grey, relative to abuses in the post office; facts from the report of the committee; animadversion by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan upon Mr. Pitt's conduct; veto of the latter upon the coalition; refusal of Mr. Pitt's importing into lord North, by Mr. Adam; violent altercation between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grey; motion of censure respecting the post office by Mr. Grey; opposed by lord Mailland and Mr. Pitt; rejected without a division. Motion in the house of lords, relative to the votes of the Bachelors of Queensberry and Gordon, in the election of the sixteen peers; opposed by the chancellor; supported by lord Rinnaird; opinions of lord Douglas, earl of Morar, and duke of Richmond; motion carried. Motion in the house of commons, relative to the right of the sons of Scotch peers to represent Scotch boroughs or counties; opinions of Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Dundas, Sir James Johnstone, and Sir Adam Fergusson, in the negative; of lords Beauchamp, Mailland, and Elcho, in the affirmative; carried for the negative.

24th April. **O**UR readers will recollect that the tax imposed upon retail shopkeepers in the year 1785; was strongly opposed at the time by the inhabitants of London and Westminster, as partial and unjust in its principle; and peculiarly oppressive in its operation upon those two cities. The following year their members were instructed to move for its repeal; and though the motion was rejected by a great majority, they continued, with unremitting perseverance, to take the most active and vigorous measures for securing success upon some future occasion. Meetings were held; associations formed, committees appointed, and a correspondence carried on with all the considerable

towns and corporations of the kingdom; many of which, being proportionably sufferers, readily joined the capital in another application to parliament for relief. The business was this year committed to Mr. Fox, who on the 24th of April moved the house for the repeal. He said, he had never been forward in opposing taxes, because he thought it the duty, in general, of members of parliament to support government in the arduous and invidious measures of finance: but at the same time he thought there were limits to this duty, and that they were bound to insist upon the abolition of any tax, which upon a fair trial was found to be oppressive and unjust. Such a trial the tax in question had

undergone, and it was found by experience to be, what he had originally declared it would prove, a partial tax upon housekeepers, whose houses had shops annexed to them; it was to all intents and purposes a personal tax, unjustly levied from a particular description of men. To persist in saying that the consumer paid the tax, when the shopkeepers knew and were ready to declare on oath, that they paid it themselves and could not lay any part of it on their customers, was the most ridiculous obstinacy. If the shopkeepers came to the bar, and said, "We pay the tax, and as it affects us solely, we beg to be relieved from it," would the house say, "No, you do not pay the tax, we pay it, though you do not know it, and we chuse to continue to pay it?"

The partiality of the tax, he said, was in the highest degree glaring. The whole sum assessed for the shop tax amounted to 59,000*l.* of which the cities of London and Westminster, and the adjacent parishes, paid 43,000*l.* In some parts of the kingdom not above 100*l.* was assessed for a whole county, and not above fifty for a few. If, according to the opinions of some politicians, every place should send such a number of representatives to parliament as was proportionable to their payment of taxes, the inhabitants of London and Westminster would send not less than 350. These facts, Mr. Fox contended, proved the tax to be so partial and unjust in its operation and pressure, that he could not see how the minister could resist the application for its repeal with any colour of reason or candour.

Mr. Fox was seconded by Mr. Lambton, a young member, who

had just taken his seat for the city of Durham, and who declared that he rejoiced in the opportunity of opening his lips, for the first time, within those walls, with a remonstrance against a partial, oppressive, and unjust measure; for as such he was warranted, not only by his own conviction, but by the instructions of his constituents, to reprobate the tax in question. Mr. Lambton stated his objections to the tax in a long speech, with so much eloquence and ingenuity as to draw from the chancellor of the exchequer, who followed him, strong expressions of his admiration. Mr. Pitt declared, however, that he was by no means convinced by his arguments; and that he must still maintain, that the tax would fall not upon the shopkeepers but the consumers. It was true, this would not take place through the means of any general and uniform addition to the prices of particular articles; but each shopkeeper would naturally consider what article of his dealing was the most convenient for him to enhance, so as to bring him in an equivalent for the tax: and although the same article might not be chosen by another shopkeeper for the same purpose, yet there was no danger of the former losing his custom thereby; for if it were found that on the general average the prices of both were equal, the buyer would, from motives of convenience, resort to the same shop. In addition to this and other arguments in favour of the tax, he begged the house to consider, that in giving it up now they abandoned it for ever; and in any further emergency would be tied up and precluded from having resort to it.

Upon a division there appeared,
for

for the repeal 147, against it 183.

On the twenty-sixth 26th April. of April a bill to authorize the commissioners of the treasury to let out to farm the duty upon post horses, was brought into the house of commons by the chancellor of the exchequer. A measure so totally without precedent in this kingdom, and adopted from the practice of countries, whose forms of government were less favourable to the liberty of the subject than ours, was received, as might be expected, with great jealousy and suspicion. Before the bill was suffered to be read a first time, the minister was called upon to state the necessity upon which it was founded, the extent of the frauds it was designed to prevent, and the new powers that were to be given to the farmers of the tax, to enable them to put a stop to those frauds in future.

In order to afford the house the information that was required, Mr. Pitt remarked, that the fraudulent evasion of the tax was a matter of such notoriety, that he believed it could not have escaped the observation of a single member of that assembly. The extent of these frauds had not, he said, been ascertained, but he believed no one doubted of its being very considerable, and it was a circumstance which added much to the grievance, that the tax for the most part was exacted with great strictness from the public, but that a large proportion of it, through collusion between the inn-keepers and the collectors, never found its way into the exchequer. To correct so great an abuse, and to secure to the public the receipt of that money, which the individual was thus

obliged to pay, it was necessary to put the duty under some regulation; and the only effectual mode, which had occurred to him, was that of letting it out to farm.

It was intended, he said, to divide the island into districts, each of which, a few instances excepted, would contain a county. These were to be put up to public auction; and that the public might at least be sure of losing nothing by the bargain, the bidders were to begin from that sum, which the district, at its highest rate, had ever yet produced. There could be little doubt that many candidates would offer themselves, and that the duty in each district would let nearly for what might reasonably be supposed to be its full value. It was proposed, that the agreement should continue for three years, that the lessee should keep a regular account of his receipts, and that these accounts should be submitted to the inspection of the treasury. No greater powers were to be given to the farmers than had been given to the present collectors; and it was merely from the superiority, because the more interested, vigilance of the former, that they could derive any advantage.

He had heard it, he said, objected, that there was something in the principle of such an establishment repugnant to our constitution, and to the general system of our revenue; but for this objection he saw no solid foundation. It was true, that such a principle did generally obtain in some countries of more despotic and arbitrary forms of government than ours; and perhaps some degree of oppression might arise from the manner, in which that principle was carried into effect.

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But

But those oppressions were not to be attributed to the system of farming the revenues, but to the form of government, which of itself would naturally lead to arbitrary and oppressive modes of collection under any system of revenue which might be adopted. In those countries there was not, as in this, a parliament jealous of the rights and liberties of their fellow-subjects, and able to protect them; there the farmers were invested with their powers by the crown singly; whereas here, without the consent of parliament, no such powers could be given, even if a minister should be desirous to have them granted.

With respect to its being an innovation—that, he contended, was not, in fact, strictly true. He referred to the turnpike duty, which, he observed, was of all others the most analogous in its nature and the mode of its collection to that under discussion; and which was almost universally let to farm. Another instance adduced by him was, that of the cross-letter postage, which had been for many years let out to Mr. Allen, the gentleman who first suggested it.

A farther alarm had been taken, from an apprehension that the precedent might hereafter be followed up, and other branches of the revenue put under a similar regulation. He denied that he had any such intention; and he desired the house to consider, whether there was not something in the post-horse duty, which made it peculiarly proper to be placed under the new system, and which might not be applicable to any other branch of the public revenue. He concluded with some observations upon the necessity of

enforcing a vigorous and effectual collection of the revenue, as the only method of supporting the power and credit of the country.

These arguments not appearing satisfactory to the minority, the house divided upon the question, whether the bill should be read the first time; when there appeared, ayes 76; noes 39.

The opposition was renewed upon the second reading of the bill, and several strong objections were made both to its principle and provisions. It was urged by Mr. Maribam, that no proof had yet been afforded the house of the existence of the frauds mentioned in the preamble, and not even an assertion, that the tax was declining in its produce. The reverse indeed was the fact, it having increased in the last quarter upwards of 9,000*l*. Before the house adopted a measure of so new and important a nature, they should at least have the necessity of it established by some sort of evidence. He objected to the term of three years, for which time the farmers were to hold their contracts; he even doubted, he said, whether the house could put the power of repealing a tax, or enacting necessary regulations respecting it, out of their reach for such a space of time.

Mr. Lambton strongly condemned the bill and the mode of proceeding upon it, as tending to establish a dangerous precedent. The existence of notorious frauds might be alleged in any other branch of the revenue, if no evidence or specification of them was to be required by that house. It ought to be remarked, he said, that the contractors were not to be deprived of their

votes

votes at elections. This was the fruit which the minister looked forward to pluck from the tree he was planting; but he hoped the house would blast that fruit in its bud.

Mr. Balford thought the bill in many respects unconstitutional. Besides the influence it tended to create, he thought the house could not delegate the powers of the executive government to others, who were not amenable to that house. The executive government, in adopting this measure, were getting rid of their responsibility, and the house was giving up their power of redress, which was the last thing they should part with. Provided the subject was aggrieved and complained, what could the house on such an occasion do?—Nothing, till the contract expired. The contractor knew this, and would be tempted to oppress by the security of his bargain. He was armed indeed with no other powers than what the government collectors possessed; but there would be an infinite difference in the execution of them between the avaricious rigour of a private person in the pursuit of his own interest, and the liberal proceedings of a board, who were only agents for the public.

Mr. Wyndham remarked upon the fallacy of the argument that had been used to prove that the public might gain, but could not lose by the bargain: the very reverse, he said, was the truth. It could not gain, because the produce of the tax, being in a state of progressive improvement, and being put up to sale at its present rate, the farmers would take care not to raise the price beyond the certainty of reaping some profit from it; it might

lose, because, upon a supposition that the present collection is 100,000*l.* and that the farmer consents to give 105,000*l.* yet if he, by an enforced collection, obtains 115,000*l.* we clearly give away 10,000*l.* for 5,000*l.* and the public pays the whole. Mr. Wyndham contended, that it was the duty of government to keep the collection in their own hands, and to try, by apt and proper regulations, to bring into the exchequer as much as possible of what was really paid, and not to put it in the power of grinding farmers of the revenue to make large fortunes at the public expence. He adverted also to the bad precedent, which the present bill would establish; and asked, whether any man ever introduced a precedent, of which a bad use might afterwards be made, in a manner glaringly objectionable in itself?

The bill was supported in its several stages by Mr. Grenville, the attorney general, Mr. Rolle, and sir Richard Hill; and was finally carried, upon a division, by 162 to 95.

Early in the present session of parliament, a petition was presented to the house of commons from the debtors confined in the jail of Newgate, in which, after representing the various hardships of their situation, and praying the house to take their case into consideration, they concluded in the following words; “At the same time they beg leave most humbly to remark, that by the breach of a civil contract (unless this honourable house pass a bill for their relief) they must linger away their unhappy lives in a loathsome jail, while felons, who defy the laws of their country, suffer a less punishment, by enjoying their liberty

in a foreign country; they therefore pray they may be admitted to the privilege of chusing the lot of felons, and be transported to New South Wales, if the wisdom of this house should not judge it proper to pass a bill for their relief.

This singular petition was soon after followed by a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, which was introduced by Mr. Sawbridge, and passed, as bills of this kind have usually done, through the house of commons, with little opposition. Upon the motion for the third reading, Mr. Gilbert begged leave to acquaint the house, that he had reason to suspect, that the gaols were filling with prisoners, who, in order to take advantage of the insolvent debtor's bill, made fraudulent assignments of their effects, and surrendered themselves merely with a view to cheat their creditors; he should therefore propose, that the third reading be deferred three weeks, for the purpose of enquiring into the fact. Mr. Alderman Le Mesurier (one of the sheriffs of London) assured the house, that debtors had not come into the prisons that were under his authority faster, or in greater proportions, than at other times. In fact, the chance of an insolvent debtor's bill passing both houses of parliament had of late years been so precarious, that no debtor in his senses, who was at liberty, would cast himself into prison upon so uncertain a risque as a speedy delivery under the sanction of such a pending bill.

In the house of lords, upon the second reading of the same bill, the lord chancellor, who had on all former occasions uniformly expressed his opinion of the injustice as well as the inexpediency of acts of this na-

ture, entered largely into the reasons which induced him to stand forward in opposition to them. To break in upon that power of coercion of payment, with which the laws of this country had armed the creditor for the security of his property, was, he conceived, a manifest injustice. If there was to be such a thing as imprisonment for debt, he said, it ought to continue unchecked and unrestrained, unless in cases of flagrant oppression and unnecessary cruelty. The general idea, that humanity required the intervention of the legislature between the debtor and the creditor, was, he said, a false notion, founded in error and dangerous in practice. He, who had frequent opportunities of knowing and witnessing the temper of creditors, seldom found cause for complaint on the ground of their severity, but, on the contrary, the lenity and kindness of the collective body of creditors, who daily came before him, were uniformly great, warm, and abundant. He had, in aid of his own observation, a great professional authority (whose absence, and the cause of it, every man must lament) for declaring, that for every twenty insolvent debtors, there scarcely ever appeared in the courts of law one cruel creditor. Those, therefore, who imagined the reverse to be the fact, were egregiously mistaken. It had been said, that the laws respecting debtor and creditor, in mesne process and in execution, stood in need of revision, with a view to alteration and amendment. Perhaps the assertion was in some degree founded; and he had no scruple to say, that he should be extremely willing to pay every possible attention in his power to the consideration of so weighty and important

portant a subject; but he earnestly conjured their lordships not to countenance such breaches of faith with creditors as occasional insolvent bills. With regard to the argument, that there were 3000 debtors in the different gaols, possibly there might be that number; but the number that could be stated under the circumstances of an insolvent bill, pending in parliament, was not the number that ought to be looked to as any guide to that house in forming and fashioning their opinion with respect to the bill under consideration. The number of prisoners in a gaol, including their suites, their families and attendants, was one number; the number of actual prisoners, either on mesne process, or in execution, was another; and the number of prisoners on the speculation of an insolvent bill, was a third number; so that little argument was to be drawn from that consideration, worthy of much reliance. A much greater evil than the loss of liberty, he said, was the dissipation and corruption that prevailed in all our prisons; to that their lordships had better direct their attention, than to the defrauding the creditor of his chance of recovering his property, by letting loose his debtor, and taking from him the hopes of payment. He drew the distinction between debtors in respect to trade, and debtors of other descriptions, and spoke of the ancient usage by which a tradesman, who could not pay his debts, was punishable. Afterwards, as the principles of trade became better understood, more enlarged ideas prevailed, and the bankrupt laws were instituted for the relief of those traders who had, through unforeseen misfortunes, in-

curred debts to greater amount, than their capitals and the sums owing to them would satisfy. These laws had ever been deemed a generous provision, as well as a wise protection, for cases of that description. On the other hand, those who ran in debt, knowing that they should never be able to pay, were certainly fit subjects of that severity which the law, as it stood, empowered their creditors to exercise towards them. The present bill, he observed, made no sort of distinction between the two descriptions, but provided equally for the liberation of all debtors of almost every description; and consequently, being indiscriminate in its object, could not possibly be just. With regard to the clause which related to commissioned and non-commissioned officers, he was very ready, he said, to assist to extend the arm of the public to the relief of that deserving description of men; but then he could not consent to extend the arm of the public to their relief at the expence of individuals. The clause extending the benefit of the act to fugitives beyond sea, he considered as peculiarly objectionable. Such a clause would afford encouragement to bad-minded men to get into debt, go abroad, and after having there spent, in dissipation and at their ease, all the remains of their fortune, or rather of the property of others, which they carried off with them, to come back and take advantage of an insolvent act, to enable them to begin their career of fraud over again.

After urging several other objections to particular clauses of the bill, he took notice of the act commonly known by the name of the lords' act, upon which he considered

dered all such bills, as that now under consideration, to be unwarrantable intrusions. Besides, an alteration had been lately made in that act of considerable benefit to debtors. He had been prevailed upon two years ago by a noble earl (lord Effingham) to consent to extend the sum limited by that act from 100*l.* to 200*l.* which, considering the difference in the value of money now from what it was, when this act first passed, he thought not unreasonable.

Another argument urged by him against the bill was drawn from the preamble of the last insolvent debtor's act, which passed soon after the riots in 1780. That preamble was not, he said, of his drawing, but of a much abler man; and the plain meaning of it was, an intimation to creditors that it was not very likely that any more insolvent bills would be passed: now, though he would admit that one parliament could undo what a preceding parliament had done, he asked their lordships, whether they were willing so wantonly and rudely to trample on the authority of a former act, and break the federal compact, which by that preamble they had, as it were, entered into with creditors?

Having gone through these various objections, his lordship said, he was ready to allow, that the laws respecting debtors and creditors, as they then stood, were very imperfect, and doubtless required a revision. He threw out several ideas of his own upon the subject, and expressed his hopes, that the business would without delay be seriously taken up by the legislature.

Lord Rawdon rose after the chancellor, in defence of the bill. He said, he saw the policy of imprisou-

ment for debt in a very different light from that, in which his lordship had viewed it; and thought the abuse of the laws authorizing such a practice matter of serious complaint. After entering largely into the nature and history of those laws, he said, the learned lord had admitted that they ought to be revised; till their lordships therefore had the virtue and industry to institute such a revision, were they not bound in justice, as well as humanity, to afford a remedy against their abuse? He allowed that frequent insolvent bills were not perhaps the best remedy the case admitted; but he contended, that they were bound to apply such a remedy from time to time, so long as they suffered the law to remain in its present defective condition. He therefore felt himself obliged to support the bill then before the house: it was the cause both of humanity to the individuals, and of justice to the public. Three thousand debtors were at that moment locked up in prisons, and maintained in inactivity, whose services the public had a right to require at their hands. Upon a division the bill was lost, by a majority of 25 to 12.

On the 15th of this month, Mr. Grey re- 15th May.
quested the attention of the house of commons to certain abuses and corrupt transactions in the post office, which had come to his knowledge in consequence of the dismission of a noble relation of his (the earl of Tankerville) from the office of joint postmaster-general, and which were not likely to be remedied, otherwise than by a parliamentary enquiry, as the part taken by the minister in the business would clearly prove. The several facts, upon

upon which this accusation was founded, as they afterwards appeared confirmed by the report of the committee appointed to enquire therein, were as follow :

First, that in the year 1775 Mr. Lees, on receiving an appointment to be secretary to the post office in Ireland, entered into security to pay the sum of 350l. a year out of the profits of that office to a person described by the letters A. B. but whose real name, when the earl of Tankerville first attempted to examine into this transaction, Mr. Lees considered himself bound to conceal. It afterwards appeared that this person was a Mr. Treves, an intimate friend of lord Carteret, who was, at the time of the above appointment, joint postmaster-general with lord Le Despencer and privy to the whole transaction. It appeared from the evidence of Mr. Todd, secretary to the post office, that lord Carteret was greatly displeased and disquieted by the discovery of this business, and that he, Mr. Todd, had at the time expressed his disapprobation of it to both postmasters-general. — Secondly, it appeared that the payment of an annuity of 200l. had been exacted from a Mr. Dathwood, appointed postmaster-general of Jamaica, as the condition of his appointment, and had been regularly paid by him to Mr. Treves ; and that the said Mr. Treves had never performed any public service in the post office, or in any other public department, to entitle him to any public reward. — Thirdly, Mr. Molyneux, agent to the packets at Helvoetsluis, had been permitted, with the knowledge of lord Carteret, to dispossess that office of Mr. Hughinson, for a sum of money ; and it appeared that complaints had been

made against the said Mr. Hughinson for misconduct in his office. — Fourthly, it had appeared that none of these transactions were entered in the books of the office, but on the contrary, had been kept concealed. — Fifthly, an undue preference had been shewn to a Mr. Staunton, postmaster at Illeworth, whose place was worth 400l. ; in addition to which he was appointed controller of the bye and cross road letter office, to which a salary of 100l. a year, and the perquisites of coals and candles, are attached, and 100l. was afterward granted him in lieu of an house. — Sixthly, various and extraordinary abuses were stated to exist in the management of the packet boats, particularly that no deduction had been made from the hire of any vessels whilst under repair, seizure for smuggling, or when unemployed ; and that they were frequently for many months together in that situation. — Seventhly, the undue receipt of perquisites and incidents, particularly in coals, candles, tin ware, and various articles of furniture, by the postmasters-general, and others having appointments in the post office, were stated as being a shameful and excessive. — Lastly, to bring these matters home to the minister, it was stated by Mr. Grey, that lord Tankerville, while in office, had busied himself attentively in endeavouring to correct the abuses in question, had suggested several plans for their prevention in future, and had communicated those plans to the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer ; that he had received great commendation for his zeal and attention ; and had been promised support : but that his colleague, lord Carteret, not viewing these abuses in the least criminal light to that he

did,

did, and refusing to concur in the necessary steps for preventing them, a quarrel had ensued between the two noble lords, and it became impossible that they should continue joint postmasters-general any longer. This being the fact, an ordinary observer, he said, would have imagined, that the right honourable gentleman would not have dismissed the postmaster-general, who had shewn himself anxious for a reform and had taken so much pains to effect it; but the other postmaster-general, who was a protector of the abuses in question, and the opposer of the necessary reform. Instead, however, of dismissing lord Carteret, the right honourable gentleman had suddenly dismissed his noble relation in a manner the most unexampled and extraordinary.—Mr. Grey reasoned upon these circumstances, and said, that it was clear there could be no motive for dismissing the earl of Tankerville, but that noble lord's having preferred doing his duty to every other consideration. He conceived, therefore, that the right honourable chancellor of the exchequer had acted in a manner deserving of censure; and with a view to establish that fact, as well as the other charges against lord Carteret, which he had stated in the course of his speech, he concluding with moving, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into certain abuses in the post office."

Mr. Pitt replied, that as the honourable gentleman had not only brought a charge of abuses in the post office, but also a charge against the noble lord, who presided in that office, and against himself for having removed his noble relation, he conceived it would not be for the honour of either to make any ob-

jection to the motion; he therefore gave it his assent, and hoped the honourable gentleman would use all possible diligence to bring forward a report before the close of the present session. As to the charge made by the honourable gentleman, that he was inclined to wink at abuses in the post office, or in any other public establishment, it was a charge wholly unwarranted by fact, and unsupported by any reasonable presumption. So far was he from being backward in his endeavours to promote official reforms, that he had suggested a measure for the general reform of all those very abuses relative to shipping and other matters which the honourable gentleman had mentioned, as might be seen by a reference to the office reform bill.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan attacked Mr. Pitt, upon the ground of the facts brought forward by Mr. Grey, as a magnificent promiser of reformatations in the state, but a miserable performer, and as a minister, who has made as prudent and interested an use of the influence of the crown in the distribution of places and emoluments, and particularly in bestowing titles and honours, as any other whatsoever. With respect to the dismissal of the earl of Tankerville, it was not, they observed, to be imagined, that any merits of his could stand a moment in competition with those of the distinguished person, who succeeded him, (Mr. Jenkinson) now a peer of Great Britain, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and first lord of the new board of trade; a person, against whose interest the dismissal of an whole administration did not weigh a feather. Mr. Sheridan concluded by reminding Mr. Pitt of his clamorous opposition to lord North, and

and particularly of his celebrated triumph over that noble lord on the subject of kitchens, tape, and whipcord.

These observations brought on, as topicks of that kind usually did, a discussion of the coalition; against which Mr. Pitt inveighed in reply, with great severity. He afterwards remarked, that he had made the speech alluded to, respecting whipcord, &c. while the noble lord was in office, and himself on the other side of the house, and that he had stated them not as charges against the noble lord in the blue ribband, but as a proof of the want of regulation and check in the particulars to which they alluded. With regard to nothing having been done in the way of reform, let any man, he said, look at the state of the country before the time that he came into office, and let him look at it then, and see if nothing had been done. With respect to the use he had made of the influence of the crown in advising the appointments to places, and the bestowal of titles and honours, he had done that which he should ever do; he had advised the crown so to exercise the royal prerogative in both those instances, as should best contribute to give lustre, vigour, and firmness to his majesty's government, and therefore the honourable gentleman had paid him a much greater compliment than he intended.

Mr. Adam remarked, that the right honourable gentleman was correct in stating that he was in opposition and not in office, when he made the charges relative to whipcord, the new kitchens in Downing-street house, &c. against lord North: He would not have presumed to have said a syllable of that nature, while the noble lord was out of of-

fice, and whilst any hopes remained of forming a coalition with him. The noble lord had since joined himself to men of the first genius, ability, and virtue in the nation, and the right honourable gentleman had taken the only part that was left him, he had given vent to his chagrin in illiberal abuse, and to make himself some amends for his disappointment, had taken into his service those former dependents on the noble lord, who, by their conduct, had proved how much his confidence had been misplaced.

Mr. Fox, in corroboration of the remark made by Mr. Adam, observed, that when the present minister stood up in 1782, after the noble lord had been driven from his post, and declared against any retrospective censures against that administration, it was understood and believed that he wished to court the noble lord with a view to a junction. —Mr. Pitt said across the table, "Who understood so?" Mr. Fox replied, I did for one, and so I have reason to believe did many others, from the conversation I then held with them. Certain it was (he added) that before the coalition the right honourable gentleman never expressed himself with that acrimony, which he had since used when speaking of the noble lord.

Mr. Pitt denied the fact, and concluded, that the right honourable gentleman chose to forget all that had passed previous to the coalition. He chose, however, to date his recollection from his first appearance in that house, and to appeal to all who had witnessed his conduct, whether he had not uniformly persisted in declaring, that he thought the noble lord a bad minister, and that he never would act with him in any public situation as a minister.

Some

Some expressions having fallen from Mr. Pitt, which Mr. Grey considered as reflecting injuriously upon the motives, which had led him to undertake the present enquiry, the latter rose with great warmth, and said, that conscious as he was of being actuated by fair and honourable considerations, no man should dare to impute unworthy motives to him. Mr. Pitt remonstrated against this tone of defiance; and declared he should call his motives in question whenever his conduct appeared to warrant it. If the honourable member chose his motives should not be questioned, he must take care that his conduct was such as not to make it necessary. Mr. Grey answered, that he should never act in that house upon any principle, which did not appear to him honourable, and therefore he should not suffer any person to impute dishonourable motives to him; and if he could not obtain that indulgence in the house, he had those means in his power to which it would then be proper to resort. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Sheridan rising together, the latter obtained a hearing first, and endeavoured to appease the heat that had arisen, by observing, that he believed his honourable friend had misunderstood the words of the chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Pitt declared that he had not before spoken with heat, nor should there be any heat in what he was going to say. He then repeated the argument of his former speech; and added, that with respect to any other means the honourable gentleman might wish to resort to, he should reserve his answer for the occasion.

The question was carried without a division; and on the 23d of May the report was brought up

from the committee. A motion for printing it was rejected, and it was ordered to be taken into consideration on the 28th. On that day Mr. Grey rose, and said, that the accuracy of the report of the committee rendered it unnecessary for him to trouble the house with a minute detail of the subject of their investigation. Entertaining therefore no doubt but the facts he had stated would appear fully proved, it was for the house to consider first the nature of the offence, and secondly the degree of censure or punishment it deserved. Mr. Grey, after discussing these two points with great ability, declared that he considered the chancellor of the exchequer as the person the most culpable in the whole business; first for having neglected, after his many vaunting promises of the reformation he should make, to correct the smallest abuse; secondly, for having dismissed Lord Tankerville after giving him reason to believe, that he should be supported in the attempts he was making to check the enormous abuses of the post office; and lastly, for having sacrificed that noble earl to his own personal interest, by accommodating with his place the person, who had seated him in his present situation, and who he knew could dismiss him with a nod. Mr. Grey concluded with moving, "That it appears to this house that great abuses have prevailed in the post office, and that the same being made known to his majesty's ministers, it is their duty, without loss of time, to make use of such measures as are in their power to reform them."

Lord Maitland undertook the defence of the post office. He said, the

the facts contained in the report were of the most stale, trivial, and unimportant nature, that had ever engaged the attention of a house of parliament. The grant of 350*l.* a year to Mr. Treves, an intimate friend of lord Carteret, was no charge whatever to the public, nor any impediment to the public business, but was, with the consent of the party most interested, paid out of the existing emoluments of the office of secretary of the post-office in Dublin. That such a measure was not strictly justifiable he was ready to admit, but it was by no means unprecedented; and, compared with the transactions that took place in every public office only ten years ago, it was purity itself. Nor indeed had it been even insinuated, that it originated in any thing like a corrupt motive in lord Carteret. The next transaction was that of Mr. Dashwood, postmaster of Jamaica, which was, as the honourable gentleman had stated it, exactly similar to that of the 350*l.* and therefore required no new observations. With regard to the permission of Mr. Molyneux to resign the agency of the Helvoetsluys packet boats to Mr. Hutchinson, that was a transaction founded in a charitable intention to relieve an unfortunate man from prison; and, if there were any criminality in the transaction, it was as much imputable to the earl of Tankerville as to lord Carteret, since the noble earl had taken as great a part in it as the noble lord; but, in his opinion, there was no criminality imputable to either. He then went into the other facts stated in the report, and commented upon each, with a view to shew that it was either not personal to lord Carteret,

or of a trivial nature. With respect to the two one-half per centage allowed to the person who managed the packet boats, and the other abuses in that department, as stated in the report, they appeared to him to be the most important, and to require a thorough reform; but he did not conceive them to be fit subjects for parliamentary censure, and therefore he should first move the previous question, and afterwards that the farther consideration of the report should be put off for three months.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the motion could not be designed to provide for a reform of the abuses complained of, since that had been effectually done already by a bill, which he had himself the honour of bringing into that house three years ago: it must therefore be meant for the purpose of throwing blame upon the conduct of the noble lord at the head of the post-office, and of censuring himself for the part he had taken in the arrangement, by which the noble earl had been removed from it. With regard to the former point, the conduct of lord Carteret had, he conceived, been sufficiently justified by the honourable member who preceded him. With respect to the latter, he apprehended that the house seemed to feel the impropriety of entertaining such a discussion, as it certainly belonged, solely to the executive government to dispose of all public employments; and parliament should be very cautious how it attempted to controul or question the discretion with which that power was exercised. It certainly had been found necessary to remove one or other of the noble lords, as their differences had risen

risen to such a height, that they could not even sit in the same room with satisfaction; and that discretion, with which government was invested, had led them to determine the alternative against the earl of Tankerville. The necessity of removing one of those noblemen, and the vacancy which must follow from such removal, had afforded an opportunity of accommodating a noble lord who had been alluded to, and to whom gentlemen might allude as often as they pleased, in the way in which they did, so long as he was persuaded that every favour which had been conferred upon that noble person, since he had any share in his majesty's councils, had been fully earned by the most able and meritorious services. But the vacancy was not made for the sake of accommodating the noble lord, as it was evident that the two noble lords could not possibly continue to act together; and whether the noble earl (Tankerville) or lord Carteret had been removed, it would have made no difference with respect to lord Hawkebury; for, in either case, there would have been an opening for him. Besides, there certainly was nothing personal intended against the noble earl of Tankerville; for, at the very moment of his removal from the post-office, there was an arrangement set on foot for the purpose of accommodating him, but his lordship would not listen to it. Other matters, he said, had fallen from the honourable member, of which he believed the house did not expect he should take notice, and which indeed nothing but the shortness of the time which that gentle-

man had sat there, and his consequent ignorance of parliamentary usages, could justify.

Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the gravity with which this reproof, totally unmerited as he conceived, was bestowed upon his friend by the right honourable gentleman, the veteran statesman of four years experience, the Nestor of twenty-five.—Mr. Fox declared, that he thought the whole proceeding on the part of administration most extraordinary, and to the gentlemen, who brought the enquiry forward, extremely unfair. He had not failed in establishing his facts by proof; and if it was meant to do nothing in consequence, why did they suffer the committee to be appointed at all? It was clear, that when the minister consented to the committee, he thought that no proofs could be obtained, and that it would end in the disgrace of those, who desired an enquiry. Now that the honourable member had made good his charges, and presented a report, the whole business was represented to be trifling and frivolous. In reply to an observation of Mr. Pitt's, that Mr. Grey's conduct shewed him to be a party man, Mr. Fox said, that the honourable gentleman was not at present of that description, but he hoped by degrees he might become a party man: he defended the term, and maintained, that as long as there were great constitutional questions, respecting which there were differences of opinion, to be a party man was to act the most honourable part. In this country there were known differences of opinion upon great questions, and upon none more, than on the manner in which the right honourable gentleman himself came last into office.—

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The previous question being carried in the negative, the second motion was agreed to without a division.

On the 18th of May, a question, arising out of the late decision of the house upon the 13th of February, relative to the representation of the Scotch peerage, was brought before the lords by the earl of Hopetoun. It was stated by his lordship, that at the election for two peers to supply the places of the two noble persons lately created peers of Great Britain, the votes of the dukes of Queensberry and Gordon had been received by the lord registrar, contrary to the resolution of that house of January 1708-9. The resolution being read, to the following effect, "That at any election of the sixteen peers of Scotland to represent the Scotch peerage in the British parliament, or of any one or more of them, no Scotch peer who had been created a British peer by patent since the union should be entitled to vote"—lord Hopetoun moved, "That a copy of the said resolution be transmitted to the lord registrar of Scotland, as a rule for his future proceeding in cases of election."

The duke of Queensberry objected to this motion, as materially affecting his rights; and desired, on his own part and that of the duke of Gordon, who was out of England, to be heard by counsel, before the house proceeded to a decision. This was objected to as irregular, since the question was not, whether the house should come to any new resolution, but whether they should not notify to an officer concerned a resolution already agreed to.

The lord chancellor took this opportunity of again cautioning the

house how they proceeded precipitately to decide a question of much greater importance, than might, upon the first blush of it, appear. He stated, that a resolution of either house of parliament, however unanimously carried, did not constitute law: and as a proof how little they were to be considered as legal decisions, he stated, that on the 26th of December, 1711, two years after the former resolution, the house passed another, by which two Scotch dukes, who had been created British peers, were declared incapable of sitting in that house as British peers. He then reasoned upon the palpable injustice and absurdity of these two resolutions. The first took away the votes of the noble dukes as Scotch peers, and the other deprived them of their seats as British peers. The resolution of 1711 was undoubtedly a very great hardship, and it had lately been done away; but how? Not by a resolution, but by an act of parliament. In like manner, if, upon mature consideration and deliberate discussion, it should be thought right to make the resolution of 1708-9 effectual, let it be done by due course of parliamentary proceeding; let a bill be brought in, and pass through its regular stages, but by no means let the house, acting judiciously, decide a matter, that involved in it the private rights of individuals. Whenever the question, whether the right of a Scotch peer, who had been created a British peer by patent, to vote at the election of Scotch peers to serve in parliament, came to be finally decided, there were other important considerations to be decided at the same time. For instance, suppose a Scotch peer was made a bishop; did he, in that case,

case, lose his right to vote at an election of any of the sixteen peers? When a Scotch peer was created a British peer by patent, ought his sons to be deemed ineligible to sit in the other house? These, and a variety of other questions, intimately connected with the resolution in discussion, which presented themselves to his mind, considerably increased the importance of the case, and pointed out the propriety of not deciding upon the subject precipitately.

The motion was ably defended by lord Kinnaid, who said, that the question seemed to him confined within very narrow limits, as its obvious purport and intent was to give full effect to a solemn determination and resolution of that house, as a construction of law, and which construction had been put upon that law within a few months after the different acts relative thereto had passed that house. He perfectly agreed with the noble and learned lord, that a resolution of that house could not constitute or make a law; but he could not help believing that a solemn construction of the existing statutes by the only court of judicature, before which the subject could be agitated, and such construction adopted by the very persons, who had been themselves framers of the statutes, entitled him to assert that to be law, which otherwise it might have been possible to have entertained doubts of.

The history of mankind had not furnished our ancestors with any example of the union of two countries circumstanced as England and Scotland were in the year 1706, by which the respective rights and franchises of the individuals of Scotland were to be finally settled and arranged, though exceedingly

dissimilar to those of the subjects of the country with which Scotland was to become united; and therefore it was not surprising that some of the terms of the treaty might be liable to misinterpretation, and particularly those which related to the peerage.

An elective peerage was a thing perfectly novel in its nature, and though much praise is due to the accuracy with which this statute of the 6th of queen Anne is drawn up, yet it is not very surprising that the first election in 1708 should have given birth to a great variety of questions relative to the mode of construing the acts for regulating the manner of elections. Accordingly on that occasion a petition was presented to the house, complaining of a great variety of irregularities; and the house, anxious to preclude the possibility of future cavil and doubt respecting the true intent and meaning of the treaty, and of the different acts on that subject, adopted a mode the most suited to its own dignity and the solemnity of its proceeding, and the best calculated to effect the object it had in view.

A string of abstract questions were stated to the house, arising out of the circumstances, which had happened at the election, and counsel having been heard thereon, it came to solemn resolutions on each, and after having so done, ordered a committee to report as to the number of votes for each candidate, according to the applications of those resolutions. The resolution which their lordships had heard read that day was one of them, and was the only one which any attempt had been made to infringe, although it had been held and considered completely as law for near fourscore years; their

their lordships therefore could not be offended with him for affirming that such is the law, when he is sanctioned by the weight of their own authority and the acquiescence of all those who were interested for 79 years.

He could not therefore admit, that the interest of the two noble persons, to whom it was reserved to discover that these solemn resolutions of their lordships were founded on a misconstruction of law, were now before them. He must affirm, that the matter was already settled; and the only object of this motion was, to prevent these noble persons from adopting a mode of making their claim, which was injurious to those, who thought their rights protected by this resolution.

The duke of Queensberry admitted, that if the resolution of 1708-9 was good for any thing, he had no ground to stand upon; but he should still contend that a resolution of that house was not final and conclusive; and therefore, if the present motion were carried, his rights were injured materially, because, if the present motion should pass, and he should afterwards offer to vote at any future election, his vote would be refused, and consequently he should not stand in the situation he then did, as several noble lords had contended.

The earl of Morton said, that he saw no reason to prefer one resolution of the house to another. As that of 1711 had been considered as unjust, why might not the other resolution of 1708-9 be deemed liable to the same imputation. At least till he heard some good reason to the contrary, he should hold himself entitled so to consider it. The act of union directed that sixteen Scotch

peers should be chosen by all the Scotch peerage, to be their representatives in parliament; why, therefore were they to set up distinctions contradictory to an express act of parliament?

The duke of Richmond observed, that it appeared to him unjust to pass the present motion in the absence of one noble duke, whose rights would be materially affected by it; and when another noble duke standing in the same situation, desired to be heard by his counsel in defence of his rights. The duke contended, that no judicial court ever took upon themselves, upon their own mere motion, and without a new case before them, to promulgate a judgment long since delivered. He recommended a procedure by bill, in preference to the proposed motion, because it would remove all ground of complaint of injury, and afford the parties, who conceived their rights infringed upon, abundant opportunity of making out their claims in the progress of the bill through its various stages.—The motion made by lord Hopetoun was at length carried by a considerable majority.

Soon after the decision of this question in the house of lords, viz. on the 23d of May, another question, respecting the construction of the act of union, was agitated in the house of commons. It arose in consequence of the succession of the present earl of Wemys to that earldom, whose eldest son, Francis Charteris, now lord Elcho, represented the boroughs of Lauder, &c. in Scotland.—By the ancient parliamentary law of Scotland the eldest sons of peers could not sit in the house of commons; and by an article in the act of union it is provided,

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that

that the two kingdoms should participate reciprocally in the benefits, advantages, rights, and immunities of each other. The motion made by sir John Sinclair was to the following purport, "That a new writ should be made out for electing a member for the districts of Lauder, &c. in the room of Francis Charteris, esq; now become the eldest son of a peer of Scotland, and thereby incapable of representing the said districts in this house."

In support of the motion the journals of the 3d December 1708 were referred to, in which it appeared, that on the petition of Alexander Irvine and others against the election of lord Haddo, eldest son of the earl of Aberdeen, the same, after a discussion in a full house, was declared null and void by a considerable majority; as was also about the same time that of lord Charles Douglas. It was urged that these proceedings, which were clear and decided, occurred within a year of the settlement of the union; at a time when the true intention of the parties who negotiated it could be readily ascertained; and therefore the precedents were to be considered as the rule of conduct laid down by the house upon the most unquestionable principles. With respect to the reciprocity of advantages, rights, and immunities provided for in the act of union, it would be found to exist in its true sense, without any infringement upon the peculiar usages of Scotland.—A noble member (lord Maitland) the eldest son of a Scotch earl, had by his merit

obtained a seat in that house for an English borough; and there was no hindrance to an English nobleman under the same circumstances obtaining a seat for a Scotch township or county.

On the other hand it was urged, that there was no precedent for dispossessing the son of a Scotch peer of his seat, when he had been legally elected, and the title had devolved to the father pending the session of a parliament.—It was further urged, that the precedents referred to were all cases, which had occurred in times of great party violence; and the words of bishop Burnet were quoted, who, speaking of that period, says, "The court and whigs had joined, and were determined to carry every thing their own way; so that the whigs unblushingly decided elections without regard to justice or any other consideration but their own party feelings against the tories."—In the next place it was contended, that the reciprocity of advantages stated in the act of union was destroyed by depriving the eldest sons of Scotch peers of any rights possessed by the sons of English peers; and the house was reminded, that there had been a period when the sons of English peers had been in like manner disabled from sitting in that house. The speakers for the motion were sir John Sinclair, Mr. Dundas, sir James Johnstone, and sir Adam Fergusson; against it the lords Beauchamp, Maitland, and Elcho.—The motion was carried without a division.

C H A P. VI.

Accusation of Mr. Hastings. Celebrated speech of Mr. Sheridan on the third charge, respecting the Begums of Oude; its remarkable effects; house adjourn thereon; debate resumed; opinion of Mr. Pitt respecting the matter of the charge—voted by a large majority. Mr. Burke proposes to come directly to the question of impeachment; opposed by Mr. Pitt. Conversation relative to the evidence and prosecution of Sir Elijah Impey. Fourth charge, relative to the Nabob of Farruckabad, opened by Mr. T. Pelham. Reasons of Mr. Dundas for voting for the charge. Speech by Lord Hood in favour of Mr. Hastings; answered by Mr. Pitt. Difficulties under which the accusers of Mr. Hastings laboured. Fifth charge, relative to contracts and salaries, opened by Sir James Erskine. Mr. Pitt objects to a great part of the charge—moves to have it confined to three points. Mr. Burke moves, that two others should be added. Mr. Burke's amendment carried. Altercation between Mr. Francis and Mr. Pitt. Sixth charge, respecting Fyzoola Khân, opened by Mr. Wyndham. Criminal parts of the charge stated by Mr. Dundas. Explanation by Mr. Burke. Proposal of Mr. Pitt for bringing forward the question of impeachment; acceded to by Mr. Burke. Seventh charge, relative to bribes and presents, opened by Mr. Sheridan; supported by Lord Mulgrave and Mr. Grenville. Report from the committee on the charges read a first time. Conversation respecting the mode of proceeding. Opinion of Mr. Fox—of Mr. Pitt—of Mr. Burke. Motion to read the report a second time, objected to by Major Scott. Paper read containing the sentiments of Mr. Hastings respecting the prosecution. Committee to prepare articles of impeachment. Eighth charge, respecting the revenues of Bengal, opened by Mr. Francis; he vindicates himself from suspicions of personal enmity to Mr. Hastings. Mr. Pitt's observations on the eighth charge. Conversation between Mr. Barwell and Mr. Burke, respecting his impeaching the former. Articles of impeachment read a first time; motion for reading them a second time opposed by Lord Hood, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Smith, Lord advocate for Scotland, and Mr. Alderman Townshend—supported by Mr. Pitt—carried by a great majority. Question of impeachment opposed by Mr. Sumner—carried without a division. Mr. Montagu moves, that Mr. Burke do impeach Mr. Hastings at the bar of the House of Lords—ordered. Motion for taking Mr. Hastings into custody opposed by Mr. Nicholls—ordered. Lords acquainted therewith. Mr. Hastings delivered to the Black Rod—brought to the bar; articles read; admitted to bail; ordered to give in his answer the second day of the next meeting of parliament. Speaker's address to the King. King's speech. Parliament prorogued.

HAVING related in their order the principal matters that occurred in the ordinary proceedings of the present session of parliament, we must go back to that great object, which engaged in a peculiar manner the attention of the house of commons during the same period—the accusation and impeachment of Mr. Hastings. No time

time was lost at the commencement of the session in bringing forward this business with all possible expedition. On the first day of the meeting, Jan. 23d, Mr. Burke gave notice that he should renew the proceedings on the first day of February following. That and the following day were spent in examining Mr. Middleton and Sir Elijah Impey; and on Wednesday the seventh Mr. Sheridan opened the third charge against Mr. Hastings, viz. the resumption of the jaghires, and the confiscation of the treasures of the princesses of Oude, the mother and grandmother of the reigning nabob.

The subject of this charge was peculiarly fitted for displaying all the pathetic powers of eloquence; and never were they displayed with greater skill, force, and elegance, than upon this occasion. For five hours and an half Mr. Sheridan kept the attention of the house (which from the expectation of the day was uncommonly crowded) fascinated by his eloquence; and when he sat down, the whole house, the members, peers, and strangers, involuntarily joined in a tumult of applause, and adopted a mode of expressing their approbation, new and irregular in that house, by loudly and repeatedly clapping with their hands. Mr. Burke declared it to be the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there is any record or tradition. Mr. Fox said, "All that he had ever heard—all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vanished like vapour before the sun." Mr. Pitt acknowledged, that it surpassed all the eloquence of ancient or modern times, and possessed eve-

ry thing that genius or art could furnish to agitate and control the human mind. The effects it produced were proportioned to its merits: after a considerable suspension of the debate, one of the friends of Mr. Hastings with some difficulty obtained, for a short time, a hearing; but finding the house too strongly affected by what they had heard, to listen to him with favour, sat down again. Several members confessed, that they had come down strongly prepossessed in favour of the person accused, and imagined nothing less than a miracle could have wrought so entire a revolution in their sentiments. Others declared, that though they could not resist the conviction that flashed upon their minds, yet they wished to have time to cool before they were called upon to vote; and though they were persuaded that it would require another miracle to produce another change in their opinions, yet for the sake of decorum, they thought it proper that the debate should be adjourned. Mr. Fox and Mr. M. A. Taylor strongly opposed this proposition, contending that it was not less absurd than unparliamentary to defer coming to a vote for no other reason than that had been alledged than because the members were too firmly convinced; but Mr. Pitt falling in with the opinions of the former, the debate was adjourned a little after one o'clock.

The day following the debate was resumed by Mr. Francis, in support of the charge; and by Mr. Burges, Major Scott, Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Vanfittart, and Mr. Alderman Le Mcurrier, in defence of Mr. Hastings. After having heard the arguments on both sides, Mr. Pitt rose to deliver his sentiments. He began

began with declaring, that he had from the first day of the charges being agitated within those walls, considered the matter as of a most serious and important nature, in which the honour and character of that house, and the honour and character of the individual accused, were both deeply involved. It therefore behoved the committee to deliberate with the greatest temper, and not to decide in any one stage of the business without having previously made the fullest investigation of every fact stated in each particular charge, and a careful comparison of the whole of the evidence adduced, both in favour of the accused, and in support of the accusation brought against him; so that on whichever side they should finally give their votes, it might be on the fullest conviction, that they had discharged their duty honestly, impartially, and conscientiously. He had the satisfaction to know, that this had been the line of conduct that he had pursued from the moment that the subject had been first submitted to the consideration of parliament; and as he had ever been of opinion that the charge relative to the princesses of Oude was that, which of all others bore upon the face of it the strongest marks of criminality and cruelty, so had he been particularly careful to guard against the impression of every sort of prejudice, and to keep his mind open for the reception of whatever could tend, on the one hand, to establish innocence, or on the other, to bring home conviction of guilt; and in order the better to enable himself to decide with safety, he had with the utmost minuteness and attention compared the charge, article by article, with the evidence adduced at the bar in support of

each, and with the various minutes and letters that had been brought before the house, or were any where to be found within his reach. Mr. Pitt then declared, that although, for reasons he should state, he thought himself bound to vote with the gentleman who brought the charge, yet he wished it to be understood, that he did not accede to the whole of the grounds of the accusation contained in the charge, or the inferences that had been drawn from them. He then stated the two great points in the charge, in which he thought the criminality of Mr. Hastings had been fully proved. The resumption of the jaghires was a measure which in his opinion might, in certain situations, have been justified; but the situation of the India company, as guarantee of the treaty, laid them under the strongest obligation, perhaps, to have positively and at all events resisted, but, at least, not to have prompted it. The seizure of the treasures being neither supported by any formal proceedings of justice, nor by any state necessity, it was, he said, impossible not to condemn it; and it was greatly aggravated by making the nabob the instrument; the son the instrument of robbing the mother. The crime of Mr. Hastings he thought still farther aggravated by his titling the orders of the court of directors, which expressly commanded a revision of the proceedings against those princesses. With respect to many other collateral circumstances urged in aggravation of the charge, he thought them either not criminal, or not brought home to Mr. Hastings. The question being at length called for, and the house dividing, there appeared for the motion 175, against it 68.

On the 19th Mr. Burke begged leave

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leave to call the attention of the house to the present state of the accusation of Mr. Hastings, which was attended with many awkward circumstances, owing, as he conceived, to their having originally departed from the usual course of proceeding in matters of that nature. The deliberate caution with which they had hitherto proceeded would, however, be attended with some advantages in their future proceedings towards obtaining judgment; but he thought, that having now solemnly declared upon two charges of high and atrocious delinquency, that they contained fit grounds of impeachment, the sooner they resorted to the antient mode of proceeding, by a vote of impeachment, the better. The proper steps might then be taken for preventing the party impeached from quitting the kingdom, removing his property, alienating any sums of money, or taking any other steps to evade the ends of justice. There was one circumstance, he should mention, that pointed out this, or some other proceeding of that sort, as absolutely necessary, viz. that it was confidently reported, that another gentleman from India, strongly implicated in the transactions of Mr. Hastings, and against whom proceedings of a serious nature would soon be instituted, had, within a short time, sold out of the public funds property to the amount of £.50,000. Major Scott, misapprehending that it was intended to insinuate that this property belonged to Mr. Hastings, got up to assure the house that he had no concern in it; and to declare upon his honour, that from the information he possessed relative to the affairs of

Mr. Hastings, he could take upon him to assert that his whole fortune did not exceed £50,000.—Mr. Pitt defended the mode of proceeding adopted by the house, and did not conceive that they could with propriety resort to any other.

The day following, the house being in a committee on the charges, Mr. Dundas rose and said, that as notice had been given that a charge of a serious nature would be brought forward against Sir Elijah Impey, he would suggest to those concerned in the prosecution, that it would be inconsistent with the justice, the candour, and the benevolence of that house, to call and examine a gentleman as a witness at their bar, and then to make his evidence the ground of future crimination against him.

Sir Gilbert Elliott said, that though he had determined, from a review of his general conduct, to move for an impeachment against Sir Elijah Impey, yet the house could not think of waiving the advantage of any information it could possibly obtain. The subject of the present examination, however, did not come, as far as he knew at present, within the limits of his intended charge, although the latter went to affect nearly the whole of Sir Elijah's conduct, as he looked on him, by his extra-official interference, to have had a share in some of the most guilty transactions that had taken place in India.

Mr. Burke observed, that it was impossible for those who had brought forward the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, to think of losing the advantage of that person's testimony, who had been the intimate confidant of the principal culprit. Sir Elijah Impey knew undoubtedly too much of

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of law to answer any questions which might tend to criminate himself; and those who were to examine him would never insist on his answering questions of such a tendency.

Mr. Pitt agreed in the opinion, that to suppress the testimony of such a person would be to disarm the hand of justice; yet he thought that delicacy and propriety demanded, that the witness should have such notice of the intended charge, as might tend to put him on his guard. Mr. Burke immediately assented to this proposition, and accordingly offered a motion to the following effect, which was put and carried, "That Sir Elijah Impey be called in, and that the chairman be instructed to inform him, that it was possible that a criminal enquiry may be instituted against himself, on the ground of extra-official interference, and his general conduct in India; and that the subject on which he was then to be examined may lead to proceedings connected with such an enquiry."

Sir Elijah was then called in, and on receiving this notice from the chairman, said, "That as he was conscious of no guilt, and as there was no part of his conduct which he would wish to secrete, this notice would make no difference in his wishes to give the committee the fullest information."

He then underwent a long examination respecting the transactions with the nabob of Farruckabad.

On the second of March Mr. T. Pelham opened the fourth charge, the subject of which was the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Mr. Hastings towards the nabob of Farruckabad. After Mr. Pelham had gone through the charge, and Major Scott had been heard in reply, Mr.

Dundas rose and said, there were two points necessary to be cleared up, before he could bring himself to vote for Mr. Hastings on the present question. The first related to the breach of the treaty of Chunar. This treaty he confessed that he never liked, and always regretted its having been made; his prejudice therefore against the treaty might naturally operate in reconciling him to the breach of it, provided it could be plausibly defended. It was not impossible but there might have been some desirable object in view in the making of the treaty, which might justify that measure, notwithstanding it was evident that a necessity would occur of breaking it. If this was the case, he should then admit that it was a *bad* way of doing a *good* thing, and be induced to excuse it, particularly if the same good end could not have been obtained by more direct means. But what this desirable object was, and how it happened to be only attainable by such indirect, circuitous, and objectionable means, he expected to have fully explained before he could bring himself to look upon the transaction as innocent or excusable; and as yet he had never heard any such explanation attempted. He should also expect to hear of some actual necessity having existed for the recall of Mr. Shee, seeing that Mr. Hastings knew, and expressly acknowledges, that by such recall either the nabob of Farruckabad must be sacrificed to the nabob vizier, or else be abandoned to the dangerous and destructive management of his own family and servants. Unless he should receive a full answer to those two points, he should certainly feel himself indispensably bound to vote for the motion,

motion, provided it was persisted in; yet he could not but give a caution to the gentleman who had brought forward the charge, to reflect whether it would be worth while to prosecute it to the other house, as it appeared not likely, if substantiated, to add much to Mr. Hastings's criminality or punishment, and would require a vast volume of evidence to prove it. This he only submitted to his discretion, for if the question were to be put, he must vote for it, unless he should receive complete satisfaction on the two points he had already stated.

The cause of Mr. Hastings met, this day, with support from a new quarter, which, if it had been brought forward before the examination into his conduct had proceeded so far, might perhaps have proved more effectual. As it was, it served only to draw from Mr. Pitt declarations, which left Mr. Hastings no other hope than that of an acquittal in Westminster-hall.

Lord Hood, in a solemn manner, called the serious attention of the house to the consequences of proceeding with too scrupulous a nicety to canvass the conduct of those who had filled stations abroad of high difficulty and important trust. Certain actions, which appeared to those at a distance in a very criminal light, were yet, on a nearer investigation, perfectly justifiable on the grounds of absolute and indispensable necessity. Should the fear of an impeachment by parliament be hung out to every commander, in whose hands was placed the defence of our national possessions, it must necessarily operate as a dangerous restraint to their exertions, when it was considered that no general or admiral had scarcely

ever been fortunate enough to conduct himself in the performance of his duty, without occasionally falling into circumstances, in which the public service compelled him to do things in themselves not pleasing to his feelings, nor strictly legal; but from the indispensable necessities of their situation perfectly justifiable. The example set by the house of commons, in the present instance, would for ever stand before our future commanders, and create a great and dangerous clog to the public service. For his own part, at his time of life he could have no prospect of being again employed in any foreign active command, and therefore he had no personal inducements for the part he should take in giving his negative to any farther progress in this prosecution, but he spoke for those who were to come after him; his regard for his country made him anxious to prevent a precedent, by which all her services would for the future be greatly impeded; and this he was confident would be the effect of punishing any harsh and severe, but perhaps necessary and indispensable acts of power, which the saviour of India had, for the public good, been found to commit.

Mr. Pitt rose immediately after lord Hood, and said, that he should have been satisfied with giving a silent vote for the question, so evident to his mind were the grounds on which that vote was supported, were it not that he felt himself called upon to give an immediate answer to the arguments used by the noble lord, lest from the weight of his authority, and more especially on such a subject, they should blind and mislead the judgment of the committee. He admitted,

mitted, that in the case of every servant of the public, to whom vast and momentous concerns were entrusted, it was but just that when a complaint was made, the grounds of that complaint ought to be weighed with the situation in which he stood. If he suffered the necessities of his service to carry him no farther than was absolutely necessary, and endeavoured, though it could not be done in its full extent, to reconcile his duty to his country with that he owed to individuals; he had then the double merit of discretion as well as zeal;—nay, even if in his exertions for the public, he suffered himself to be carried beyond the line of strict and urgent necessity, provided that it was evident that his intentions were fair and upright, God forbid that he or any man should deny him his due merit, or say that the abundance of his zeal ought not to be allowed to make ample atonement for the error of his judgment. But he asked, was the conduct of Mr. Hastings, in that part of it now before the house, correspondent to such principles? Was the crime that day alleged against him justified by necessity, or was it of such a size and complexion as any existing necessity could justify? Where a departure was made from justice and right, it was not sufficient to say, that such a step was necessary; it was incumbent on the party to point out and prove the necessity, and the consequences likely to attend a too rigid observance of strict justice and propriety. A comparison might then be formed between the object to be gained, and the sacrifice to be made, and a judgment of censure or approbation founded on the result of such com-

parison. But in the present instance no state necessity whatsoever was attempted to be shewn, and therefore there was no ground whatsoever for those who saw a criminal tendency in the transaction to refuse their consent to the motion.

Besides this topic of the necessities of his situation, the noble lord had resorted to another in favour of Mr. Hastings, namely, his general merits in the course of his service. There had been a period, he confessed, in which such an argument might have been urged with some force, but that period was now past. The committee was then called upon to determine not, upon a general view of facts, the general merits or demerits of the person accused, but, upon a particular investigation of a particular transaction, the criminality or innocence of that single transaction.

With respect to the particular charge then under discussion, it was not necessary for him to say much. He begged leave to refer the committee to that part of Mr. Hastings's correspondence, where, in speaking of the recall of Mr. Shee from Farruckabad, Mr. Hastings acknowledged, "that by so doing he must give up nabob Muzuffer Jung to the oppression of the vizier," so that he could not justify himself for such a step by any plea of wanting sufficient warning of the consequence, having evidently foreseen it; nor had there been any grounds of necessity alledged to palliate the measure. But besides thus letting loose the vizier on the nabob of Farruckabad, the consequence of which he knew would be the ruin and oppression of that unfortunate prince, and that this was done without any necessity, what could excuse his

his accepting of a present of such magnitude as that, which he had received from the nabob of Oude? Could such a transaction be excused by any degree of necessity? Was there a fleet in want of her necessary supplies; was there any army waiting for subsistence; or did any one branch whatsoever of the public service render so extraordinary a resource requisite?—No; it was justified by no necessity—it could therefore be accounted for by nothing but corruption. But he had chiefly risen, he said, to interpose as speedily as possible between the high authority of the noble lord and the feelings of the house, lest they might be led by his arguments to confound the two cases; that of a man struggling against a violent necessity, and at length obliged to give way to the exigency of the public service, and to deviate into a necessary injustice; and that of a person wantonly committing acts of tyranny and oppression, for which not even a pretence of public service had been alledged.

The committee divided upon this question; ayes 112—noes 50.

On the seventh of March, Mr. Burke rose to beg the attention of the house to the many difficulties, with which the gentlemen, who had to furnish the house with the evidence necessary for substantiating the charges against Mr. Hastings, had to labour. It was well known that the servants of the company were under an obligation to send over copies of their proceedings, minutes, and correspondence to the court of directors at home. This was undoubtedly a necessary and wise precaution; but in the case of Mr. Hastings, the most glaring instances of disobedience of this rule

had occurred. Whenever the late governor general thought proper, he mutilated, garbled, or suppressed his correspondence, and one of the great difficulties of carrying on the prosecution against that gentleman arose from this circumstance; a circumstance involving in itself a charge of very considerable weight and importance. Another difficulty originated from their ignorance of the titles of the papers they wished to call for. Mr. Burke, instancing the late charge, said, that he had called for the Farruckabad papers, and he thought that all of them had been presented; but a very respectable member of that house had afterwards called for others under another name, and had by those means furnished the house with the Persian correspondence, which proved to be very material. He next observed, that the attorney of Mr. Hastings was the attorney of the East-India company, in defence of whose rights, and for the punishment of whose servants, that house was now carrying on a prosecution! He begged leave to point out the manifest advantage which this circumstance gave Mr. Hastings over the house, for while they were groping in the dark, and guessing at what papers they ought to call for, Mr. Hastings's attorney, who had daily access to all the company's papers, might lay his hand on any of them, and come to the bar of the house of lords, and there produce some paper or other, to overturn the whole of the evidence which they had been able to come at, and assist Mr. Hastings to laugh at the prosecution. It appeared, that a correspondence was kept back which would shew the remonstrances of the nabob of Oude against

against many of those measures which were alledged to be taken at his express suggestion; and what was more, there was also a suppression of the whole of the Persian correspondence, which, with respect to this point, was undoubtedly very material. As a proof of the very incorrect and suspicious manner in which these papers were disposed of, Mr. Burke instanced the circumstance of many of them being in the possession of the chief justice, sir Elijah Impey, instead of Mr. Middleton, the resident, to whose department they most properly belonged. The house then would perceive the many inconveniences, under which the gentlemen laboured, who were engaged in the prosecution. Mr. Burke submitted these matters to the consideration of the house, and concluded with moving for a great variety of papers, which were granted.

On the 15th of March the charge relative to contracts and salaries was opened by sir James Erskine. Mr. Pitt immediately followed, declaring that he rose so early in the debate for the purpose of bringing the question within a narrower compass, and of consequently shortening the debate. The charge, he said, might be divided into three distinct parts; the first relating to the extravagant terms of the contracts, and the violation of the company's orders in making them; the second, to the increased salary to sir Eyre Coote; and the third, to the unwarrantable excess of the civil expenditure during his administration.

With regard to the contracts, he thought some of them too insignificant to be entitled to any discussion whatever in parliament, with a view to impeachment; and

others were so circumstanced in point of time, as to be extremely unfit to be made a ground of criminal charge against Mr. Hastings. Out of these therefore he should only except two, the contract for bullocks in the year 1779, and the opium contract in 1781; in both of which there appeared evident circumstances of criminality, and strong ground for suspicion of corruption.

The second article appeared to him of more prominent magnitude than any other part of the charge, viz. the increased salary given to sir Eyre Coote, in avowed and unqualified disobedience of the company's orders, and the imposing the payment of that additional salary on a prince closely connected with the company, and who already paid to the Bengal government a fixed and stipulated tribute, which, he said, was a gross and manifest violation of the faith of the company, and a perversion of the power entrusted to him by his office. His continuing this salary in an underhand and covert manner, after a particular prohibition from the directors, was a shameful and disgraceful evasion of his duty, and one which highly merited the censure of parliament, and that part of the charge should consequently have his most hearty concurrence.

As to the third branch of the charge, that relating to a corrupt profusion in the civil expenditure, it was a subject, which he should by no means consent to make any part of a criminal charge, because it did not appear substantiated upon grounds sufficiently strong to warrant the house to include it in a matter of impeachment.

This led him to suggest a few considerations

considerations to those gentlemen who had taken the lead in the prosecution. After what had already passed, he believed there was no one who had any regard to the dignity of parliament, or to the ends of public and substantial justice, that could have any wish but to forward it as much as possible, and to bring it before the other house, in the most unquestionable shape. But he conceived that it was by no means the best way to the end they had in view to clog it with useless, unnecessary, and impracticable matter. To strip it of all such was the most advisable thing for the house to endeavour; and he wished the right honourable gentleman who had taken so active a part in the business, would, on some early day, ascertain and determine on such charges as he intended to bring forward; as there were many of those already before the house, that he was certain could never be made out in proof, or if they could, were not of sufficient criminality to excuse and warrant the present mode of proceeding. For the several reasons therefore which he had given in the course of his speech, he said, he should propose an amendment to the present motion, which, if it should be adopted by the house, would leave him at liberty to vote for the general question: his amendment was to add the following words to the motion: "In respect to the contract for bullocks in the year 1779; that for opium in the year 1781; and to the increased salary of Sir Eyre Coote."

Mr. Burke rose, and declared, that he considered the proposition made by the right honourable gentleman, as a proposition founded in

amity and friendship; that for his part he should be exceedingly happy to be able to state what other of the charges he should think it necessary to go into, as containing criminal facts too serious and important to be dispensed with, or passed over; that in truth he thought every one of the charges did contain matter of that description, and the great difficulty was, to determine what could be best spared. He resembled, in his present situation, a shipmaster, who, in order to lighten his vessel, was under the necessity of throwing some of the cargo overboard. But what articles he was to commit to the waves he was perfectly at a loss to determine. Nay, he was afraid to enter on this office, lest gentlemen should afterwards tell him, "You, indeed, at first furnished yourself with an excellent cargo; many of your articles were of the very best quality; but whilst you have retained trifles, you have consigned those, which were of the greatest value, to the waves."

Mr. Burke then adverted to the amendment moved by Mr. Pitt, which, he said, he conceived himself indispensably bound to endeavour to re-amend, by inserting several other material parts of the charge. The committee divided, first upon Mr. Burke's amendment, which was carried by a majority of nine; and then upon the main question, which was carried by a majority of 34.

On the 22d of March, after a warm altercation between Mr. Francis and Mr. Pitt, relative to the production of some improper and irrelative evidence before the committee by the former, Mr. Wyndham opened the sixth charge respecting Fyzoola Khân, the rajah of Rampore. Major Scott followed Mr.

Mr. Wyndham; after which Mr. Dundas rose, and stated the principal point, in which he thought the conduct of Mr. Hastings criminal, viz. the violation of the guarantee of the company to the treaty of 1774. To that treaty he conceived Fyzoola Khân had every right to consider the company as guarantee, in consequence of colonel Champion's signing his name as an attestation of it, and of the subsequent public authorised attestation of it at Rampore. By the treaty of Chunar, in 1781, that guarantee was violated, and the British name brought into disgrace, as by an article of that treaty Fyzoola Khân was declared to have forfeited the protection of the British government, and permission was granted to the nabob vizier to resume his lands. That that permission was never intended to be suffered by Mr. Hastings to be carried into execution, Mr. Dundas declared, he verily believed; and in that circumstance consisted, in his mind, a great part of Mr. Hastings's criminality; as he thereby made use of the credit of the British name to delude the nabob vizier, and at the same time to hold out to Fyzoola Khân an idea that the British government, which was the guarantee to him for the quiet possession of Rampore, Shawabad, and some other districts, had stipulated by treaty to assist the nabob vizier in dispossessing him of those territories. He commented on the extreme criminality of this conduct; but as it certainly differed materially from the construction that might be put on the charge, viz. that it had been the intention of Mr. Hastings really to assist in dispossessing Fyzoola Khân of his territories, he

could not agree to the motion, unless it was modified and tempered so as to restrict it to the points in which the matter of impeachment, in his opinion, really consisted. The better to convey his meaning to the committee, Mr. Dundas said, he would produce the amendment he had designed to offer to the motion. It was, in substance, to state, that in the charge there was matter of impeachment, as far as related to that part of the treaty of Chunar which went to a breach of the guarantee of the treaty of Rampore. Mr. Dundas said, he did not mean to press his amendment, if it should appear to be disagreeable to gentlemen on the other side. He was aware he should have another opportunity of stating it, and enforcing its reception, when the question of impeachment came to be agitated.

Mr. Burke observed, in reply to Mr. Dundas, that he believed, upon a more attentive consideration of the charge, the learned member would find, that in the charge preferred by him there was not a syllable amounting to an insinuation, much less a direct charge, that it had been Mr. Hastings's real intention to assist in dispossessing Fyzoola Khân of his jaghire; and the reason was, because he had neither direct legal, nor sufficiently strong presumptive evidence to support such an insinuation. The great charge against Mr. Hastings in this case was, that he had kept Fyzoola Khân in a fever for ten years together, in which that father of agriculture (for so Mr. Hastings calls him) was put into a perpetual series of hot and cold fits, not knowing whether he was to look up to the British government in India as his protectors

or

or oppressors. The committee divided; for the question 96, against it 37.

The house being resumed, the chancellor of the exchequer rose to express his wish, that before the house adjourned, a day might be fixed for bringing up the report of the committee. He should certainly, he said, give such a vote on the general question of the impeachment as would correspond with the part which he had already taken; but he must at the same time observe, that having only partially acquiesced in the propriety of several of the charges, particularly in those concerning the affair of Benares, and the contracts, he should endeavour to bring the matter before the house in such a way, as would relieve him from the unpleasant alternative of being obliged either to dissent *in toto* from a proposition, to several parts of which he wished to give his concurrence, or to vote for one, which contained some circumstances to which he was adverse. But whether he should for this purpose make a separate motion, or only move an amendment when the business was brought before the house by those who conducted the prosecution, he was not as yet prepared to determine.

Mr. Burke declared, that he approved of the right honourable gentleman's proposition; and with regard to what he had said respecting the difference of opinion which subsisted between them upon certain parts of the charge relative to Benares, and that relative to the contracts, he trusted he would have the candour to keep his mind open upon those points, as he had no manner of doubt but that he should be able, at a fit opportunity, to convince him,

that they might both of them readily concur in the same vote. Monday the 2d day of April was then fixed upon for bringing up the report.

Upon that day, previous to the bringing up of the report, Mr. Sheridan opened the seventh charge, relative to the corrupt receiving of bribes and presents. Major Scott in his defence having, amongst other arguments, urged the favourable reception, which Mr. Hastings, after the supposed commission of all these crimes, had met with on his return home both from his masters, the directors of the company, and several members of administration, Lord Mulgrave rose to reprobate what he termed, this shabby species of defence. There were, he said, many parts of Mr. Hastings's conduct of which he highly approved, and which he always had and ever should applaud; but it was not enough to say, in answer to charges, the most serious and important in every point of view, that since Mr. Hastings's return the directors had commended his conduct; that they had entertained him at a dinner, and that some members of the Indian government had dined in the same room. Lord Mulgrave then observed, that he could with greater confidence speak his sentiments on the subject of the present charge than on any which had preceded it. On the charge of contracts, as on some others, it was difficult to draw the line between what might be deemed tolerated patronage, and a corrupt exercise of power: but in the charge under consideration there was no difficulty; the facts which it contained were not involved in doubt, nor perplexed with being subject to a variety of interpretations. He then proceeded to shew that

that Mr. Hastings was fully and perfectly acquainted with the meaning and extent of the act for preventing the receipt of presents, which he had so daringly violated.

Mr. W. Grenville declared his concurrence with the honourable member who opened the charge in almost every point that he had urged. He added, if in this illegal proceeding Mr. Hastings had exercised peculation and extortion to supply the exigencies of the public service, this, though not a justification of his conduct, would be at least a diminution of his offence. But no such palliation as this appeared in any of the transactions; and though it was not absolutely proved, that Mr. Hastings had not employed this money for the public service, yet there was very strong ground for such suspicion, from his avoiding to give any explanation of many parts of his conduct, though ordered to do so by the court of directors. Upon a division, there appeared, for the question 165, against it 54.

The house being resumed, the report from the committee was brought up by their chairman, Mr. St. John; and upon the question "That it be now read a first time," the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that in a business of such consequence as that in which they were engaged, he felt every successive stage become more and more important, and could not therefore repress his anxiety to preserve that degree of formality and regularity in the proceeding, which should leave him and other members at full liberty to deliver their votes, without hesitation, singly and exclusively, on the merits of the grand decisive question of impeachment,

and free from any objections that might be made to the form in which that question should come forward. He therefore wished to know how the right honourable gentleman intended to proceed. For his part, having in some of the articles gone only a certain length in his assent; and by no means admitted a degree of guilt equal to that imputed in the charges, he could not think himself justified in joining in a general vote of impeachment, which might seem to countenance the whole of each several charge, those parts which he thought really criminal, as well as those which were of an exculpatory nature. The method which it was most advisable, in his opinion, to pursue, was to refer the charges to a committee, in order to select out of them the criminal matter, and frame it into articles of impeachment; and then, on those articles, when reported to the house, to move the question of impeachment. If, on the contrary, the mode adopted was, to move the impeachment immediately, he should find himself under a necessity of moving, on the report from the committee, which had already sat on the charges, several amendments, confining the effects of each charge to that degree of real guilt, which he thought appeared in it.

Mr. Fox declared his opinion to be, that the report should be first taken into consideration, and if agreed to by the house, that the question of impeachment should immediately follow. This, he said, was most agreeable to the ancient constitutional mode, and best adapted to carry the views of every part of the house into execution. Those gentlemen who meant to urge the argument of a set-off would have

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a full opportunity of putting their favourite mode of defence to the test upon the general question; and those who had objections to the extent of the report, might propose their amendments when the specific articles came finally to be agreed to: whereas, if the house appointed a committee to draw the articles of impeachment before they had resolved to impeach, it would lay that committee under great difficulties, and abridge their discretion, by obliging them to look at the various sentiments and criticisms of different parties in the formation of the articles; and perhaps their task might at last prove fruitless. For the prosecution itself might be lost in the differences that might arise upon the particular form and shape of the articles, or from what was still more to be dreaded and guarded against in a proceeding of that kind, the influence of improper interference, to which that mode was particularly obnoxious.—He said, he did not see why the amendments, which had been hinted at, need at all prevent their first coming to a general question. Excepting only in one charge, that of contracts, had the right honourable gentleman made any distinction so strong, as to preclude him from voting generally with the resolution moved upon each of the charges. If therefore he had not objected, notwithstanding the various distinctions which he had taken upon several matters in those charges, to vote that they contained grounds of impeachment, why could he not consent to impeach, and in framing the specific articles, take the sense of the committee upon each of his wished-for amendments?

Mr. Pitt answered, that he still continued of opinion, that the mode

proposed by him was the most eligible. The peculiarity of the present case arose from this one circumstance, that the friends of the person accused wished, upon the general question of impeachment, to set off his services against his crimes. But how was it possible to form a comparison between the offences and merits of Mr. Hastings, except by first ascertaining the extent of each? The extent of his transgressions then could only be set forth in the final articles of impeachment; for it was the opinion of many members, that the whole of the matter contained in the present articles of charge, even on those which the committee had voted, was not criminal nor sufficiently substantiated, and that a great part of them consisted of facts incapable of proof, or which, if proved, could not be imputed to Mr. Hastings as delinquencies. What then was the house to do, in order to bring the question of comparison between his crimes and his deserts fairly before them, except to separate and analyse the charges, so as to distinguish the real guilt from that which was unfounded, and then, having a clear view of a certain degree of ascertained guilt, determine how far that guilt would weigh against whatever degree of merit might be alledged and proved in his favour?

Thus, as far as respected the peculiarity of the case, from the intention of arguing by way of set-off in favour of Mr. Hastings, there was the strongest reason for adopting the method he proposed. But the right honourable gentleman dreaded the establishment of a precedent which might be attended with bad consequence in future. But how could any danger arise from the present instance?

instance? In proceedings of this nature the house ought to govern itself by the circumstances of the particular case; and some existed, which certainly might require the most decisive dispatch, and in which it would prove dangerous to delay the great and binding resolution for the impeachment a single moment. If, for example, a minister had been guilty of any act directly repugnant to the constitution, to the rights of parliament, or to the interests of the state, in such a case it would be highly expedient to come to an immediate vote of impeachment, before they allowed time for drawing up the articles; even though by so doing they should sacrifice the proper and regular forms of proceeding, and perhaps lose something by that sacrifice. It would generally happen that in every such instance, where the party accused was possessed of a power and influence so great as to render any delay in proceeding dangerous, that the offences of which he was guilty must be in themselves of so great, so public, and of so very palpable a nature, that no doubt could possibly arise as to his criminality; and there could therefore be no injustice in that summary and decisive mode of proceeding. But the same course ought by no means to be followed in cases so widely different as the present, when the accusation consisted of so very diffuse and complex a mass, of many charges which had not been substantiated, and of many facts, which could not in any degree be considered as criminal, though he was ready to declare that it also contained much of proved and most heavy delinquency. In such a case, there could be no danger in following the fair and obvious method of

first selecting and ascertaining the guilt, and then proceeding to the impeachment.

Mr. Burke rose to express his willingness to accede to this proposition: for although, he said, if he gave any preference, it must be to the constitutional mode recommended by his right honourable friend, yet he conceived that the difference between the two, each being supported by precedents, was not of so essential nature, as to make it necessary, by an obstinate adherence to either, to break in upon that unanimity, which had, so much to their credit, and to the credit of the cause they were engaged in, hitherto distinguished their proceedings.

The day following, before the resolutions of the committee were read a second time, major Scott rose and said, that much discussion having taken place relative to *setting off* the merits of Mr. Hastings against his supposed delinquencies, he begged leave to inform the house, that neither Mr. Hastings nor his friends had the most distant idea of having recourse to such a mode of defence. The sentiments of Mr. Hastings upon that subject he was authorized to submit to the house; and begged permission to read, as part of his speech, the following paper, which had been put into his hands for that purpose.

" Though it might be deemed
 " presumption in me to declare
 " any with or expectation concern-
 " ing the mode in which the house
 " of commons may, in its wisdom
 " or justice, determine to proceed
 " in the prosecution of the inquiry
 " into my conduct, now depending
 " before them; yet as it has been
 " reported, that many gentlemen,
 " members of that honourable as-
 " sembly,

“sembly, who have not chosen to
 “give their constant attendance on
 “the committee holden on this
 “business, have expressed their de-
 “termination of opposing the ge-
 “neral question of impeachment,
 “when it shall be brought before
 “the collective body of this house;
 “I hope I may, without irregula-
 “rity, or the imputation of disre-
 “spect, intimate my sense of such
 “a determination, both as it may
 “respect that question, and the
 “claim which I conceive I possess
 “to attendance on the question
 “upon the report, which in the
 “due order of business will pre-
 “cede it.

“I presume, that in the present
 “examination of my public con-
 “duct, there are two leading, and,
 “as it appears to me, exclusive
 “objects, of equal and reciprocal
 “obligation; namely, that justice
 “may be done to the nation, in the
 “redress or punishment of wrongs,
 “which it may be eventually
 “proved that it has sustained by
 “my acts; and that justice may
 “be done to an individual, who
 “may be eventually proved to
 “have been wronged by unfound-
 “ed accusations, and who even
 “thinks that he has a claim to
 “the applause of his country, for
 “those very acts which have been
 “drawn into crimination against
 “him.

“If it shall be resolved by the
 “honourable house of commons to
 “agree to the report of the com-
 “mittee, that is to say, if it shall
 “be resolved that there is ground
 “for impeaching me for high
 “crimes and misdemeanors, on
 “the charges on which the com-
 “mittee have already passed that
 “decision, I presume that the reso-

“lution for the impeachment ought
 “to follow of course, as the only
 “means which can satisfy the
 “justice of the nation in the sup-
 “position of my guilt, or clear my
 “character in the supposition of
 “my innocence. With regard to
 “the first of these conclusions I
 “have no claim: but for the last,
 “I may, in common with the
 “meanest of the subjects of this
 “realm, assert my right to the be-
 “nefit and protection of its laws;
 “and I trust, that the honourable
 “house of commons, which has
 “ever been considered as the guar-
 “dian and protector of the laws,
 “will not suffer my name to be
 “branded with the foulest and
 “blackest imputations upon their
 “records, without allowing me at
 “the same time the only legal
 “means of effacing them, by trans-
 “ferring them for trial to the
 “house of peers in the form of an
 “impeachment.

“To this opinion I humbly beg
 “leave to add my request, and it
 “is the only request or application
 “which I have hitherto permitted
 “myself to make to any of the in-
 “dividual members of the house
 “on the process of this business,
 “that if it shall be resolved on the
 “report, that there is ground to
 “charge me with high crimes and
 “misdemeanors, they will afford
 “me the benefit of their votes,
 “though united with those of my
 “prosecutors, that I may be brought
 “to legal trial for the same.

“WARREN HASTINGS.”

The resolutions were afterwards
 read and agreed to; and Mr. Burke
 moved, that they should be referred
 to a committee to prepare articles
 of impeachment upon the same, and
 that

that the committee consist of the following persons :

Edmund Burke, Esq.
 Right Hon. Charles James Fox
 Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq.
 Sir James Erskine
 Right Hon. Thomas Pelham
 Right Hon. William Wyndham
 Hon. St. Andrew St. John
 John Anstruther, Esq.
 William Adam, Esq.
 M. A. Taylor, Esq.
 Welbore Ellis, Esq.
 Right Hon. Frederick Montagu
 Sir Grey Cooper
 Philip Francis, Esq.
 Sir Gilbert Elliot
 Dudley Long, Esq.
 Lord Maitland
 Hon. G. A. North
 General Burgoyne
 Mr. Grey.

A division took place upon the nomination of Mr. Francis, against whom it was objected, that in India he had been personally at variance with Mr. Hastings; and he was rejected by a majority of 96 to 44. It was afterwards moved in the usual forms, that the committee might be invested with the customary powers of calling for papers and witnesses, sitting where they pleased, &c. &c., and it was agreed, that it must necessarily be a secret committee.

On the 19th day of April, Mr. Francis opened the charge relative to the revenues of Bengal.—He took this occasion of vindicating his character against certain malicious insinuations which had been industriously circulated both within and without the house, and to the effects of which he attributed the rejection of his name in the appointment of the committee the day before. It had been insinuated, he

said, that through the whole of his conduct in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, he had been actuated by private personal motives of hostility and hatred. In justification of himself, therefore, he should beg leave to state to the committee the origin and grounds of that hostility.—After stating the circumstances which recommended him to the appointment of one of the council with general Clavering and Mr. Monson, in the year 1773, he solemnly protested that they did not go out, as was generally imagined, with sentiments hostile to Mr. Hastings; but on the contrary that they *all* entertained the highest opinion of that gentleman's public character, inasmuch that general Clavering, previous to their sailing, obtained a private audience of his majesty for the purpose of humbly soliciting him to send out some mark of honour to Mr. Hastings, in order to induce him to continue in the government. With this high opinion of Mr. Hastings they landed at Calcutta; but soon found their error: it was upon public grounds, as all who were acquainted with the transactions of India well knew, that their opposition to Mr. Hastings commenced, and it was upon those grounds that his had continued to the present moment. Another circumstance of a more delicate nature had indeed occurred, which it was necessary to explain to the committee. He had, it was true, fought a duel with that gentleman at Calcutta; but here too there was no private cause of quarrel, their difference had been a public difference. Mr. Hastings had entered a minute upon the records of the council so injurious to his character in his public capacity, that it left him no

other

other alternative than that which he embraced; they met, and he was shot through the body; he did not imagine that he should survive; he gave Mr. Hastings his hand, and declared he forgave him—But what was it he forgave him? Why, the insult he had offered him, and the being the cause, as he then imagined, of his death. He did not renounce the opinions he held of his public conduct; he did not promise to abandon those opinions in case he survived; he did not engage to desist from prosecuting an enquiry into his conduct, if he lived to come to England, which he had always declared to Mr. Hastings himself he would endeavour to cause to be instituted.

Mr. Francis was answered by Major Scott. After which Mr. Pitt rose, and said, that the observations he had to make upon the present charge lay within so limited a compass, as not to require him to take up much of the time of the committee; and in fact, he should only call their attention to one particular point, upon which alone he thought they could with any degree of propriety concur with the honourable gentleman in the motion which he had made; nor did he think, that even on that point the house would act consistently in voting the present charge, because it was included in another charge, to which the house had already assented.—This circumstance was the fact of Mr. Hastings having received presents from Kellaram and Cullian Sing, on the settlement made with the zemindars, farmers, and collectors, in 1781. The house therefore having voted a specific article on that head, he should by no means vote another merely on the same ground; and he

was perfectly satisfied that there was no other foundation for a criminal charge against Mr. Hastings in the article which the honourable gentleman had opened, except that which he had now stated—the accepting of presents. Still, if it could be made appear that the charge, as it stood, would tend to throw any fresh or necessary light upon the receipt of the presents—would establish it more strongly in point of fact, or elucidate and prove the guilt of the transaction more forcibly—he should then be ready and willing to give the motion his hearty support. As to the other matters contained in the charge, and stated by the honourable gentleman, he either looked upon them as not criminal, or, if criminal, as not sufficiently proved, or capable of being substantiated at the bar of the other house.

In the course of this debate, Mr. Barwell, the member for St. Ives, who had been an associate with Mr. Hastings in the government of Bengal, observed, that a right honourable gentleman having frequently introduced his name with some insinuation of blame, he could not avoid expressing an earnest desire, that if there was any charge of delinquency against him, it might be brought forward, and he was ready to meet it in that house, or elsewhere. Mr. Burke, who was the person alluded to, replied, that he did not mean to bring forward a charge against the honourable member, as his hands were sufficiently full already; but if he was really anxious to be accused, he would, when at leisure, apply himself to the subject; for if he were compelled to speak the truth, he must say, that he did not think the whole of the gentleman's conduct unexceptionable

ceptionable whilst he was in India. —At length the question was put, and the committee divided; ayes 71, noes 55.

On the 25th of April Mr. Burke brought up from the secret committee the articles of impeachment, which being read a first time, were ordered to be printed, and to be taken into consideration on the 9th of May. Upon that day, on a motion that they should be read a second time, lord Hood rose to give his determined negative, and went over the arguments he had urged upon a former occasion. He was followed by Mr. Alderman Wilkes, and Mr. Smith, who were of opinion that many facts, upon which the charges were founded, were unsupported by evidence, others justifiable by state necessity, others again actually justified by the approbation of his masters and of the public, others defensible from the difference of manners and government in that country, and others highly meritorious. The former insisted strongly on the silence of the natives of India upon the subject of the dreadful oppressions said to have been practised amongst them; and attributed the greatest part of what appeared criminal in the conduct of Mr. Hastings, to the craving and avaricious policy of this country, whose demands had in some instances driven Mr. Hastings to the use of means not strictly justifiable. The amount of the charges, he said, supposing the facts true, was this, that Mr. Hastings, by oppression, by injustice and corruption, has obtained for the company nine millions and a half sterling. He thought that all the acts complained of were wise, politic, and just. But were he of a contrary opinion, he

could not, as an honest man, lay his hand upon his heart, and vote for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, while he basely and infamously benefited by his misdeeds. And how gentlemen, who condemn these acts suffer a day to pass without moving retribution to the sufferers, was to him incomprehensible.

The lord advocate for Scotland (Mr. Ilay Campbell) said, that considering the house as sitting in the capacity of a grand jury, and consequently that they ought to be thoroughly persuaded of the truth of the indictment, so far as the evidence went, and not to rest satisfied merely with remote probabilities, he could not conscientiously give his vote for the impeachment. He then took a view of the different articles of charge, and pointed out the parts in which he conceived the evidence to be essentially defective. He considered the necessities of the company, and the dangerous crisis of their affairs, as grounds of justification for the strong measures pursued by Mr. Hastings, in order to extricate them. The company having actually reaped the benefit of them, and so far approved of them, as never to have signified any intention of restitution, he could not conceive with what propriety Mr. Hastings could be impeached for them. He further observed, that Mr. Hastings had been most unjustly blamed for various acts of administration, in which he had only concurred with others—that the order of dates, as well as the state of the council at different periods, ought to have been more distinctly attended to in the charges. Mr. Hastings had enjoyed the casting voice in the council only for a very short time, and even then Mr.

Barwell was equally responsible with him. Afterwards, Mr. Wheeler, Sir John Macpherson, Sir Eyre Coote, and Mr. Stables, came gradually into the council. At one period a coalition took place between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis. How do the prosecutors account for this?—and is Mr. Hastings alone to be made accountable during that period?

He concluded with observing, that in suggesting what had occurred to him in favour of Mr. Hastings, he had avoided saying any thing upon the topic of his extraordinary services in general, being doubtful whether, upon the supposition of guilt in any specific article, a *set-off*, as it is called, or balancing of accounts between merits and demerits, would relevantly be admitted—at the same time it was a mode of defence not altogether new. The proceedings in lord Clive's case left no room to doubt that he owed his safety to it; and there was still a more illustrious example of it in history, the case of Epaminondas, the Theban general, who, when tried for his life before the tribunal of his country, for having kept the command four months after he should have laid it down, acknowledged the crime, but enumerated the glorious actions which he had performed; and said he would die with pleasure, if the sole merit of these were ascribed to him.—This speech procured his acquittal—and whoever reads the history of India, during the late war, will be apt to think that Mr. Hastings may die when he pleases, with similar words in his mouth.

Mr Alderman Townshend justified Mr. Hastings on the ground of state necessity; and said, that he

deserved the highest applause, for not having stood upon so paltry a punctilio as considering whether a measure was rigidly correct and legal, when the immediate necessity of the company's affairs, and the salvation of India, were concerned. The making restitution to the persons who had been injured would be more like an act of justice, than hunting down an individual, against whom no complaints had been made.

Mr. Martin declared himself a friend to the impeachment, since the facts in the several charges had been so fully established. He said, if any gentleman would move, that retribution should be made, he would second the motion.

Lord Mulgrave said, that as he had always voted against the question, except on the charge relative to presents, he must, for the sake of consistency, vote against the impeachment.

Mr. Burge's produced an address from the officers of the army in India, an army of 70,000 men, all of whom bore testimony to the important services of his administration.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose, and observed, that he was not a little surprised to find, that after every charge had been fully investigated in the committee, gentlemen should now object to the natural consequence of the whole, without bringing out any new matter whatever. He reprobated the idea of a *set-off* in very strong terms. He acknowledged, that many measures during the administration of Mr. Hastings, were uncommonly brilliant; and that in these his merits were unquestionable. But he trusted no man, who seriously regarded

regarded the honour of the house of commons, would expect that the justice of the country could admit of any compromise whatever. He was sorry his honourable friend, the lord advocate of Scotland, should conceive the honour of the representatives of the British nation not interested in rescuing the British character from that degree of infamy and degradation to which it had been reduced.—The accusations which had been preferred against Mr. Hastings were now not only the cause of the house, but, in his opinion, involved the honour of every member individually. Nor had he less hesitation, from the importance of the subject, to say, it affected the government of the whole empire. It was a question which shook the basis of the constitution, for it was literally a question of responsibility. And here he desired to be understood as by no means agreeing with his honourable friend, in comparing the house of commons to a grand jury. There were certainly points in which that comparison could not be justified. It would, if carried up in its full extent, put it out of the power of the commons of Great Britain to carry any bill of impeachment whatever. The house of commons could examine no evidence on oath. All they were therefore accountable for was the conviction of their own minds. On this principle he was prepared to vote for the general question. From the weight and importance of the charges, the policy and interest of the country required that an example should be made of the delinquent. The necessity of this he urged, particularly from the disposition he perceived in the abettors of Mr. Haf-

tings, to justify him on the principles of expediency and necessity. But he contended, that they had even failed in substantiating that plea, since no necessity whatever, in many cases where that pretext was set up, had been proved. He even shewed, by a statement of the facts in evidence, that where necessity had been most insisted on, profusion and corruption demonstrated that it did not exist. After pressing this on the house with much earnestness, he adverted to the articles in general; and said, he did not by any means adopt them without exception: but that as he agreed with the leading idea of all, except the charges concerning Cheyt Sing, he thought there could be no impropriety in carrying up the articles as they stood to the house of lords; he should, therefore, from a sincere conviction that he was doing his duty to the public, vote decidedly for the question.

The house then divided on the question, whether the report should be now read a second time, which was carried in the affirmative, by 175 to 89. After which the first article of impeachment was read and agreed to without a division, and the rest deferred till the morrow, when they were read, amended, and agreed to. Mr. Burke then rose, and moved, "That Warren Hastings, esq; be impeached of "high crimes and misdemeanors "upon the said articles."

Mr. Sumner, a gentleman who had formerly been in the service of the India company, rose to express his astonishment that a person of such high character, acknowledged ability, and received integrity, as Mr. Hastings, should be the sub-
ject

ject of an impeachment. He had been bred up in the habit of regarding that gentleman as a model of perfection. He described Mr. Hastings as a man educated with a view to fill a place in private life only, but who had, by unforeseen accidents, been exalted to a rank of great dignity and singular power. That, however his conduct, in that dangerous and tempting situation, might have rendered him the object of a prosecution carried on in that house, with uncommon virulence (he had almost said, with unexampled malice) he was regarded by the world in general as a politician possessed of more than ordinary wisdom, and as a statesman eminent for his activity and exertion. The French, he said, to whom Mr. Hastings had certainly, in his public conduct, evinced no partiality, idolized him, and extolled his actions as more than human. Indeed there was no place in any quarter of the globe that did not join in his praise, and speak of him with rapture, excepting only that house, where he had been debased by joking phrases, run down by ribaldry, and loaded with invective, fit only to be applied to the most atrocious criminal after conviction, and by no means worthy to be heard in a British senate, engaged in an inquiry, whether there was matter of charge or not, against a gentleman, who had lately stood in a situation, from its eminence alone entitled to respect and veneration.

The question was then put, and carried without further debate; after which, Mr. Frederick Montagu rose, and said, that the motion he had now to make could not, he conceived, meet with any

resistance after what had passed, as it appeared founded equally on principles of justice and humanity. He then moved, "That Mr. Burke, in the name of the house of commons, and of all the commons of Great Britain, do go to the bar of the house of lords, and impeach Warren Hastings, esquire, late governor general of Bengal, of high crimes and misdemeanors, and do acquaint the lords, that the commons will, with all convenient speed, exhibit articles against him, and make good the same."

The motion being agreed to; the majority of the house immediately attended Mr. Burke to the bar of the house of peers, where Mr. Burke solemnly impeached Mr. Hastings in the form above recited.

On the eleventh, Mr. Burke reported to the house, that he had been at the bar of the house of lords, and had impeached Warren Hastings, in obedience to their commands. He then proposed that Messrs. Wallis and Troward should be retained to act as solicitors for the impeachment on the part of the house.—On the twenty-first, Mr. Burke observed to the house, that it would be necessary, before the sessions ended, that the house should take some step for binding Mr. Hastings to be forth-coming to answer the articles of impeachment which had been preferred against him. He therefore moved, "That Warren Hastings, esquire, be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms of that house."

This motion was opposed by Mr. Nicholls. He observed, that upon recurring to the journals in search of precedents, he found there were three

three several modes of proceeding, which had been adopted by the house, after they had presented articles of impeachment. The first was, to take the party impeached into the custody of their own serjeant at arms: the second was, to desire the lords to take him into custody: the third was, to desire the lords to put him to answer. He thought this last ought to be the mode they should now adopt, as it would be extremely cruel to brand Mr. Hastings with a stigma in the face of his country, by suggesting an idea, that the house had reason to suspect him of an undue design of attempting to elude justice.—Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke replied, that upon a minute examination of precedents, and a consultation with persons in another place, it had been found, that the most regular and orderly mode of proceeding would be for that house to take Mr. Hastings into custody by their serjeant, and to deliver him to the lords. The motion was immediately agreed to; and the house being soon after informed, that he was in the custody of the serjeant, Mr. Burke was directed to acquaint the lords with the same; and that he was ready to be delivered up to the gentleman usher of the black rod whenever their lordships thought proper.

This message being delivered to the house, lord Walsingham rose, and observed, that there was no branch of the functions of the house, in the exercise of which they ought to be more cautious and circumspect, than in what related to their judicial capacity. They ought also to be singularly vigilant in such cases in their attention to the other house. Of all criminal proceed-

ings, that by impeachment was the most solemn; and the impeachment then before them was, considering the magnitude of the charges, and the consequence and rank of the person accused, perhaps the most important that had ever been entertained in that house. With respect to the mode of proceeding, he had two motions to offer to the house; the one relative to commitment, the other relative to bail. The bail he should propose would be 20,000 l. Mr. Hastings in 10,000 l. and two sureties in 5000 l. each. He concluded by moving, that he should be forthwith taken into the custody of the black rod. The motion being agreed to, Sir Francis Molyneux, gentleman usher of the black rod, having received the orders of the house, appeared a few minutes after at the bar, and informed their lordships that Mr. Hastings was in his custody. It was then ordered that he should be brought to the bar; which being done accordingly, and Mr. Hastings being upon his knees, the lord chancellor directed him to rise, and ordered the articles of impeachment to be read over.

After the clerk had read the preamble to the charges, Mr. Hastings signified his desire that the articles might be *read short*.—The duke of Richmond said, he could not, upon such a solemn occasion, consent to this proposal. He was hitherto utterly unacquainted with the nature and extent of the charges; therefore he felt it his duty to hear them read with the attention they deserved. The lord chancellor agreed in opinion, and the articles were ordered to be read at length.

At half after seven the clerk began reading, and continued until ten,

ten, at which time the sixth charge was finished; when Lord Townshend rose, and moved, that the two remaining charges might be read short, in order to ease the house, and the prisoner, from the excessive fatigue of reading them at length. The duke of Richmond opposed the motion. A conversation took place, at the close of which it was agreed to go on, and Mr. Hastings was allowed a chair. At eleven the articles were finished, and the lord chancellor demanded of him what he had to say in his defence. Mr. Hastings answered, "My lords, I rely upon the justice of this house, and pray that I may be granted a copy of the charge, with a reasonable time to make my defence. Likewise that I may be allowed counsel; and that I may be admitted to bail."

Black rod having then withdrawn with his prisoner, Lord Walsingham rose, and moved, that Mr. Hastings might be admitted to bail in the sum before mentioned.—The duke of Norfolk said, after hearing the articles read, and perceiving the exceeding enormity of them, he could by no means agree to take such slender bail. His grace apprehended the least sum which could be demanded in the present case should be fifty thousand pounds; he therefore moved an amendment, that Mr. Hastings should give bail for twenty-five thousand pounds, and two sureties in the like sum.—Lord Townshend said, the honour of the nation was intimately connected with the present prosecution.

The charges against Mr. Hastings were of a very heavy nature, beyond anything that the journals could produce; he therefore seconded the noble duke's motion.

—Lord Thurlow quoted the case of Sir John Bennet, who gave bail in the sum of forty thousand pounds upon an impeachment of a similar nature. His lordship was against requiring excessive bail; it being equally oppressive and illegal. It was therefore his opinion that it would be proper to adhere to the precedent on their journals, to prevent their being led astray; and he accordingly moved, that he should be admitted to bail, himself in 20,000*l.* and two sureties in 10,000*l.* each.

This being agreed to, and the other parts of Mr. Hastings's request granted, he was again called in, and kneeling at the bar, the lord chancellor addressed him to the following purport:

"Mr. Hastings,

"The lords have allowed you one month, and until the second day of the next session of parliament, to make your answers to the charges alledged by the commons of this kingdom against you; you will therefore prepare what you have to urge in your own defence before that period. They have also admitted you to bail, on the terms of your binding yourself in twenty thousand pounds, and your friends in twenty thousand pounds more, as a security for your abiding the issue of process: they have likewise allowed you counsel, and you will be so good as name them."

Mr. Hastings then, bowing, said, "I thank your lordships for the great indulgence which you have shewn me: I am now ready to produce my bail; and my counsel are the following gentlemen, Messrs. Plomer, Law, and Dal-
"las."

"las." He then offered as his sureties Messrs. Sullivan and Sumner, who accordingly justified at the bar, and their recognizance being taken, Mr. Hastings was ordered to withdraw.

The remaining articles of impeachment were agreed to by the house of commons without any debate, and on the 28th of May were presented by Mr. Burke to the lords; and Mr. Hastings being ordered to attend, they were read the same day, and copies of them ordered for his use.

On Wednesday, the 30th of May, the king went in the usual state to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for, the speaker, as soon as he came to the bar, addressed his majesty, and stated that he had brought up two bills, by which the house of commons had granted to his majesty an additional supply; and he expressed the satisfaction they felt in having been able to provide for the services of the year

without having recourse to any new loan. He then enumerated the principal transactions of the sessions, as they related to the several objects that had been recommended to their attention at the opening of the sessions.

The royal assent being then given to the bills, the king made a speech from the throne, in which he commended their zeal and assiduity, and thanked them for the proofs they had given of their affection for him, his family, and government. He then acquainted them of the unhappy dissensions which prevailed in the United Provinces, and which, as a friend to the republic, he could not see without the most real concern. He expressed his satisfaction with the several public measures they had carried into effect, and recommended to them to pursue, in their several counties, the same salutary objects. The lord chancellor then, by his majesty's command, prorogued the parliament.

C H A P. VII.

France. Various causes conducing to that revolution which has taken place in the political sentiments and public opinions of that nation. How far the American war and its consequences might be supposed to operate in producing that revolution. Unequalled expences and heavy debts produced by that war, added to the previous enormous burthens of the state, clog and embarrass all the movements of government, and involve the financial system in inextricable disorder. Financier succeeds financier without effect. Patriotic and generous endeavours of the king to relieve the distresses of the people, by curtailings in an unexampled degree the expences of his court and household, prove equally fruitless. The monarch, disappointed in all the hopes held out by his ministers, finds it necessary to throw himself for council and assistance upon the representatives of the nation. Difficulty of restoring the ancient assemblies of the states, through the manner of their election, their number, and the form of their proceedings being totally forgotten. Assembly of notables convened. King meets them in great state. Proceedings. M. de Calonne finds himself obliged to resign the administration of public affairs, and to retire to England. Convention of notables dissolved, without their having answered all the hopes of the court. Opposition of the parliament of Paris to the new taxes laid on by the crown. Celebrated remonstrance by that body. King, by the exertion of his authority in a bed of justice, obliges them to register the land-tax and stamp-duty edicts. Extraordinary protest, which renders them of no effect. Parliament banished to Troyes. Great discontents. Turbulence of the Parisians occasions a strong armed force to enter that city. Flame of liberty bursting forth in different parts of the kingdom. Parliament recalled. Combination of circumstances which nearly compelled France to submit to the measures pursued by England and Prussia with respect to Holland. Convention with England for mutually disarming. King meets the parliament with two edicts for a new loan, amounting to about 19 millions of English money. King sits nine hours to hear the debates; and at length, departing hastily, orders the edicts to be registered. Duke of Orleans thereupon protests against the whole proceedings of the day as invalid. Protest confirmed by the parliament. Duke of Orleans banished to one of his country seats, and two members of the parliament to remote prisons. Strong and repeated remonstrances. Some relaxation obtained with respect to the imprisoned magistrates.

THE jealousy natural to rival nations, and the desire that the misfortunes of our enemies should seem by a sort of providential justice to grow out of their own designs to injure us, makes us fond to attribute the difficulties in which France is involved to the inter-

ference of that government in supporting the rebellion of the British American colonies against the parent country. Although this circumstance was by no means the sole cause, it has amongst others contributed to the events which now occupy our attention in that country.

country. It was a curious, but by no means an unexampled spectacle, to behold a nation become at once the champions and zealous assertors of the rights of others, who had almost lost all remembrance of their own liberties; and that a crown, which had for ages been establishing despotism, should teach a lesson directly subversive of its own principles, by encouraging and supporting the subjects of others in a resistance to the ordinances of their legal and natural rulers.

But when such an event did take place, it was not difficult to conceive, that a free intercourse and intimate connection between people who had hitherto been in a great measure strangers, and who were accordingly pleased to discover better qualities in each other, than the local prejudices of mankind permitted them to expect, should produce a mutual communication of sentiments, and as error and prejudice decreased, in many cases an exchange of opinions. It was scarcely possible that so many thousand Frenchmen should have lived so many years in America, under all the vicissitudes of a common and dangerous war, in all the ease and festivity of a succeeding unexpected peace, and participating equally with the natives in the extremes of both, without their becoming in a considerable degree American. On the other hand, the rigid sectarists of Boston, forgetting that mortal aversion which they had so long borne to popery, were so much softened by an acquaintance with their new friends and guests, that they not only permitted but assisted at the most solemn service of that church for the dead, which they had ever before considered as an

abomination scarcely inferior to idolatry.

It was to the honour of the French gentlemen who served by sea and land upon this occasion, that the minds of many of them being strongly tinged by letters and philosophy, they were accordingly disposed to examine, reflect upon, and apply the many new objects which now came within their immediate observation. Others, under the same description, were employed there in civil, diplomatique, and mercantile affairs; curiosity, pleasure, and private connections led others; and some, who were professedly philosophers, went thither to explore and to speculate upon, as it were, a new world, and new orders of mankind. It was impossible that these should not be struck by the excellency of that admirable original constitution, whose emanations could at so great a distance diffuse such glorious scenes of equality, security, and prosperity among mankind as they now beheld.

The intercourse which for several years has been continually increasing between France and England; the frequent visits paid by men of the first rank and quality, as well as the most brilliant talents, from the former to the latter; and perhaps, more than both, that passion for reading the works of the first English writers, as well upon the great subjects of government and philosophy, as upon those of a lighter nature, have combined in producing a singular revolution, not only among men of learning and speculation, but even in the tide of popular opinion in that country. The predominancy of England in the affairs of Europe, the glory of our

our arms, and the extension of our dominion, by fixing the attention and exciting the admiration of other nations, has given rise to a spirit of imitation which disposes them to copy us in all things, but principally in that in which we are most distinguished, the form of our government. In France more especially, subjects were publicly and eagerly discussed, which before were either thought too dangerous to be meddled with, or which it was supposed a people so long and so often charged with being too frivolous for deep thinking, and too vain to profit by the thoughts of others, would not take the trouble to consider. The principles upon which governments were originally founded, the ultimate objects of their institution, with the relative rights and duties of the governors and of the governed, became subjects of common conversation among common men. But above all, the personal security afforded by the English constitution, and the right which every man possessed of appealing publicly to the laws and to the world, in all cases of grievance or oppression by power, were generally admired and envied: while *lettres de cachet*, and all other modes of imprisonment, banishment, or punishment, without legal trial, and legal condemnation, were universally execrated.

But this disposition among the people might have been easily overlaid and smothered in its infancy, if the American war had not at the same time effectually provided for its nurture and growth. The minds of men grow attached to those principles which the causes they are embarked in require them to maintain; and as the necessity and long habit

of referring to and insisting upon the rights of government during the American contests, may in some degree have weakened the spirit of liberty amongst us, so the French nation, resorting more to provision and principle, by which the abuses of power are corrected, than those by which its energy is maintained, have imbibed a love of freedom nearly incompatible with royalty. But it was owing to a secondary cause that the American war became instrumental to the revolution which has taken place in the affairs of that country. It involved the crown in such difficulties and distresses, as compelled it at length of necessity to throw itself for support upon the people; thereby affording them such an opportunity for speaking, thinking, and acting freely, as (excepting the licentiousness of the civil wars) three centuries had not before shewn to France.

For the illustration of this subject it may be necessary to premise, that the public debts of that kingdom had been exceedingly heavy, and its finances much embarrassed for many years back: that the intolerable burthens which war and ambition had laid upon the nation were continually increased by the enormous expences of the crown, and the profusion that prevailed during the unequalled length of the two last reigns: that the weight and amount of the debts were only part of the public misfortune: that the whole system of finance was in the last degree faulty and ruinous; that the taxes were ill laid, and worse levied; and that the farmers of the revenues, who made immense fortunes, were almost the only people who lived in splendour, while the bulk and the most valuable part of the

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the nation were groaning in poverty.

The American war took place in this state of things; and the people, in their zeal to support a new sovereign in his first war, forgot debts and taxes. The ostensible causes, and the understood private motives of the war, were all likewise alluring and highly captivating to the imaginations of a generous, a warlike, and even to a commercial people. It appeared great and heroic to rescue an oppressed people, who were gallantly contending for their rights, from inevitable ruin; it seemed a grand stroke of policy to reduce the power and to humble the pride of a great and haughty rival: the heavy blows received in the former war with England could not be forgotten; and however the wounds seemed to be skinned over by a peace so unaccountably favourable that the principles on which it was concluded are not yet perhaps understood, they still rankled in the breast of every Frenchman; nothing could therefore be more flattering to the national pride than to suppose the happy opportunity was now arrived for erasing all the stigmas of that unfortunate period: nor was this all, for as it was universally supposed that the loss of America would prove an incurable if not a mortal wound to England, so it was equally expected that the power of the Gallic throne would thereby be fixed on such permanent foundations, as never again to be shaken by any stroke of fortune; and to complete this pyramid of glory and advantage, commercial benefits before unknown, along with such an accession of naval strength as should

command the seas, were to be derived from the new alliance and connection with America. This speculation, like many others, when tried by the test of dear-bought experience, came to nothing, and these fond hopes have already vanished in smoke. The nation were, however, so sanguine in them, that they entered into the war with unexampled appetite, and a common heart and a common hand appeared in its prosecution.

But though the American war failed in producing its wished-for effects with respect to France, it left behind it other relics of a less pleasing nature, which could not soon be forgotten. Through various causes, particularly from the novel manner in which it was conducted, its operations being mostly naval, and extended to the remotest quarters of the world, from the extreme poverty and urgent necessity of their new allies, and the prevalent spirit of the time, which led to the most unbounded supplies, under a persuasion that the money so laid out would be repaid in advantages to an hundred times its amount, the American war became the most expensive, for the time of its continuance, of any in which France probably had ever been engaged; and this expence was the more ruinous in its effect, from the circumstance that a great part of this money was sunk at such distances from home, or laid out in commodities doubly perishable, through nature and through hostility, that there was little prospect of its ever returning. From this war, then, an immense new debt being laid upon the back of the old, already too great, the accumulation became so vast, that it

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it seemed to swell beyond the common bounds of examination and enquiry.

The multitude of the distinct loans which all together composed this vast mass of debt, and the diversity of the conditions upon which (according to the genius of the respective projectors) they had been raised, the numberless appropriations of particular revenues to particular funds, and the frequent infractions of these to supply the immediate necessities of the state, occasioned such voluminous detailed accounts, such endless references, explanations, applications and deficiencies, with such eternal calculations and crowds of figures, that the whole presented a chaos of confusion, in which the financiers themselves seemed scarcely less bewildered than the public.

This state of disorder and darkness was comparatively, however, only a small part of the public grievance. The taxes, numerous as they were, and ruinous in the last degree to the people, were totally unequal to the supply of the current expences of the state, and to the discharge of the interest or annuities rising on the various funds. This deficiency was so great since the late war, that the whole amount of the revenues fell several millions sterling short of the demand in each year. New funds could not be raised, but the exigencies of the state must be supplied; and no means appeared for answering this purpose, but by withholding the payment of the annuities to the public creditors, for so great a sum as the amount of the deficiency. This ruinous measure could not but involve multitudes of people in the

greatest distress and calamity; and besides raised great clamour and discontent, at the undue preference supposed to be given to those classes whose payments were not stopped.

In this disastrous state of public affairs, while financier succeeded financier, and projects multiplied upon projects, each new minister attributed the public evils to the fault of his predecessor, and had his own favourite scheme of arrangement, which was to remove them all. This produced a cessation of the murmurs of the public while the short sunshine of hope lasted; but only served to redouble their grief and indignation when they found that every attempt at elucidation only served to thicken the obscurity, and that every hope of redress ended in an increase of the evils.

The crown, with respect to all that lay within its own immediate cognizance and power, acted the noblest part during this state of public embarrassment and distress. Incapable of comprehending the complicated details, and the perplexed situation of the national finances, the king endeavoured to alleviate the distresses of the people, by curtailing the expences of his court, household, and even of his royal person. But though these reductions were so great as to trench deeply upon the long-established splendour of the crown, and though the savings were accordingly very considerable, yet they failed of answering the patriotic and generous intentions of the monarch, when plunged into the abyss of public debts, demands, and necessities. The free gifts granted by the clergy, and other public bodies, produced as little permanent effect; and

and amidst the multitude of demands, could scarcely afford relief to any present pecuniary necessity of the court.

These circumstances, with the alarming clamour and discontent which they produced, threw the crown into a situation extremely irksome to all potentates, but the most favourable that could be to the new spirit risen in France, and to the wishes of a people who now began to grow impatient for an opportunity of recovering some part at least of their ancient rights and privileges. The crown, wearied out by the repeated failure and disappointment which it had experienced in the schemes and undertakings of ministers, and finding its difficulties every day increasing, and becoming more insupportable, determined at length to throw itself upon the affection and wisdom of the nation for succour and support. It is said, that M. de Calonne, who was then the financial minister, had proposed this wise and salutary measure. It is however certain that the king adopted the measure with so good a grace, that it seemed to flow spontaneously from his own good disposition and will; and it was undoubtedly happy to France that her present monarch neither possessed the obstinate, overbearing, arbitrary temper of some of his predecessors, nor had configned his power into the hands of mistresses and favourites, and suffered his mind to be poisoned by the vanity and pleasures of a voluptuous court.

The pecuniary difficulties of the state have, in many countries, and particularly in England, made it necessary for monarchs to apply to the collective resources and collec-

tive councils of their people. The modification of regal authority, and the admission of the public into a participation of that authority, has generally been attended with consequences easy and happy to both. Few kings however have had recourse to this expedient until they had exhausted every other means of supply; they most commonly visited their subjects after the adoption of irregular or violent measures for increasing the revenue they already possessed, and thus lost the merit of a generous reliance on the approbation and affection of their people, seeming rather to be driven to them by necessity than to turn to them through choice. This has not been the case in the present government of France. There have, comparatively speaking, during the present reign, been but little resort to compulsory loans, arbitrary extension of taxes, alteration in the value of the coin, or to any of those modes of violence and chicane which not unfrequently compose the fiscal inventory of monarchs. On the contrary, whether it was the effect of design, or of accident, it so happened, that from the moment the present king turned his attention seriously to the improvement of his revenues, the object has been to establish a basis of public credit. This was begun under the administration of Mr. Neckar, by a general exposure of the finances. The public were solemnly called in to the council of the monarch, and desired to judge for themselves in a concern of such great and general importance.—A great step, not to the forms but to the substance of public liberty, and perhaps the greatest advance that ever was made by a king towards the establishment of a free constitution.

tion. With more or less regularly this system has been pursued ever since, until by its natural operation, combined with the growing necessities of the government, it led to the calling of the assembly of the *notables*, and from thence to a more universal application to the sense of the nation.

Although so much time has elapsed since the last convocation of the states general, that those assemblies are almost obsolete, yet the French nation never wholly lost sight of that remnant of their ancient constitution. Their wisest patriots, and the most spirited of their governors, have often looked back to that antique and salutary remedy. In that period of mixed insurrection and tyranny, joined to foreign glory, which distinguished the dominion of cardinal Richelieu, the nation was never in the condition, in the temper, or in the necessity of deliberating in common. During the troubles which attended the minority of Louis the XIVth, the queen regent often talked of calling the states general. The splendour, the vicissitudes of that reign, are well known: the unlimited power of the monarch, and the troubled scenes in which he wound up the glories of his life. The duke of Burgundy, the pupil of the author of *Telemachus*, to whom his grandfather had begun to delegate a portion of his authority, on whom the fondest hopes of the nation turned, and who promised to unite the qualities of a christian, a philosopher, and a king, had certainly formed a design, among many other projects for the advantage of the state, and the relief of his people, to convene the states. He dying prematurely, power, on the demise

of Louis the XIVth, fell into hands of a different stamp. It is not improbable that the veneration in which the character of this prince remained in the memory of the French, and particularly of his family, infused similar sentiments into the mind of the late dauphin (the son of Louis the XVth) who formed himself upon the model of the duke of Burgundy. The reverence, approaching to adoration, which the present king of France entertains for the opinions and attachments of his father, is supposed to be the ruling principle of his character and conduct. It is therefore a curious and not an improbable speculation to suppose, that the approximation to the body of the nation, and leaning to public councils, which, whether wisely or not, whether fortunately or not, have distinguished the present reign, had their origin in those remote and successive causes. And if so, it is a matter worthy of contemplation to consider, how the thoughts, writings, and actions of those who are dead many years, affect the revolutions of the present day.

It became however a matter of difficulty in what manner to obtain the sense or aid of the nation in the present exigence. The ancient assemblies of the states of the kingdom had been so long disused, that not only their forms were worn out of memory, but the extent of their rights and powers were so much unknown, that all information upon the subject was either to be sought amidst the rubbish of the antiquarian, or in the obscure and faithless pages of vague and ill-informed historians, who were much fonder of relating prodigies, than of preserving those records of man-kind

kind which would have been most essential to futurity. It was still however generally known, that the ancient assemblies of the states resembled the English parliaments in the greatest and most essential point of their constitution, which was the power of granting the public money for the public services, or of withholding it, if the purpose for which it was required by the crown did not appear to them consonant or necessary to the advantage of the state.

In this state of darkness, without a compass to steer by, the first effort made by the court for the accomplishment of its purpose, was to summon a convention of principal persons, from the different classes of the people, and from all the parts of the kingdom, who were to receive from the king a communication of his intentions for the relief of his subjects, information on the present state of the finances, and to consider of and to provide remedies against several abuses; the king resting assured, that he should receive from them every assistance which he had a right to expect for the good of the kingdom, which was the only object he had in view.—The members of this assembly were distinguished by the appellation of *notables*, being the same name which had been applied to another convention of the same nature, which had been held in the year 1626.

A circular letter to Dec. 29th, this purpose, signed by 1786. the king, was accordingly dispatched to all those persons who had been appointed to act as members of this convention; they being summoned to assemble at Versailles on the 29th of January

1787, there to take their seats, and to hear such matters as should be proposed to them in the king's name.

The sickness and death of that able minister, M. de Vergennes, whose political intrigues and extensive views, joined to a very intimate knowledge of the respective strength or weakness of foreign states, and of those invisible springs of action by which they might be swayed or divided, occasioned the meeting of the new convention to be suspended from the 29th of January to the 22d of the ensuing February. In the mean time the marquis de Montmorin, who had been long initiated in the political principles and designs of the count de Vergennes, was, at his own special recommendation, appointed to be his successor as minister for foreign affairs.

The king went in the greatest magnificence, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and attended by all the great officers of the state and household, to dignify the opening of the new assembly of the *notables*.

In laying before this body the various matters which were to become the subjects of their deliberation, it was necessary that the minister should give a satisfactory explanation of those causes which opened the way to the present state of public embarrassment and distress. In doing this, M. de Calonne, with proper address, endeavoured to make a favourable impression on the disposition of his audience, by shewing the pleasing and bright side of the picture, before he was under a necessity of exhibiting the reverse. With this view, in his introductory speech, he enumerated the various great and glorious, as well as patriotic and beneficial acts of the present

present reign. In this summary, he particularly attributed to the king the creating of a marine, and thereby rendering the French flag respectable over every part of the ocean; his having protected and confirmed the liberties of a new nation, which, being separated from a rival power, was now become a friend and ally; and, after having terminated an honourable war by a solid peace, had shewn himself worthy to be considered as the moderator of all Europe.—That his majesty had not then given himself up to a barren inaction; he was too sensible how much still remained to be done for the happiness of his subjects; and that, the assuring to his people a free and extensive commerce abroad, the procuring a good administration at home, with the encouragement and establishment of useful arts and manufactures, were the objects of his invariable pursuit, and should ever continue the point to which his views would be directed. The three new treaties of commerce, concluded with Holland, England, and Russia, were brought as illustrations of these positions.

After this exordium, which he dwelt on with complacence, the minister had to turn to the disagreeable part of the business. He entered into long details, to shew the deplorable state in which he found the finances when he was entrusted with their administration, at the close of the American war. A vast unfunded debt; all annuities and interest greatly in arrear; all the coffers empty; the public stocks fallen to the lowest point; circulation interrupted, and all credit and confidence destroyed. He then shewed the measures which he had pursued, and

the happy effects they had produced (so far as his means could reach) in remedying these complicated evils. Through these efforts, public credit was re-established, the stocks brought a fair price at market, money was plenty, and the *Caisse d'Escompte* (a kind of national bank) had now established its credit upon a firm basis. Great and expensive public works, of the utmost national importance and utility, had likewise been undertaken, and were now far advanced towards completion; it would be needless to repeat to that assembly what had been done, and was doing, with respect to the harbours of Cherburgh, Havre, Rochelle, and Dunkirk.

But with all these pleasant circumstances and favourable appearances an evil still remained behind of the most alarming and ruinous nature; an evil which must every year increase in its magnitude, and at length become fatal in its effect, if not timely remedied. This was the great annual deficiency of the public revenue, with respect to the supply of the current public expence. This was an evil which went far beyond the reach of ministers, and baffled all schemes of industry and œconomy. Eternal borrowing would necessarily be an eternal aggravation of the evil; additional taxes would oppress the people, whom the king wished of all things to relieve; anticipation on the revenue of subsequent years had already been carried to a ruinous extent; and with respect to œconomy, and the reform of expences, the king had already, not only with respect to his household, but to other departments, carried these points as far as could be done, without weakening the state and government.

government.—It was then in the reform of abuses, that the king and his ministers trusted principally to find resources for exonerating the crown and the nation from this intolerable grievance and evil. In the abuses themselves would be found a great fund which the king had a right to reclaim. This was a subject whose importance necessarily demanded all the collected wisdom, attention, and sagacity of the assembly, and it was accordingly recommended in the strongest terms to their deliberation.

Among the objects particularly recommended to their enquiry and consideration, was the state of the Gallic territorial imposts, and the establishment of a general and equal impost on land (in the nature of the English land-tax) from which no rank or order of men was to be exempted. It was said, that the establishment of this tax would have occasioned a defalcation in the revenues of the duke of Orleans only, of forty thousand pounds sterling a year; and it was farther said (to his immortal honour, if founded) that he would not have opposed it.

Another object of enquiry and discussion was afforded by the possessions of the clergy, and their exemption from taxation.—The state of the various branches of internal taxation was another object of enquiry.—And the raising of money by mortgaging the demesne lands of the crown, formed a fourth subject of consideration. But the grand and essential object of reform, and that which the court had particularly at heart, was to equalize the public burthens, by rendering the taxes general, which would have made them bearable, and comparatively easy, instead of their falling upon

the lower and most useful classes of the people, to the discouragement and ruin of enterprize and industry, whether with respect to manufactures or agriculture. The antient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public assessments; and, considering this as one of their most distinguished and enviable privileges, it was of course the most difficult to be resigned. Had the evil gone no farther, notwithstanding the present weight of taxes, it might have been still perhaps borne with patience, from the mischief it produced being narrowed within certain fixed and customary limits. But through the shameful custom of selling patents of nobility such crowds of new noblesse started up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them; for the first object with those who had acquired fortunes rapidly, whether by the oppression of the people, or by speculation from the public, in the collection or management of the revenues, was, next to the purchase of an estate, that of a patent, which, besides the gratification of a vanity so peculiarly predominant with such people, afforded an exemption to them and their posterity from a proportionable contribution to the exigencies of the state, or alleviating the distresses of that publican whose spoils they had fattened. The magistracies likewise throughout the kingdom (who are in France exceedingly numerous) enjoyed their share of these exemptions; so that the whole weight of the taxes fell upon those who were least able to bear them.

This design of equalizing the public burthens was undoubtedly great and noble; but how the minister could think of any project

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succeeding,

succeeding, which in its very nature united the three great bodies of the nation, the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy, in one common interest against him, is not easily understood. That much public spirit and virtue were lodged in many individuals of all these classes was not to be questioned; but it would argue little knowledge of mankind, to suppose that these sentiments could operate upon a majority in any of them.

The event was such as might have been expected. An universal clamour was raised against the minister. The people were taught to believe that he intended to load them with new taxes; and thus the blind and giddy multitude were rendered an instrument in the hands of their hereditary oppressors, for the ruin of the first minister who had ever attempted to do them any essential service. Such has in general, but unfortunately, been the reward of those who (without having established a previous confidence, which is indeed seldom gained without the aid of some specious deception) have attempted to serve the people at large. Effectual measures were at the same time used at the fountain head, for loosening the king's confidence in the minister, which probably would have been sufficiently shaken without by the public clamour.

The minister finding it impossible to withstand the torrent, or in any manner to cover himself from the obloquy which was poured upon him from all quarters, not only found it necessary to resign his office, in the middle of the sitting of the notables, but to retire to England for refuge, from that storm of persecution which he saw gathering with the most

malignant aspect. This happened pretty early in April; and after some temporary appointments, M. de Brienne, archbishop of Tholouse, was about a month after appointed to be his successor.

The proposed territorial impost, or general land-tax, which was an object so ardently coveted by the court, produced much debate, and little agreement, in the assembly of the notables. Besides the particular and individual interests by which it was opposed, whole provinces objected to it, as a direct infraction of their rights, and a violation of those original capitularies which they had entered into with the crown, for the preservation of their ancient immunities, and on the faith of which they became members of the kingdom. Upon this subject the attorney general of Provence was bold enough to declare, that neither that assembly, the parliaments, nor the king himself, could assess any such impost in the country which he represented, as being directly contrary to the specific and indefeasible rights of the people.

Under these circumstances it became every day more apparent, that the present convention was unequal to the greater objects for which it was assembled, and that nothing less than an assemblage of the states general of the kingdom, assisted by the instruction or advice of the respective provincial states, particularly in all that related to their own peculiar rights and privileges, could effectually remove the present grievances, by such permanent arrangements of the public revenues and expences, to be always under their own controul, as should render the crown for

for the future easy in its pecuniary affairs, and the burthens of the people to sit as light as their nature could admit.

Many useful regulations and reforms were however proposed by the convention of notables, and adopted by the court, both with respect to several of the taxes and gabelles themselves, to the mode of levying them, to the persons employed in the collection, and to the boards or offices which were to regulate and govern the assessments. But as these reached only to parts, and to the removal of the more glaring and obvious grievances, they only served to shew more clearly the necessity of such an efficient power as would be finally conclusive, and acting upon a system of reform so comprehensive, as to embrace the whole aggregate of grievance and evil.

But whatever the future good effects might be to the nation, the crown was grievously disappointed with respect to the great object for which it had summoned this convention, the obtaining immediate relief for its present most urgent necessities; particularly the failure of raising 112 millions of livres upon the expected territorial imposts (which the ministers held out as a matter of such indispensable necessity, that government could scarcely otherwise exercise its necessary functions) could not but be greatly distressing.

The king, however, bore the disappointment with such admirable temper, that the convention and he parted with every appearance of the most perfect confidence and good humour on both sides. In his May 25th. speech, on dissolving the assembly, he acknowledged, that they had fulfilled

his expectations in assisting him with their counsels, and delivering their sentiments with that freedom and truth which he was ever willing to hear. That he was thoroughly satisfied with their indefatigable zeal and attention in examining the objects he had communicated or recommended to them. That they had not only properly enquired into various abuses, but had suggested the means for reforming them.— That they had done much towards the attainment of the grand object, of reducing the expences of the state to a level with the public revenues, by the accurate enquiry which they made into the deficiencies and their causes, by pointing out the different œconomical savings which might properly be effected, and in affording time for the effect to operate, by the temporary provisional taxes which for the immediate time they had recommended as the most proper to be laid upon his subjects. He concluded by declaring the great comfort he had in thinking, that the form and method of these new imposts could not be so burthensome as those of former times; the only wish of his heart being that of rendering his people as contented and happy as possible.

Thus was a most unexpected opening made (whatever the final event may be) towards the restoration of the ancient Gallic constitution; a constitution, however defective in some respects it might be, which, in common with other feudal governments, lodged the sole power of granting or withholding subsidies, and consequently of levying imposts upon the people, entirely in the hands of the states of the kingdom collectively assembled. This constitution was first severely shaken through

through the disorders and confusion which the last long and bloody wars carried on by the English in the heart of the kingdom occasioned; for they afforded an opportunity to Charles the seventh, or indeed laid him under a necessity, of raising money upon the subject, for the common defence, at his own will. This example was followed up, and nearly carried to its utmost extent, by his crafty and arbitrary successor, Louis the XIth; but though the constitution was laid prostrate, it was not absolutely deprived of existence, until it received its mortal wound under the hands of that able, successful, wicked, and cruel statesman, cardinal Richelieu, in the reign of Louis the XIIIth. whose crooked policy, the more effectually to secure his purpose, nearly extinguished the ancient nobility, reducing to beggary those who escaped the sword or the scaffold, and thereby laying the spirit of the nation in the dust.

The disuse of the meetings of the states general had thrown great power and authority into the hands of the parliaments of the kingdom, and had been the means of shedding a lustre and dignity on their proceedings, and of affording them a weight with the public, from whence they were enabled to derive a degree of consequence founded on opinion, which far transcended the powers they were invested with in their original constitution. For these bodies, which were mere courts of justice, being now the only intermediate authority between the sovereign and the people, were naturally looked up to by these, as their only shield against the violence and oppression of the crown; while the kings themselves were fully sen-

sible of the benefit of such a medium, in giving a sanction to the taxes which their prodigality, or the occasions of government, incessantly demanded, or at least of taking off some part of the odium arising from them.

The parliaments held the office of registering the king's edicts; by which nothing more was probably at first understood or intended, than to establish their validity. In process of time, however, and by seizing favourable opportunities, the parliaments endeavoured to convert (and in a great measure succeeded) this act of mere registry, into a right of examining into, and determining upon the propriety of the ordinances which thus came before them, and from thence assumed an absolute negative upon the money edicts, by refusing to register those which did not meet their approbation. This assumption of power was supported by the popularity necessarily attending all opposition to pecuniary impositions, the parliaments having the advantage of appearing in the light of protectors to the people, without being implicated in any of the harsh and severe duties of government. Their resistance of fiscal edicts became accordingly a source of frequent and great disputes with the crown, in which sometimes the one and sometimes the other side gave way, according to the state of things, and the temper prevalent on either; the parliaments in several instances braving all the indignation of the crown, and enduring with wonderful fortitude, banishment, imprisonment, degradation from the exercise of their functions, and in some cases total ruin to their families by the final loss of their places, all of which

which they had purchased, and were virtually their private estates. All these contests necessarily tended to endear the parliaments more to the people (who considered them as martyrs in the cause of the public), and to increase their consequence with the crown.

It is then easily understood, that the restoration of the ancient constitution, and the frequent assemblage of the states general, would in a great measure deprive the parliaments of the authority which they had assumed and acquired during the long remission of those meetings; that they would dwindle into their original state or mere registers and courts of law; and that the people would soon be weaned from that affection and reverence with which they had so long regarded them; a consequence which would have been more sensibly felt by generous minds, than the mere loss of authority abstractedly considered.

Under these circumstances, nothing less than the most disinterested patriotism could induce the parliaments to wish for, much less in any degree to further such a revolution in the state and government, however great its utility to the public in general might be; for to suppose that a majority in any numerous assembly should adopt the generous resolution of making such sacrifices, was to suppose such degrees of exalted virtue and self-denial to prevail in the breasts of men, as no modern experience could warrant either the politician or moralist in expecting.

Yet, to the honour of that assembly, the parliament of Paris, who are no representatives of the people, who owe them no obligation, and who are not accountable to them for

any part of their conduct, displayed this exalted value. The question of petitioning the king to assemble the general states had been twice proposed, and twice negatived, after the breaking up of the notables; the patriotic minorities were however very considerable on each division. These still persevering in their intention, seized the fair opportunity which fortune offered, of new disputes arising between the crown and the parliament, upon the subject of new taxes which were proposed by the former, and refused by the latter. At that juncture, while the minds of men were warmed by the contest, and apprehensive of the exertions of power that might be adopted, they brought on the question again, and nobly carried it by a majority of sixty to forty; upon which sixteen deputies were immediately appointed to convey the petition in form, and with the greater effect, to the king.

The notables not having afforded any relief that could at all supply the immediate urgent necessities of government, the crown was obliged to recur to its usual mode of raising money by the king's edicts. Among the measures proposed for this purpose, was the doubling of the poll-tax, the re-establishment of the third-twentieth, and a stamp-duty. But though subsidies were indispensable, the king was willing to gratify the parliament in the manner of raising them. The parliament, however, remonstrated strongly against the whole, insisting, that before they granted, or concurred in raising any money, a true account of the state of the finances, and of the purposes to which it was to be applied, should be laid before them. The tax upon stamps became the immediate

immediate object of contention; and it seemed as if it would have been attended with consequences here, little inferior to those which a tax of the same nature had so signally produced in another part of the world. The parliament refused to register the edict, and the king was obliged to apply, as the last resort, to his absolute authority, by holding what is called a bed of justice, in compelling them to that measure.

It was upon this occasion that the count d'Artois, the king's youngest brother, who had before stood favourably in the public opinion, forfeited his popularity in a degree which possibly may never be recovered. The first president of the parliament having in a very spirited speech declared the causes upon which that body grounded their refusal of registering the stamp tax, that prince uttered passionately, that "if he were king they should comply;" upon which the president, making a low bow, replied, "If you were king, I should say what I have done now;—my heart is the people's, my understanding is my own, and my head is the king's."

Aug. 7th. On the day after the registry of the edict, the parliament entered a formal protest, endued with a new and extraordinary extent of operation, against this concession which had been extorted from them. They declared, that it had been registered against their approbation and consent, by the king's express command; that the edict neither ought to, nor *should* have any force; and that the first person who should presume to attempt carrying it into execution, should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the gallies. This

direct opposition of the parliament of Paris to the king's edict and authority, by which the one was rendered a nullity, and the other questioned in a manner that reached to its very existence, was the more alarming and formidable from its receiving the sanction of all the other parliaments.

Things were now in such a situation, that the crown was under an absolute necessity of either proceeding to extremities in the support of its authority, or of giving up for evermore the power of raising money upon any occasion, however immediate or urgent, without the consent of the parliament. No prince could have found it easy to surrender an authority which had been so long exercised by his predecessors. In the mean time every thing bore a very unpleasing aspect both with respect to the court and the people. Paris had, since the commencement of the disputes, been so filled with troops, that it carried more the appearance of a military camp, under military law, than that of a great and peaceable capital, under the government of a civil magistracy, and its own municipal laws. All the avenues to the *palais*, where the different chambers of parliament hold their meetings, were particularly and continually occupied by soldiers; and the members had the satisfaction of passing through rows of bayonets in the way to and from their dwelling houses. Indeed the Parisians afforded in some degree a colour for this measure, by the extraordinary and before unheard-of licence which they assumed in words, in writing, and in acting upon public and political affairs. The interest which they now took in these matters was so great, and they expressed

pressed themselves with such freedom upon them, that a stranger, if it had not been for the presence of the troops, might well have imagined himself surrounded by republicans. This licence was carried to such a length by the populace, that even a military force could not protect the count d'Artois (who had the fortune of doing several late things that rendered him disagreeable) from meeting with the strongest marks of public indignation and aversion; at the same time that Monsieur, the king's next brother, by pursuing a different line of conduct, was loaded with praises and benedictions whenever he appeared.

In about a week after the parliament had entered the protest, an officer of the French guards, with a party of foldiers, went at break of day to the house of each individual member, to signify to him the king's command, that he should immediately get into his carriage and proceed to Troyes, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house before his departure. These orders being served upon all at the same instant, and carried into immediate execution, all disorder was thereby so effectually prevented, that the parliament was well on its way to the scene of banishment, before the Parisians knew any thing of what happened. Troyes is a considerable city of Champagne, which lies about seventy miles from Paris.

Before matters were carried to this extremity, a remonstrance had, in the latter end of July, been presented to the king from the parliament; a piece which, whether it be considered with respect to eloquence, force of reasoning, or public spirit,

has not been exceeded, perhaps equalled, by any similar document in modern times; and which must prove a standing monument, not only of the virtue and patriotism, but of the uncommon abilities which were comprised in that illustrious body.

They first observe, that after a glorious peace of five years, and a great increase of revenue for thirteen, (through the funds then assigned) it was generally hoped, that the name of *impost* should never again be heard from the lips of a benevolent monarch, excepting only in rendering it less onerous, and in diminishing the number of those already laid. What was then their astonishment when they were informed that new taxes were projecting by the notables! but how much greater still was it when they heard that a new one of a most distressing and pernicious kind was to be offered for the approbation of parliament!—And, they declared, that the bare proposal of a duty on stamped paper, had already alarmed every individual in the nation.

They stated, with equal force and eloquence, the interested motives which operated upon ministers and courtiers in preventing truth from approaching the throne; and in shewing every thing to the monarch through a delusive and false medium. That if any system of economy or reform was, however, proposed, the whole tribe immediately echoed the words from one to another, and seemed to embrace it with the greatest eagerness; at the same time that all their art and industry was used to throw such difficulties in the way as should prevent its success, and thereby excite a distaste to all future attempts of the same nature.

nature. To such sinister proceedings, and to a continued course of such deception and imposition, they, without reserve, attributed all the distresses of the state, and all the evils and misfortunes of the nation. — They reminded the king how they had strove, in the years 1784 and 1785, to give him a faithful picture of the real situation of the state; his parliament then did every thing in their power, but in vain, to place truth in its clearest light; they saw that the terrible situation of public affairs required an immediate and efficacious remedy; but the ministers had too great an interest in concealing the truth to suffer it to prevail; all their endeavours accordingly proved fruitless: and some of his council went so far as to induce him to suspect the purity of their patriotic intentions.

They endeavour to draw in the passions as auxiliaries to reason and argument. The notables, they say, had withdrawn the veil that covered an undermining administration: a dreadful spectacle presented itself to the eye of an astonished nation. They then represent with much pathos, the grievous sensations which must have afflicted the monarch's paternal heart at such a discovery! How, say they, must your astonishment and sorrow have increased, when you reflected on the fatal errors in which you had so long been purposely involved by your ministers! — Such is the consequence, sire, when the choice of ministers falls on persons that are obnoxious to the nation in general: such is the great but sad example that shews to sovereigns the respect due to public opinion, seldom susceptible of error, because mankind collectively seldom gives or receives an impression contrary

to truth. — They oppose to this the narrow and interested views of intriguing and greedy courtiers. They shew, in a department where the purest hands are seldom pure enough, the circumstances that nearly compel a minister to depart from his rectitude. The first wrong step inevitably leads to others; no limits can circumscribe the minister who once swerves from his duty; abuses rise upon abuses, until the disorder becomes fatal; or, if a remedy can yet be found, the cure, however certain, must be difficult and tedious. They state the facility with which evil takes place, and the long continuance of its effect: for though it be only in a single instance, whole years may be found scarcely sufficient to remedy the mischiefs which it occasions. And they call upon the king to pause awhile upon a salutary reflection, whose importance has been acknowledged by all good monarchs — That the vices of a bad administration, and their common consequence, the involuntary errors of a just monarch, may forely entail distress upon future generations.

On the subject of taxes they declare, that all kinds of imposts should be proportioned to the necessary wants of the nation, and should end with them; that each citizen contributes a part of his property for the purpose of maintaining public safety and private tranquillity; that the people, on such principles, founded on the rights of mankind, and confirmed by reason, should never increase their contributions, until the expences of the state have undergone all the savings, alterations, and amendments, of which they are capable. — And they strongly asserted, that
neither

neither the parliaments, nor any other authority, saving only that proceeding from the united sense of the nation in the three estates of the kingdom collectively assembled, could warrant the laying of any permanent tax upon the people.

Such are a few of the leading features of this able performance.

The stop put to public business, and the disorders occasioned by the banishment of the parliament, were so sensibly felt, and the dissatisfaction of the people upon that event was so great, that the crown could not long persevere in maintaining that hostile mark of its resentment. The court was also in itself so apparently weak and divided, and such continual changes taking place in the different departments of state, that it evidently wanted every thing which could confer dignity on its conduct, or afford stability to its measures. Some appearance of vigour, however, was assumed by publishing an edict, by which the late resolutions of the parliament were declared to be illegal and null; but no measures being pursued to give effect to this edict, nor no attempt made to enforce the taxes, it passed as nothing. But the turbulence of the Parisians was effectually curbed by placing 12,000 troops as a guard upon them; and besides the continual patrols by night and day, subaltern officers, with small detachments of soldiers, were posted at the corners of all the streets. The king in the mean while, under the hope of thereby mollifying the people, being employed in making continual retrenchments in his household and other departments.

The chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, two bodies next in rank to the parliament, having

likewise protested against the new taxes, and petitioned the king to hold an assembly of the states general, as the only means of restoring the public confidence and tranquillity, the monarch in some parts of his answer seemed somewhat to descend from the haughtiness of his late predecessors, by entering into what appeared like some justification of his conduct, without a formal assumption of that name or character. He however set out on high ground, by telling them, that it was not the business of his courts of justice to demand a convocation of the states general; it belonged to him alone to determine whether it was proper; and as he saw it was not necessary, they should not have renewed their demand: that he had already done more for his people than they now required: that he had granted them provincial assemblies, which were the most competent to make known the wants and wishes of the whole kingdom; and that he should never oppose whatever the wants of the people might require: that he had transferred his parliament from Paris to Troyes, because that assembly had excited a ferment among the people, which their presence would only serve to foment and increase: that he should judge of the proper time for its restoration: that his principal object had ever been the discovery of the truth: that it was his duty to insist upon his full power in having his edicts registered; if there were any inconveniencies in the execution of them, his parliament was wrong in not making him acquainted with them: that he should receive with pleasure their (the two petitioning courts) remarks and supplications; they might expect every thing from his

his justice and his regard for his people; but that they ought to consider the combination of circumstances, and to observe, that he was under a necessity of pursuing such measures as would best enable him to fulfil his engagements faithfully.

While things were in this situation, the unexpected Sept. 13th. arrival, without licence or notice, of the first president of the parliament from Troyes at Versailles, while it surprized every body, afforded a gleam of satisfaction and hope to the public. The president was dispatched by that body to the king, to represent in strong colours the ruinous situation to which his country would be inevitably reduced by a perseverance in those measures which he had been advised to pursue; that all public business was at a stand; and that, though the consequences of such a state of things could not be exactly known, yet it was evident that disorder, confusion, and perhaps danger to the public tranquillity, were the probable results. As the court wished for the occasion, a negotiation immediately commenced, and an accommodation soon took place. The king agreed to give up the stamp-duty, and the territorial impost, as well as to give satisfaction to the parliament in some other respects; while all that we find obtained from that body, was their agreeing to register the patent by which the archbishop of Thoulouse was constituted first minister of state. Probably there might have been some other arrangements.

In the mean time the flame of liberty was bursting forth in different parts of the kingdom, with a

degree of violence suited to its long suppression; and the provinces seemed to emulate each other in their demonstrations of its operation, by the boldness and energy of their proceedings. Among various instances of this nature, the parliament of Grenoble struck directly at the unconstitutional authority so long exercised by the crown in issuing *lettres de cachet*, that most odious and terrible engine of arbitrary power; for this assembly passed a decree, by which it was rendered a capital crime for any person, under any authority, to attempt executing those letters within their jurisdiction.

It was in this course of things that the measures pursued and preparations made by the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, clearly indicated their design of taking such a direct and active part in the affairs of Holland, as could not fail, without an opposition equally powerful, to be the means of restoring the stadtholder to his rights; and even of extending, if the combined powers should be so inclined, the authority of that prince to any pitch they might think proper in the government of the republic, so as perhaps to new-model or totally overthrow its constitution. Nothing could have been more embarrassing or more alarming to the court of Versailles than this conduct of the new allies; which was rendered still more so by the untoward situation of affairs at home.

But if France had not even been clogged with any incumbrance at home to restrain her activity, she was not able singly to withstand the effects of this powerful union, which was already rendered more formidable by the measure adopted by Great

Great Britain, of retaining 12,000 Hessian troops in her service, and her being besides capable of increasing her auxiliary force to an unknown amount, by the influence which money was sure to procure with other states of the empire. Nor would the intervention even of Spain in the contest (supposing that could be obtained, which is very doubtful) be sufficient to render the balance equal, considering the distance, and other circumstances, which must have rendered the aid of that power in a great degree inefficient, - while it could not but be productive of much loss and danger to herself. The emperor alone might have turned the scale; but besides that we have no certainty of the real cordiality subsisting between the two courts, he was so deeply involved in his own ambitious schemes, and so far engaged in the overwhelming projects of Russia, that it would not be more difficult to detach than to extricate him from them.

Such was the combination of circumstances which compelled France at this time to abandon that uncontrolled influence in the affairs of Holland, which a still more singular concurrence of circumstances had thrown into her hands, and which a long series of political art, intrigue, and address, and no small waste of treasure, had so firmly established, that it did not seem capable of being shaken, at least, in our days. It was besides a grievous mortification to her pride, and a serious wound to her public faith, thus to sacrifice a people whom she had led step by step into misfortune and ruin; or if her faith was vindicated on the plea of necessity, that would be an acknowledgment of a weak-

ness so deplorable, as rendered her incapable of fulfilling her engagements, and supporting her allies. France did not, however, submit to make this sacrifice without a struggle; and it is probable that under the first impulses of her indignation, she intended to push matters to the last extremity.

Upon the first appearance or suspicion of the measures which Great Britain and Prussia were on the point of adopting, France dispatched a private memorial to each of these courts, calculated to prevent their direct interference in the affairs of Holland, by declaring, that she was absolutely determined herself not to take any part in the commotions of Holland, any farther than by the exertion of her good offices as a mediator, provided that other powers observed the same moderation; but that if any other power should take up arms either for or against the republic, France could no longer hold herself bound to this determination, but should then think herself obliged to act as the exigency of affairs might require.

Upon advice some time after that England was equipping a strong squadron of men of war at Portsmouth, the court of Versailles sent orders to equip 16 sail of the line at Brest for immediate service; and recalled at the same time a squadron of evolution, which was then exercising naval manœuvres on the coast of Portugal. This was followed by the assembling of a body of troops at Givet, on the borders of Liege, by the Maes.

The courts of London and Berlin pursued their system steadily, without paying any other regard to the warlike preparations in France,

than that of being in readiness to oppose them with effect. That of Great Britain presented a declaration to the neighbouring courts more immediately concerned, assigning the causes which rendered it necessary to that kingdom to pursue the measures which she had adopted in arming, and which particularly rested upon the notification made by France of her intention to support with her forces that party in Holland which had opposed the rights of the stadtholder, and which refused to give that satisfaction to the king of Prussia for the insult offered to his sister the princess of Orange, which he had so just a right to demand; that his Britannic majesty could not consider the alliance between France and the whole republic as at all justifying her engagement to support a particular party in an affair expressly disavowed by the states general; that he had repeatedly declared, that it was impossible for him to suffer with indifference the armed interposition of France in this affair, for that his toleration of it would produce consequences very dangerous, not only with respect to the constitution and independence of the United Provinces, but to the interests and safety of his own states; but that though he had from these causes been under a necessity of equipping a considerable naval armament, and of increasing his land forces, he would still with pleasure preserve the blessings of peace to his own subjects as well as to the rest of Europe, if France would retract her resolution, and concur in settling the impaired affairs of the republic in an amicable manner, and according to an equitable arrangement of the contending interests.

The preparations for war were, however, still carried on with vigour on both sides; but when the duke of Brunswick had in a few days over-run Holland, and totally overthrown the last hope of the republican party by the reduction of Amsterdam, France appeared in the discreditable situation of undertaking a war without a motive; as the objects which might have justified or palliated the measure in their proper season were no longer in being, and vexation or revenge could only be assigned as a cause for its present adoption. Besides, the states of Holland had retracted their former application for succour, and given a formal notification at Versailles, that having now happily adjusted their affairs, there was no farther occasion for the friendly interposition of that court. The game in Holland was now likewise evidently up; the republic had adopted a new system of policy; and however mortifying it might be in the reflection, it was not now in the power of France to undo what was already done in that country, or by any means to recover her former influence.

Under these circumstances, and in the distracted state of her internal affairs, France had only to wish to get out of the present difficulty with the best grace she could, and to soften her warlike aspect as soon as the appearance of a similar disposition on the other side should afford a fair opportunity. As there was nothing now to quarrel about, unless it was the mere honour of fighting, this opportunity was soon offered by the duke of Orléans, Dorset and Mr. Eden, Oct. 27th, 1787. the British ministers at Paris, who presented a declaration, in

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in which they observed, that as the affairs of the United Provinces no longer left any subject of discussion, and still less of contest between the two courts, they were authorized to ask, whether it was the intention of the king to carry into effect the notification made by his minister on the 16th of September, which, by announcing that succour would be given in Holland, had occasioned the naval armaments made by his Britannic majesty, and which had since become reciprocal?—That if the court of Versailles was disposed to explain itself on this subject, and upon the conduct to be observed towards the republic, in a manner conformable to the desire which had been expressed on both sides, of preserving the good understanding between both crowns; and it being likewise understood that there is no view of hostility towards any quarter in consequence of what has passed, their master, ever anxious to concur in the friendly sentiments of his most christian majesty, would agree with him that the armaments, and all warlike preparations in general, should be discontinued on both sides, and that the navies of both nations should be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the first day of the present year.

This piece produced a counter-declaration on the same day, signed by M. de Montmorin, the minister for foreign affairs, in which the French king declared, that he never had any intention of interfering by force in the affairs of the republic; the notification was palliated, and it was acknowledged that the motives to it no longer existed; he declares, that he readily agrees to

give no effect to it; concurs in the sentiments of his Britannic majesty for the preservation of the harmony between the two courts; and agrees with pleasure to the proposal that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, should be discontinued on both sides, and the navies placed upon the peace establishment proposed.—A short instrument, being in some sort a summary and confirmation of the foregoing documents, was then signed by all the parties, in the names of their respective sovereigns; and thus all occasions of difference for the present between the two nations were happily removed.

A few days previous to this event, the president of the parliament of Paris, in a speech to the king, conveyed the most ample acknowledgments from that body of their grateful sense of his equity and justice, and of his affection for his people, in withdrawing the edicts for the stamp-duty and the land-tax, accompanied with assurances of their zealous concurrence in all his majesty's beneficent views for relieving the people, and rendering them happy. — The king's answer was exceedingly gracious, containing professions of the most perfect confidence in the fidelity and loyalty of the parliament, and of the greatest affection for his subjects. Thus room was afforded to hope, that at the same time that the public tranquillity was secured from without, a similar conciliatory disposition would have prevailed at home.

But things were destined to take a turn widely different from these fond hopes. — In an extraordinary full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes of the blood,

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blood, great officers of state, and

Nov. 19th. peers of France, the king arrived at nine o'clock in the morning at the *palais* in Paris, where that body were assembled. The king brought with him two edicts to be registered by the parliament, the one being for a new loan to the amount of 450 millions of livres (near 19 millions of pounds in English money) and the other for the re-establishment of the protestants in all their ancient civil rights; a measure which had some time before been warmly recommended by the parliament, and whose progress had only been impeded by the late disputes.—It might almost seem that the second of these edicts, which was so great a favourite with the public, had accompanied the other in order to procure it the better reception.

The monarch opened the way for his edicts by a speech of unusual length, and which announced no less a change in his political temper and disposition. He said, he had come there to recall to his parliament those principles from which they should never have deviated; to hear what they had to say upon two great acts of administration and legislation; and finally, to reply to certain representations. The principles which he meant to recall to their recollection were part of the essence of the monarchy, and he would not suffer them to be evaded or changed. He had no need of solicitation to assemble the notables of his kingdom. He should never be afraid of being among his subjects. A king of France was never more happy than when he enjoyed their fidelity and affection; but it was he alone who was to

judge of the use and necessity of these assemblies; and he would not suffer himself to be indiscreetly importuned for that which ought to be expected from his wisdom, and the love he bore for his people, whose interests were inseparable from his own.—He then proceeded to explain the nature of the loan he demanded, to point out the advantages it possessed above others, and to shew its necessity. After which he touched upon the propriety of restoring the protestants to their natural rights and due rank in society; threw some blame upon the parliament of Bourdeaux; and then returning to the tone of authority on which he sat out, declared that his parliaments ought to reckon upon his confidence and affection; but they ought likewise to merit them, by confining themselves within the functions confided to their execution by the kings his predecessors, being careful neither to depart from nor to refuse them; and more particularly never to fail in giving to his subjects examples of fidelity and obedience.

Permission being then announced for every member of the assembly to deliver his sentiments without restraint, a very warm debate commenced on the subject of the loan, which was supported with equal perseverance by the party on the side of the crown, and by that which opposed its being registered, until about six o'clock; when the king, who had sat nine hours without refreshment, being wearied by the length of the arguments, perhaps chagrined at the freedom used in them, and pressed by hunger, suddenly rose, and commanded the edict to be registered without further

ther delay. This compendious method of passing a law, most unexpectedly was opposed by the duke of Orleans, who considering it as a direct infringement of the rights of parliament, immediately protested against the whole proceedings of the day, as being thereby rendered null and void. The king astonished, however repeated his orders, and then quitting the assembly, returned to Versailles without breaking his fast, and probably without any great disposition to listen to future debates in parliament.

Upon the king's departure the parliament resolved, that as the votes had not, according to their standing orders, been regularly counted, and as their deliberations had been interrupted, they could not consider themselves as having any share in the business of that sitting; thereby confirming the duke of Orleans's protest, and rendering the proceedings totally void. On the evening of the following day, the baron de Breteuil presented a letter to the duke of Orleans from the king, in which he was concisely informed, that he had reason to be dissatisfied with his conduct; that he ordered him to retire to Villars Cotterel (one of his seats, about fifteen leagues from Paris, where he was to receive no company except that of his own family; that he should depart immediately, and lie at Reincy (four leagues from Paris) where, for the present night, he should see none of his family, nor any person belonging to his house.—On the same day the abbé Sabatier and M. Frereau, both members of the parliament, and who had both distin-

guished themselves in the late debate, were, notwithstanding the freedom of speech which was then proclaimed, both taken up and sent off guarded, under the authority of *lettres de cachet*, the first to the prison of Mont St. Michel (an impregnable and almost inaccessible rock on the coast of Normandy) and the other to a prison in Picardy.

The parliament did not rest contented under these acts of oppression offered by power to their members. On the following day they waited on the king at Versailles, where the first president in a short speech declared their astonishment and concern at understanding that a prince of his own royal blood had been exiled, and two members of their body imprisoned, for having declared in his presence what their duty and consciences dictated to them, in a sitting wherein his majesty himself had announced, that he came to take the sense of the assembly by a plurality of suffrages. That, lost in consternation as they were at this incident, they humbly supplicated his majesty to restore to the prince of his blood, and to the two magistrates, the liberty which they had thus lost.

To this the king answered, That when he put away from his presence a prince of his blood, his parliament ought to have believed, that he had very strong reasons for so doing. That he had punished two magistrates, with whom he ought to be dissatisfied.

This laconic rebuff did not prevent the parliament from presenting a very long and a very strong address two days after. In this they declared, That the public affliction

had preceded their approach to the foot of the throne. That the exile of the first prince of his blood, and the imprisonment of two magistrates, without any known cause, had excited universal consternation and grief. Could it have been a crime to speak the truth in the presence of his majesty?—to speak it with a respectful frankness, which might have merited his approbation? His majesty had come among them to demand their free suffrages: to give them on every occasion was the *right* and the *duty* of parliament, and the interest of the king? He had come to the parliament that he might sit encircled with the love and with the wisdom of his subjects.—It was true, the keeper of his seals had expressed to them his majesty's sentiments; but if they allowed that circumstance to form any distinction, they should do injustice to the simplicity of truth, and the real dictates of his majesty's breast. If such principles were to be established, their counsel would indeed no longer come from the sanctuary of justice, the asylum of law; but as truth must be heard, it would break forth from the abode of terror and silence.—If the duke of Orleans was guilty, they were also. It was worthy the first prince of the blood to represent to his majesty, that he was transforming a meeting of the parliament into a bed of justice: his declaration only announced their sentiments; his conscience had judged of theirs.—

“ In fact, sire, strangers cannot conceive, posterity will not believe, that we could be exposed to any danger in telling your majesty that truth which you have demanded in person. Your

presence is always accompanied with favour: must it henceforth produce fear and affliction? A bed of justice would be less terrible than a sitting of parliament. Our loyalty to your majesty could not prevent the suppression of our opinions, if our confidence, encouraged by yourself, was no other than the signal of our exile or imprisonment.”

They represent in colours and terms equally strong and pathetic, the cruel and unworthy treatment which the two suffering magistrates had received on the occasion of their imprisonment, from those basest of mankind, as they term them, the instruments of arbitrary power and of the police: as well as the state of their confinement in horrid and unwholesome prisons, where life is a continual punishment.—If then exile is the recompence of fidelity to the princes of your blood; if outrage and captivity threaten the ingenuousness of the first magistrates of the kingdom—we may ask ourselves with terror and grief, what will become of the laws, of the public liberty, of the honour, and of the manners of the nation?

A deputation, which returned by order three days after, received for answer, that they had already been informed by the keeper of the seals, that the more goodness the king shewed when he could follow the dictates of his own heart, the more firm he could prove himself when he saw his goodness abused.—This would be a sufficient answer to their supplications. But he would add, that if he did not blame the concern they seemed to give themselves about the detention of the two magistrates, he could not but disapprove

disapprove of their exaggeration of the circumstances and consequences of that measure, and of their seeming to attribute it to motives, which the freedom of opinion he allowed did not permit them to suggest. He owed no explanations to any body of the motives of his resolutions; desired them to endeavour no longer to join the particular cause of those whom he had punished, with the interests of any other subjects, or with that of the laws. All his subjects knew that his goodness was continually awake to their happiness, and they felt its effects even in the acts of his justice. Every one was interested in the preservation of public order, and it essentially belonged to his authority. If those who had been charged with the execution of his orders had behaved in a manner contrary to his intentions, he would punish them. If the places where the two magistrates were detained should be prejudicial to their health, he would order them to be removed.

The sentence of the two magistrates was in consequence changed from imprisonment to exile, M. Frereau being sent to one of his country seats, and the abbé Sabatier to a convent of Benedictines. —We, however, apprehend that the parliament had consented to register the loan edict, before this measure of favour or grace took place.

The parliament, notwithstanding this appearance of mutual concession, were by no means disposed to give up the points against which they had already remonstrated, nor in any degree pleased or satisfied with the king's late answer. At an assembly of what is called the

great chamber of parliament, attended, as they informed the king, by the princes and peers of the realm, having taken into consideration his majesty's answer, they were charged to lay before him their representations on the subject.

This remonstrance, under the name of a petition, we conceive to be unequalled in the annals of that country, for the boldness of opinion and freedom of sentiment which it displays. They tell the monarch, without reserve, that the magistracy of his kingdom, as well as every true citizen, were astonished at the reproaches contained in his answer, and the principles which it manifested. They were, however, far from attributing them to his personal sentiments. They supported and confirmed their former charge, relative to the indignities offered to their two members; and said, that public decency had received a severe wound in the choice of the executors of his orders upon that occasion. They stated, that in devoting themselves to the public service; in promising to release his majesty from the first duty which he owed to his nation, namely, that of justice; in bringing up their children to be subject to the same sacrifices, they never could have supposed that they were destining themselves and their children to misfortunes, and still less to outrages of so heinous a nature. "But we do not come so much to claim your benignity, as the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone we address ourselves; it is not a favour which your parliament solicits; it comes, sir, to demand *justice*."—They argue, that justice is subject to regulations.

gulations independent of the will of man:—that kings themselves are subservient to them; that his glorious ancestor, Henry the IVth, acknowledged, that he had two sovereigns, God and the laws.—One of these regulations is to condemn no person without a hearing; this was a duty at all times, and in all places; it was the duty of all men: “and your majesty will allow us “to represent to you, that it is as “obligatory on you as on your “subjects.”

They observe, that the glorious privilege of shewing mercy to criminals belongs to the crown, but the act of condemning them is not one of its functions; the laws have placed that odious office in other hands; that painful and dangerous task the king cannot exercise. And they deduce from these premises, that those who advise him to punish of his own accord, to punish without a trial, to order exiles, arrests, and imprisonments, are guilty of equally wounding eternal justice, the laws of the realm, and the most consolatory prerogative which the king possesses.

They summed up the whole on the same ground of demanding justice upon which they set out.—

“It is therefore, in the name of “those laws which preserve empires, in the name of that liberty of which we are the respectful interpreters, and the “lawful mediators, in the name “of your authority, of which we “are the first and most confidential ministers, that we dare demand “the trial or the liberty of the “duke of Orleans, and the two “exiled magistrates, who are imprisoned by a sudden order, as “contrary to the sentiments as the “interests of your majesty.”

Such was the first direct attempt made in France to overthrow some of the strongest as well as the most odious engines of arbitrary power. The king's answer to this address was as little satisfactory as any of the preceding; and accordingly produced a set of new resolutions from the parliament, which did not derogate, in point of energy, from any thing they had yet offered.—But this business took place in the ensuing year.

C H A P. VIII.

Causes of the discontents in the Austrian Netherlands. Ecclesiastical reforms silently acquiesced in, until they were involved with invasions of the civil rights and political establishments of the provinces. Two imperial ordinances published on the first day of the year 1787, which went in their immediate effect to the subversion of the established tribunals of justice, and tended more indirectly to the overthrow of the ancient constitution. Sketch of the constitution of Brabant, and of the established system of jurisprudence. Council of Brabant suppressed by the new edicts. Great seal transferred from the hands of the chancellor to the imperial minister. Low Countries divided into nine circles, and intendants and commissaries, with arbitrary and undefined powers, appointed to rule these circles. Standing committee of the states of Brabant suppressed, and its powers transferred to an engine of state under the name of a council of general government. Universal consternation and general discontent. Great licence of language with respect to the sovereign, and his violation of the inaugural compact and oath. Committee of the states of Brabant present a strong memorial to the court of Brussels. People determine resolutely to maintain their rights and liberties. The bold remonstrance of the Syndics give new energy to this determination. Flame in the university of Louvain, occasioned by the suppression of the ancient seminaries of instruction, and the establishment of a new school of theology, under the government of German professors. All orders of men are thus coalesced in an opposition to the acts and designs of government. Visitor of the capuchins banished for refusing to send the novices of his order to the general seminary at Louvain. Mr. de Hondt seized by soldiers, and sent a prisoner to Vienna. Spirited proceedings of the states of Brabant; refuse to grant subsidies until the public grievances are redressed; forbid all obedience to the intendants and their commissaries; present a spirited memorial to the governors general; forbid the council of Brabant to pay any regard to the late decrees, and command that tribunal to maintain the exercise of its functions. States of Flanders and Haynault adopt similar measures with those of Brabant. Syndics act a great part in the opposition. Court of Brussels alarmed and perplexed. Governors general suspend the operation of the new edicts, and issue a declaration which affords present satisfaction. Mandate issued by the emperor on his return from Cherson, expressive of his resentment at the measures pursued in the Low Countries, and commanding the states of the respective provinces, as a proof of their obedience, to send a deputation of their members to Vienna; where the governors general, and the minister, count Belgiojoso, are likewise ordered to repair. Count de Murray appointed to the government in the absence of the prince. Great alarm in the Low Countries, on the report that an imperial army was preparing to march thither. Various measures preceding, and some tending to an accommodation. Alarming tumult at Brussels, and some blood shed, in a rash attempt made by the military to disarm the volunteers.

seers. Farther ill consequences prevented by the excellent conduct of count Murray. Accommodation happily takes place; the public rights are generally restored; and the states grant the customary subsidies.

THE political struggles in which our near neighbours and ancient friends, the inhabitants of those countries now known by the appellation of the Austrian Netherlands, have been lately engaged, although among the most interesting events of the present year, seem to have been but little attended to in this country. Yet to this people we have owed many obligations. They were our earliest merchants, factors, and negociators in all matters of trade and money; and by a singular coincidence it has so happened, that since we became greatly commercial ourselves, they never have been able to interrupt or injure us by a foreign competition. They were our leaders and instructors in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and all the arts of civil life. Even the ruin that fell so heavily upon themselves, through the religious oppression and civil tyranny of Spain, was to us productive of the greatest and most lasting advantages; and the cruelties of the duke of Alva were the means of stocking England with their most useful manufacturers, the fruits of whose ingenuity and industry we still retain. In a word, they were among our earliest and most useful allies and benefactors; and had the fortune seldom to appear, under whatever revolutions of war or of government, in the list of our enemies.

Independent of these just grounds of sympathy, the spectacle of a small nation, without friend, ally, or the most remote hope of support, bravely

encountering all hazards and dangers, in the maintenance of those liberties of which such poor relics are now left unextinguished in Europe, and venturing firmly to oppose the despotism of an overgrown and mighty power, could not yet be indifferent to Englishmen, if the nature of the subject and the grounds of the contest had been properly understood. But this was by no means generally the case: the opposition of the Flemings to the emperor's ordinances was attributed to the violence of their religious bigotry; and when they were risking all things in the defence of their civil rights, they were supposed to be blindly contending for the institutions of superstition.

It would not only be difficult, but probably now impossible, to trace up to the source the origin of those municipal privileges, which, in so early a period of the middle ages, enabled the great cities of the Low Countries to flourish in a degree of splendour that excited the admiration of mankind. Their greatness, wealth, and incredible population, together with the rank they held, and the weight they possessed in the political affairs of Europe, are, however, indelible monuments of the great share of freedom, and of the perfect security with respect to person and property, which they enjoyed several centuries ago. While the other nations of the north and west of Europe groaned under feudal slavery, and were immersed in ignorance and barbarism, civilization, with all the arts and embellishments

ishments of social life, illuminated these provinces, and spread a lustre through the surrounding gloom.

The great cities of the Low Countries did not, however, escape some occasional contests with their princes; but the latter were so sensible of the benefits which they derived, both with respect to estimation and security, from the opulence and power of their subjects, that they were not often disposed to venture upon sanguinary or oppressive measures; and, when they acted otherwise, were resisted with such vigour and effect, that the issue of these contests was ultimately favourable to the people, by affording the opportunity and means of their procuring formal written acknowledgments or ratifications of their ancient rights and privileges. Brabant, in particular, formed a regular constitution, which was ratified and sworn to by the reigning prince at the time, and which has been since confirmed and attested in the same manner, at their accession, by his different successors to the present day. This is the *Magna Charta* of that country, and is regarded with a greater degree of veneration, approaching almost to idolatry, by that people, than even the former is by those in England. This charter of their rights and liberties is, from a circumstance attending its execution, distinguished by the name of the *Joyous Entry*. The great cities of Flanders, as well as those of the other lordships and territories which are included under the general name of Netherlands, all received, at different periods, ratifications of their respective rights and privileges; but the constitution of Brabant is deemed the best defined and most perfect of the whole.

The cities had early communicated to the inhabitants of the open country a due share of their own freedom and security, in consequence of which it was covered with the largest, the most flourishing, and most populous villages in Europe, and still displays a face of culture elsewhere unequalled. For through the vicissitude of human affairs, though most of the greater cities have declined from their former splendour, yet no small portion of the ancient prosperity which they established in the villages still continues.

Upon the accession of the German branch of the house of Austria to the dominion of these provinces, Charles the VIth was received by the people with the greatest cordiality and good-will; he having first sworn at his inauguration, as his successors have constantly done, to the preservation of their ancient constitutions and rights. In the dangerous shocks which that family have since sustained, they derived the most essential benefits from the zeal, the fidelity and loyalty, and from the resources of money and of men, which were supplied by their subjects in the Low Countries. Their free subsidies were so liberally granted, that the greatness of the emergency seemed to be the measure of supply. Their troops also were among the best in the Austrian armies.

It is peculiarly necessary upon the present occasion to observe, that this people are violently attached to their ancient religion as well as to their privileges; that besides what may be ascribed to natural temper and rooted habits, some part of this predilection may be imputed to their long subjection to the Spanish dominion,

mizion, and great intermixture with that nation; and perhaps a greater share than any, to the animosity arising from the long wars with their neighbours and countrymen the Dutch, in which they were from necessity parties, and from situation and circumstance principal sufferers. It is to be added, that they value themselves highly upon the purity, as they deem it, of their religious faith, in which they hold themselves far superior to any other Roman catholic nation, Spain alone, perhaps, excepted. Such an opinion, and the vanity inseparably united with it, could not but strongly fix the national disposition and character. Among other incidental peculiarities, they adhere firmly to those old opinions with respect to the infallibility of the sovereign pontiff, the sanctity annexed to his character, and the reverence due to his person, which seem now to be nearly exploded in most other countries of the same religion.

The present emperor had completely gained the hearts of the people in the Low Countries, by the flattering hopes which he held out to them of recovering and opening the navigation of the Schelde. However futile or unjust this project might be in the design, or however disgraceful the failure in the execution, it answered the essential purpose to himself of doubly filling his coffers, first through the large subsidy and loan which the states of Brabant granted for its support, and afterwards by the vast sum of money for which he sold his claim to the Dutch. Grievous as this disappointment was, it being in some sort attributed to necessity, did not loosen the affection of the Netherlanders to their new sovereign, how-

ever it might fail in exalting their opinion of his character with respect to political ability or military strength: on the contrary, the attempt was regarded by them as possessing a full claim on their gratitude, from the interest which they conceived he took in their affairs. But that restless spirit of innovation, which has spread distraction through every other part of his dominions, and that refinement on despotism which, reducing mankind to the state of mere machines, would deprive them of all volition in the commonest offices of life, were soon to poison those sources of happiness and affluence, which had so long spread their benign influence over the Low Countries.

The first innovations were with respect to religious matters; and however rational these reforms might be in the abstract, and however laudable we, as protestants, may consider them, yet the temper, habits, and prejudices of the people being duly weighed (matters of some consideration surely in political affairs,) it may well be questioned whether they were wisely adopted. At all events less precipitation should have been used; and when the people perceived the utility arising from smaller reforms, they would have been by degrees prepared to expect proportionable benefits from those that were greater, and where the propriety of the interference of government was still less obvious. But that impatience which would trust nothing to the operation of time, and a total contempt for the opinions and likings of men, were among the most striking characteristics of the sovereign.

The sense, however, of the states, and of the principal men, including all

all the governing departments of the nation, seemed to coincide so much with the emperor's intention in his first religious reforms, that the multitude, however astonished and grieved, and the clergy, however greatly alarmed and affected, sunk under them in nearly a silent acquiescence. But when the rage for reform increased hourly with its success; when it was seen that no moderation was observed, that the states not only were not consulted, but did not seem to be thought of, and that the royal authority, acting singly from itself, overthrew every thing in its way, without regard to the most fixed, ancient, or popular establishments, then the most wise and enlightened men, and consequently the most remote from superstition and bigotry, began with reason to tremble for their civil rights, well seeing that the same despotism which swept every thing before it in the religious departments, might, by a new direction, prove equally fatal to the constitution of their country in all other respects.

The ecclesiastical order formed a very powerful, numerous, and opulent body in the Low Countries; their possessions and property, of every kind, being estimated at the immense sum of twenty-five millions sterling. They had likewise possessed from time immemorial, at least, a third part in the government of the country; the states being composed of the representatives of the clergy, of the nobility, and of the commons. Although the states consented to the first innovations made by the emperor, in the suppression of some of those orders or establishments which were deemed most unnecessary or useless; yet

when they saw the headlong strides he was taking to the overthrow of the whole, they conceived at once that his object was not reform but plunder; and that he aimed at grasping the whole of this immense property for the purposes of establishing despotism at home, and the gratification of an insatiable ambition abroad.

This consideration obliged all orders of men to coalesce in the endeavour to preserve their common privileges; and those who before, being only attentive to the care of their civil rights, gave themselves no great concern about the dilapidations of the church, now perceived clearly, that to resist the inroads of arbitrary power with effect, all the inlets by which it might enter should be equally guarded. They accordingly found it necessary not only to profit of the silent discontents of the clergy, but to retain the passions, the prejudices, and even the bigotry of the people on their side, in order to form the most compact and powerful opposition of which they were capable against the dangers which they too well saw so heavily threatened their ancient civil establishments with ruin.

From these causes, discontents and murmurs became general in the Low Countries. The harsh, austere, and arbitrary spirit which was manifested in all the reforms that had already taken place, did not tend to allay the discontents excited by new and extraordinary measures. The smallest compliance with ancient and popular customs or prejudices, or to the opinions of a people who had for several centuries been habituated to freedom, was never shewn in those secondary matters, which would have been necessary to smooth the

the way for the principal object, in a single instance. The decrees of the oracle seemed to be as fixed and irrevocable as those of fate; and the instruments of carrying them into execution to have no greater latitude of will or action than those on whom they were to operate.

This display of a terrific authority, which admitted of no deviation from its prescribed course, appeared openly, without address or management, in all things, and was carried into the detail of small affairs, as well as those of greater importance.

The Keremesse was a festival of great antiquity in the Low Countries, and had seemed for many ages to be regarded by the inhabitants in much the same manner that the Saturnalia had by the ancients. It was a season of mutual visiting, and of reconciling differences, not only between individuals but villages; it was equally a season for contracting marriages, for forming new friendships, and for renewing or cementing the old. The satisfaction it produced appeared of the utmost importance to that class of mankind whose destiny precludes them from partaking of many pleasures, and therefore doubly endeared to them the returns of ancient and periodical festivity.—The Keremesse was suppressed.

The disposal that was made of the lands belonging to the suppressed convents, afforded likewise much matter of public dissatisfaction and complaint. Assurances had been given at the commencement of these suppressions, that after providing a competent revenue for the maintenance of the reformed religious, these estates should be sold, and their produce applied to such

public establishments, as should fully compensate for the failure of those large charities which the monasteries uniformly dispensed. But without regard to these engagements, the lands were now applied to increase, and considered as a part of the royal demesnes. The value of those already seized was estimated at more than a million sterling, from which the slender stipends allowed to the religious made but a very small reduction; and though a commission had been granted for the establishment of a sort of religious and charitable bank or coffer, yet the benefits arising from it not appearing, could afford no satisfaction to the public.

The conduct of government, with respect to the abbies, which are the most opulent and splendid of the religious foundations, was likewise a source of much discontent as well as apprehension. Several of these conferred a right on the possessors of being instantly, in virtue only of the possessions, inherent members of the states. In Brabant this high distinction and privilege in favour of the abbots was carried to a greater extent than elsewhere, for the whole body of the clergy, being the first order of the state, were represented by abbots only. The emperor had not yet ventured upon the direct subversion of any of the abbacies, but he adopted a measure which nearly answered the same purpose for the present, by placing them to be held in *commendam*, as the abbots died. This was in direct contradiction not only to the spirit but the letter of the *joyous entry*, the framers of which, as if foreseeing the innovation, had guarded against the evil by an express law. It was represented as a double wrong, first

to the abbies, which were deprived of their just and legal rights, and next to the states, who were rendered imperfect, by being deprived of the service of their proper members. This was said to be an invasion of the constitution by sap. The first order of the states would thus be silently extinguished, and a precedent established, which in a little time would prove equally fatal to the other two; which, already maimed and defective, must easily sink under the expected blow.

But the first day of the year 1787 was destined to make all past complaints and grievances appear of small account, if not entirely insignificant. Two imperial edicts were published on that day, which went to the direct subversion of all the tribunals, of the forms and course of civil justice, which had for so many centuries been established and pursued in the Low Countries; and which went no less in their tendency to the overthrow of that ancient and venerable constitution, which the people had so long considered as their glory, and regarded with an enthusiasm which seemed to approach almost to idolatry.

It is here necessary to take some notice of that established system of jurisprudence and equal justice which had at so early a period distinguished these provinces, and which was now to be overthrown. As the constitution of Brabant was the most perfect, we shall draw our examples from thence, the course of justice in the other territories being conducted upon the same general principles.

The jurisdiction in the villages of Brabant lies in the lord of the manor or barony in which they are situated. The lord delegates his authority, in common and trivial

cases, to plain reputable men, who act as magistrates in the respective villages. In cases of greater importance, an assemblage of these village magistrates compose a court; but they are aided, and their proceedings in some degree controlled, by two lawyers of eminence, who expound the laws, and act as judges. An appeal lies from the verdict of a single magistrate to the manorial court; and in cases of a certain degree of importance, from that to a superior tribunal. It is the interest of the lord that justice should be duly administered to his tenants, and vexatious law-suits prevented; and the magistrates find it necessary not only to preserve the good opinion of their neighbours, but cautiously to guard against the disgrace of being deprived of their offices by well-founded complaints to the lord. From this plain and simple course of rural justice, the people passed their lives in great tranquillity, and knew little of the vexation of law-suits.

The jurisdiction in the cities, not only with respect to civil but criminal cases, was lodged in the hands of their respective magistrates.— These were obliged, as a necessary preparative education, to be well versed in the knowledge of the laws; and being selected from the most honourable families, composed tribunals of great respectability and independence. All the magistrates, whether of the cities or villages, were obliged by the constitution to be natives of Brabant; and they were all bound by oath to maintain inviolably the *joyous entry*, or great charter of their rights and privileges.

But the supreme tribunal of the country is that seated at Brussels, and

and distinguished by the name of the council of Brabant. This eminent tribunal, which has subsisted through a greater number of ages than records or history probably reach to, has through time immemorial been held in the greatest veneration. It is composed of sixteen judges and a president; the latter of whom is distinguished by the name of the chancellor of Brabant; and his office considered as being of the first trust, dignity, and honour. In many assigned cases, this tribunal judges in the first instance, and is likewise a court of appeal in civil matters, from the sentence of the magistrates in cities and villages.

The functions of this tribunal are not however confined to the administration of justice. The council of Brabant acted also as a council of state; and no act of the prince was considered as valid, or received as a law, until it had been examined and approved of by the judges of this court, and until the chancellor had affixed to it the great seal of Brabant, which was for that purpose entrusted to his care. As the constitution had committed so great a charge to this tribunal, so it took every possible precaution to provide for the character, integrity, and independence of the judges, and still more particularly of the chancellor. The *joyous entry* accordingly went minutely into this business, accurately defining the qualities and qualifications which were to be considered as indispensably necessary for the filling of offices of so great trust; among which, the possession of estate to a considerable amount within the province was not forgotten.

By the new edicts of the first of January, all these ancient tribunals

were overthrown, and this established course of justice, which, besides the sanction of antiquity, was rendered the more dear to the Flemings, from its having descended to them through the brightest and most prosperous days of their ancestors, was annihilated for the gratification of a project which, to speak of it in the mildest terms, had not yet received the test of any sort of experience. Tribunals of a new description, perhaps suited to another state of civilization and things, but whose models were derived from the ever harsh and arbitrary governments of the ancient Austrian dominions, were to supply the place of the former judicatures. It might have been imagined that the Netherlanders were a newly discovered people, who being only just emerging from barbarity, any system for the administration of justice, however faulty, would to them have been an advantage, compared with a lawless state of anarchy. A supreme tribunal, whose jurisdiction extended over all the provinces, was appointed to hold its seat at Brussels. A new mode of judicial procedure, copied from the sources we have mentioned, was to take place in that as well as the inferior tribunals. The Baron de Martini, an Italian, was sent into the Low Countries, with the title of imperial commissary, to establish and regulate the new tribunals, and to prescribe to a nation which had for so many ages gloried in the freedom as well as the equity of its civil institutions, in what manner justice should be dispensed in future. The 1st of May was the day appointed for the ancient tribunals to cease, and the new ones to commence their career in the administration of justice.

The

The constitution of the new courts of judicature was not by any means calculated to lessen the regret which every body felt for the suppression of the old tribunals. On examining their construction it was found, that the judges were not to be chosen from the natives, and that the decision of causes was generally to lie in the breast of a single judge; but the most alarming circumstance of all was the impenetrable veil of secrecy, which, in the true spirit of injustice and despotism, and according to the genius of the countries from whence the models were derived, was to overspread all the tribunals, and to bury their proceedings in darkness. It could scarcely have been believed, if the instance had not been so immediate and flagrant, that any legislator or reformer of the present enlightened age could have adopted concealment and secrecy as mediums for the administration of justice. It is said, that celerity and dispatch were the grand principles to direct the conduct of these new courts, to which nothing could be more directly contrary, than slow researches to discover the truth, and critical investigations of justice.

The sudden and violent overthrow of their ancient and favourite tribunals, spread such a terror and consternation among the people as no words could describe. Every man trembled, the small as well as the great, at the idea of those dangers to which he expected his person or property would in future be exposed. The nobles felt themselves wounded to the quick in being thus deprived of their seignorial rights, without any charge of misconduct in the exercise of their privileges, and consequently without even a

colour of justice. They exclaimed, that by dispossessing them of that jurisdiction which they had ever held over their tenants in the villages, they were robbed of one of the most valuable parts of their hereditary patrimony, without any cause assigned, or compensation offered; and that this patrimony and these rights had been acquired in early times, at the expence of the money or of the blood of their ancestors.

The cities, which were extremely jealous of the dignity of their magistrates, who possessed a very unusual degree of consideration in that country, could not but deeply resent the unmerited degradation and affront offered to that body; while with respect to themselves they exclaimed, that one of their noblest privileges would be ravished from them, when the citizens were deprived of that fair and open trial by their magistrates, to which they had ever safely committed their lives and fortunes, and which they claimed as their natural and inalienable right.

But the suppression of the council of Brabant, as it excited the greatest consternation, so it produced the loudest and most general complaints of any of the innovations. By the suppression of that supreme tribunal, not only the benefits it afforded as a court of justice, and of appeal in the last instance, was lost to the public, but what might in the main perhaps be considered even of greater consequence, that wholesome controul, which, as a council of state, it exercised over the edicts of the prince, and which was the most effectual check the people held upon the encroachments of his prerogative, was thereby annihilated. By the new edict, the great seal of

Brabant

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Brabant, to which so much importance had always been annexed, and which the *joyous entry* had confided with so much caution to the chancellor only, a native of the province, was now to be placed in the hands of the imperial or royal minister in the Low Countries, a person and office not known to the constitution, over whom it had no controul, and who being appointed and removable at the will of the sovereign, must not only be highly obnoxious to the people, but could at any time apply the ancient instrument of their freedom to the ratification of their bondage.

But while the first of the two famous edicts which so ominously clouded the opening of the new year, extended destruction to their courts and forms of justice, the second went little less directly to subvert the whole fabric of their constitution; at least, it was so stripped of its buttresses and defences in the present instance, that the remaining parts could scarcely be expected to withstand the shocks to which governments are daily subject.

The states of Brabant, as we have already seen, are composed of the representatives of the three orders of clergy, nobles, and commons; and the people looked on them as the guardians and conservators of their laws, liberties and property. To them only belongs the power of imposing taxes, and of granting subsidies to the prince; in the exercise of which power no illiberality in their grants was ever complained of on the part of the prince, nor were the taxes they imposed ever considered as burthens by the people. The states possessed, and occasionally exercised, the right

of remonstrating freely with the sovereign on the measures of government; and they claimed as a right the very essential and important privilege, that no material change could be wrought in the constitution without their concurrence.

The states assembled every year at Brussels, and to obviate the inconveniences of a long session, when they had gone through the most material parts of the annual business, they appointed a select committee of their own body, composed of two members of each order, to supply their place during a long recess. The institution of this committee (which held the name of a college) might be traced back to very early periods without reaching its origin; the greatest confidence was at all times placed in it; the most weighty affairs committed to its charge; the money voted by the states came particularly within its department; it communicated energy and dispatch to all their resolutions and decrees; and seemed in a great degree authorized to act discretionally, at least in many cases, without any particular instruction. In a word, the delegate seemed to possess no small share of the spirit and power of the principal, although subject to its future controul.

The second edict had for its title, 'The Establishment of a new Form of Government in the Austrian Netherlands:' and upon the principle of its title, while it subverted the old departments and forms, it established in their stead an engine of state, under the name of a council of general government, which while it drew all public affairs within the sphere of its own action, was to be ruled

ruled by the court minister, who was placed at its head. By this edict the old committee of the states, their delegate and legitimate child, to whom they communicated so great a share of their power, merely for their own ease and convenience, but which they could at any time recall, was now suppressed, without their having any previous knowledge of or any share in the suppression; and to aggravate the evil, the duty and offices of the committee, along with their derivative authority, were transferred to the council of general government, a board over whom the states had no controul, and in which the minister presided.

On a supposition that it would operate as some salvo to the states, in disposing them to a compliance with this indirect but violent deprivation of their rights, they were permitted to name one deputy from their own body, who, if approved of by the minister and council of government, was to be admitted to a seat at that board; but to render this deputy entirely subservient, he was to be decorated with the title of counsellor to the sovereign, and his virtue farther secured by a salary or pension from the royal bounty. Now it was in direct contravention to the institutes of the *joyous entry*, that any member of the states should hold any office whatever of trust or of profit under the sovereign, he being from thence totally incapable of acting as a representative.

But this new deputy and counsellor, although merely an unit at the board of council, was to be vested in other respects with most extraordinary powers, and such as from their nature could not fail of being totally subversive of the con-

stitution; for it was decreed by the edict, that the deputy, if occasion required, might represent all the three orders of the states; and that when called on by the council of general government, he might sign all those acts which the states usually signed. This was nearly throwing off the mask. The blind might perceive that it was only a prelude to the overthrow of the states; that means would soon be found either for laying them entirely aside, or, if it was found convenient for some time yet to retain their name and outward form, they would be rendered an inert mass, without life or substance, while their new deputy, under the orders of the minister and council, would be made the instrument of seizing their whole power, and even of usurping their most sacred right and trust, that of imposing taxes on their fellow subjects, and of granting subsidies to the prince.

Whilst the tribunals of justice were thus overthrown, the rights of the states invaded, and their very existence threatened, a novel system of magistracy, such as had never been heard of before in the Low Countries, was likewise introduced. The second edict decreed a division of the country into nine circles, and appointed a new form and distinct administration of government to each circle, though all acting upon the same principle. An intendant, with a train of subordinate commissaries, composed a tribunal which was to preside over each circle; but that of Brussels was to be counted the first circle, and probably held some jurisdiction or controul over the others. The power of these tribunals, or of their intendants, was arbitrary in the extreme. All

persons who in any department were entrusted with the collection or care of any part of the public money, whether collectors appointed by the states, magistrates of cities, or the officers in districts or parishes, were all obliged to bring in their accounts to the intendant, and were all liable to any punishment he might choose to inflict on them, however degrading; his tribunal, if its powers of punishment were at all limited, being fully authorized to inflict discretionary fines, entire confiscation, and that last and most degrading engine of government, corporal chastisement.

The police was also subjected to his controul; and in several cases his jurisdiction trenched upon that of the courts of law. The publication of edicts, which it had been the high privilege of the council of Brabant to examine, and then to promulgate or suppress, as they thought fitting for the public good, was now placed in the hands of the intendant. Scarcely any man, or order of men, could escape free from the fangs of these tribunals if they chose to exert them. All who were only suspected of defrauding the revenue, whether by contraband practices or otherwise, were immediate objects of their inquisition, and had no redemption from their decree. The powers of the intendant were indeed so uncertain and undefined, that all men were commanded to pay implicit obedience to his decrees, although it should be supposed or known that he even exceeded the bounds of his commission. Nor could the courts of law take any cognizance of his acts, nor consequently afford any redress to his oppression or injury. The only ostensible remedy assigned to the

people, but which they did not consider as any, was to lay their complaints before the minister and his council.

As soon therefore as the important tendency of the new ordinances were generally disseminated, the public discontent was expressed in such loud and vehement terms, and such unqualified censure was passed upon the source of their grievances, that it required little penetration to see, that nothing less than the most absolute coercions of power could reduce the people to suffer the overthrow of their ancient constitution, and to submit to the tyranny of the new system. All the acts of the present reign now underwent a severer review; and many which passed unobserved or unheeded in the days of good humour and good opinion, were scrutinized and condemned. In this heat great licence of language (the most incorrigible vice of free cities) prevailed with respect to the sovereign; and the imputed breach of the inaugural compact and oath, was openly branded with the coarse and unqualified terms of treachery and perjury.

On the other hand, those who were disposed to think more favourably of the acts and designs of the sovereign, vindicated him from any intention of subverting the constitution, upon the circumstance of the slender military force which he then retained in the Low Countries, and which was totally insufficient for such a purpose. They likewise said, that from the general tenor of conduct which he had hitherto observed, and the early instances of affection to the people, and an attention to their interests, which he had displayed, it was more just to conclude, that he had framed these edicts

edicts rather from mistaken views of the public good, than from any design upon their liberties; that he had undoubtedly been induced to suppress the ancient tribunals, with a view of abridging the expence and tediousness of law-suits, and enabling the people to obtain justice in a more compendious and summary manner: and that from similar misapprehensions, and probably impositions, he had been induced to make those other alterations which were so generally condemned, and so universally grievous. That no doubt could be entertained but the prince had been deceived by partial and false representations of things; and that the blame of the new edicts ought to fall on those evil counsellors, who secretly wishing and striving to advance their own power in the Netherlands by these innovations, had surprized the unwary mind of the sovereign into rash and precipitate measures.

This allusion was particularly directed to the chancellor of Brabant, who forgetful of the great trust confided in him, as well as of the eminence and dignity of his high station, had been brought over to abandon the one, and to degrade the other, by accepting the office of president in the supreme tribunal which was now to be established at Brussels.

It is to be observed, that no part of the public odium excited by these extraordinary measures fell in any degree upon the arch-duchess and her husband, the duke of Saxe Tessen, who being governors general of the Netherlands, were the persons on whom it might naturally have been supposed the torrent of blame would principally have fallen.

On the contrary, the conduct of these princes had in all things been so laudable and pleasing to the people, that they had gained their good opinion and even affection, and were never once suspected of contriving, or even of wishing to further the execution of any scheme for the subversion of their constitution and liberties.

The public blame and odium was principally directed to the count Belgiojoso, the minister, a Milanese by birth, and supposed to stand so highly in the favour of his sovereign, that all the late innovations were readily imputed to him; the governors general being only considered as holding the ostensible insignia of government, while he possessed the real power. This nobleman, although he had for three years held the office of minister in the Low Countries, was supposed to be little acquainted with the character of the people, and still less with their laws and constitution. Being himself bred under a despotic form of government, and being likewise naturally of a haughty, imperious, and arbitrary temper, he seemed little calculated for the government of a free people; and it was vexatiously observed at this time, that his long residence in England, as ambassador from the court of Vienna, instead of inducing him to venerate the principles of a free constitution, had produced the untoward effect of rivetting his native prejudices the more firmly. His administration accordingly produced neither favour nor confidence from the Flemings, and he was now universally detested as the principal author of all the present dangerous and destructive measures.

The states of Brabant were not
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fitting when the new ordinances made their appearance, but the committee of the states, which was destined to so speedy a dissolution, lost no time in presenting a strong and spirited memorial to the court of Brussels. In this piece the committee having displayed the peculiar excellencies of their constitution, and expatiated on the happy and glorious effects which through so many ages it had produced, they entered into a particular detail of the history of their great charter, the *joyous entry*, shewing how it had been first obtained from the ancient dukes of Brabant, more as a specification and record of rights and privileges which they had then already long possessed, than as a grant of new: how it had been maintained and enlarged by their succeeding sovereigns the dukes of Burgundy; and afterwards ratified and sworn to by both branches of the house of Austria. They then protested in the strongest terms against the violation of that great charter of their liberties attempted by the late edicts; declared that they were from their nature invalid; and that no change whatever could take place in the established constitution, thus solemnly secured, without not only the consent but the positive act of the three estates of Brabant. The council of Brabant likewise made use of the short period allotted to its existence, by strongly supporting the representations made by the committee in this memorial.

As the time approached for the new arrangements to take place, the people, by mutual communication of their sentiments and apprehensions, were carried nearly to the highest pitch of irritation. They fancied they already saw military

enrolments, territorial imposts, and all those other effects of arbitrary power, which the people groaned under in the hereditary provinces of Germany, now fully established among themselves, through the supreme power allotted to the intendants. The common danger produced the good effect of coalescing all orders of the people in one compact and firm mass. Every individual was willing to hazard all things in the defence of his rights; but it remained for the wiser few to determine how this was to be done with effect. The clergy saw that the only prospect they could possibly have of preserving their remaining possessions, and consequently any part of their weight in the state, was by embarking hand and heart with the people in the support of their civil rights: and those who were not before sorry to see the wealth and power of the church considerably reduced, were now sensible of the fatal error of opening any inlet, however small, or upon whatever pretence or account, for the introduction of arbitrary power in the reform or settlement of a free constitution. The arbitrary measures pursued against the clergy, which were little attended to when every other class of the people thought itself secure, now told to every man's feelings as a part of the common stock of grievance, and were considered as the first links of that chain of despotism which was designed to embrace the whole state. Thus the interests of the church and of the people were firmly united, and religious prejudice being enlisted on the side of patriotism, came necessarily within its protection.

Notwithstanding the peaceable character

character of the country, and disposition of its inhabitants, it did not want many generous spirits, men of rank and of fortune, who, disdainful to surrender the rights which they inherited from their ancestors, were not appalled by the prodigious disparity in every point of comparison, between their means of supporting a contest, and those of the mighty power with whom they seemed destined to contend. They likewise saw that the public affairs of Europe were in so peculiar a situation, that scarcely any former period could have cut them so entirely off from every hope of foreign assistance or support. But then they were aware, that if they were now dispossessed of their rights, there never could even be a hope of their future recovery; and that they would soon dwindle into the same state of insignificance and poverty with Transylvania, Sclavonia, or any other of the most abject dependant provinces.

The arbitrary conduct, and even the mysterious language and countenance of the minister, served to confirm these dispositions, and to afford them greater strength, by increasing the discontent, and cementing the union of the people. The public apprehensions had already produced very untoward effects in the rapid decline of commerce, the great decrease of the quantity of cash in circulation, and a proportionate failure of the revenue arising from the customs. Although these were not only the usual but the certain consequences of violent measures, and that the cause and effect were visible in the different links, yet the failure of the revenue, which was all that gave him any concern, was attri-

buted entirely by the minister to the increase of contraband trade; and considering severity as the most effectual remedy for this evil, an order was issued, empowering the revenue officers to fire directly at any person who, when called to by them to stop, did not instantly obey the command. It may be easily conceived with what degree of satisfaction so harsh and cruel a feature of German despotism, which rendered immediate death the penalty of natural infirmity or accidental misfortune, was introduced among a people accustomed to a just and lenient government.

In Brabant the whole representation of the commons lay in the deputies that were elected and returned to the states by the three principal cities of the province, Brussels, Louvain, and Antwerp; nor could any tax be imposed, nor subsidy granted by the states themselves, until it was confirmed by the approbation of these three cities. The companies of arts and trades form a principal member in each of these cities, and, as may be expected in a country so early and so highly celebrated for its skill in arts and manufactures, possess great and eminent privileges, and include great numbers of the most respectable citizens. In Brussels these companies are formed into nine bands or nations, each of which is governed by a distinct ruler, called a syndic; in whose hands, acting as the mouth, and under the authority of the corporation, much weight and influence is lodged.

The syndics of the nine nations now took an active and important part in defence of the public liberty. They drew up and presented a memorial, conceived in

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that bold spirit of freedom, which had animated and characterized the great cities in the days of their greatest splendour and independence. After placing in a strong light the nature and conditions of the inaugural oath and compact, they commented with a freedom and plainness of language not often heard at courts, on the repeated flagrant violations of them which had of late taken place. After recounting the various heads of grievance which we have already seen, they boldly asserted that peculiar and extraordinary privilege and security to the liberties of the people, which the constitution of Brabant has established, by specifically ordaining, "That if the sovereign shall infringe upon the articles of the *joyous entry*, his subjects shall be discharged from all duty and service to him, until such time as due reparation shall be made for such infringement."

This grave and spirited memorial gave a form and a sanction to the spirit which already prevailed, and was a signal for displaying it.

In the mean time, as if the causes of discontent had not been already sufficiently numerous, the fruitful genius of innovation found means to extract from the cold and abstruse science of theology materials for kindling a new flame, which being speedily communicated to all the orders of the church, which was now so closely united with every other part of the state, political interests, and the sense of common danger concurred, in renewing and enforcing the impressions of education.

Louvain, one of the three principal cities of Brabant, has long

been noted for its ancient and splendid university, whose numerous colleges are very richly endowed, and contained a prodigious number of students. It was once held respectable for its learning, but has lost much of its character in that respect, through the obstinacy with which it has adhered to the ancient school forms and opinions, which necessarily shut out all those means of improvement which have been so happily adopted in modern times by other great seminaries of instruction. This university has long been particularly noted for its attachment to the papal see, and the extraordinary reverence with which it regarded the supreme pontiff; dispositions which, as they lessened in other places, seemed to acquire additional strength here, and which could by no means recommend them to the favour of the sovereign in the present reign.

Some reforms had been lately adopted by the sovereign, which, if they had not been too hastily pursued, and carried to too great an extent in the first instance, might probably have proved serviceable in time, and under the government of caution and prudence, to the interests of literature. But the first essay was made upon such tender and forbidden ground, and so total a contempt shewn of all address and management in conducting the approaches, that it was easily seen what the issue would be. Those, whose duty it is to teach, will not readily submit to learn; and perhaps they may not be unreasonable in expecting the correction of their errors rather from argument and persuasion, than from the hands of power, and the eloquence of edicts.

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The doctrines of teachers, and the principles of education, which regulate the morals and fashion the lives of a whole people, are not easily changed, nor ought they to be so: but they are not incapable of reformation, because they cannot be reformed in every way. A wise government, by the introduction and encouragement of something better, will gradually draw away the tribute of affections and opinions, and leave the obsolete and deserted error to perish in silent oblivion, or compel it to adopt the new improvement, which all the force of legislative prohibition and injunction could never have effected. The first of the imperial reforms in the university of Louvain extended to the sacred science of theology; or at least to the overthrow of that system of it which had hitherto been professed and taught in the university.

We are to observe, that this science had till now been taught in particular colleges, appropriated to that purpose, in the university; and that exclusive of these, each bishop had a peculiar seminary, in which all the youth of the diocese, who were destined to holy orders, were bred up under his own eye, until the time arrived for prosecuting their degrees in the university. The religious orders had likewise their peculiar seminaries for the education and instruction of their novices; the austere system of whose future lives, any more than their uncouth garb, being ill suited to mixing in the crowds and noise of a vast university, and in the licence of a populous city.

All these colleges and seminaries were now abolished, and a general seminary, established at Louvain by

the sovereign for the study of theology, was ordained to supply their place; an edict being published, that all those youth who were designed for the church should repair to the general seminary to pursue and finish their theological studies. —But this was not all, the conduct of the new seminary was placed in the hands of strangers and foreigners. As if the clergy and schools of the Flemish nation were not competent to the education of their own youth, and were incapable of instructing in the pastoral duties those designed for the church, a rector and professors were sent from Germany, to whom were committed the entire charge of the general seminary, and the exclusive instruction of all youth designed for the ministry; the new professors being themselves independent of the statutes and rules of the university, and free from the inspection and all controul of the bishops.

This general importation of foreign instructors, and foreign principles of instruction, was to affix by authority a stigma of barbarism upon a whole nation, upon a church very early established, and long held respectable, and upon an opulent, powerful, and very numerous body of clergy.

The bishops not only complained of a direct invasion of their rights, but declared that in a little time they should be rendered incapable of discharging their most important function, as they could not admit men into holy orders, of whose education, morals, or religious principles, they had no knowledge. The university exclaimed loudly at so unexampled a violation of all their laws, institutions, and privileges.

Suspensions

Suspensions were entertained and spread which rendered the new professors extremely odious, and served to communicate the discontent of the clergy to every order and part of the people. The new professors in religion, as it had been observed of the new ministers of government, happened to be natives of those remote provinces of Germany, where not only the opinions of Protestantism were held to be prevalent; but it was said, that the errors of Arianism, Socinianism, and of the Moravians, were scarcely less general. Their principal, the abbé Stœger, who was rector, had likewise published a body of ecclesiastical history, in which, though otherwise a work of merit, he was said to have treated the decrees of popes and councils with less reverence than was suited to the character of a catholic priest. There was accordingly a general outcry, that religion was in immediate danger; that the Low Countries, which had so long gloried in holding the catholic faith in its highest and original purity, were now to be contaminated with heterodox opinions, and the principles of the rising generation corrupted at the source of knowledge; whilst that holy religion, which Louvain had so long preserved without stain within her walls, was to be defiled by the foul taint of heresy.

In this state of things the minister thought proper to add new fuel to feed the flame. He issued an order to father Godefroi d'Alost, visitor of the capuchins at Brussels, to send the young students of his order to be educated in the general seminary. The visitor refused to comply with this order, on the ground of the deep sense with

which he was impressed of the imminent danger to which the young capuchins would be exposed from the heterodox doctrines of the German professors; and concluded a Latin letter, though breathing somewhat of a fanatical spirit, with a declaration that he rather chose to endure persecution for the sake of the truth, than to obey the unlawful commands of princes. This refusal so much irritated the minister, that Godefroi was commanded to depart from Brussels in twenty-four hours, and to quit the dominions of the emperor within three days.

This violent act excited much indignation. It not only afforded a new subject of complaint to those who were zealous in religion, and strengthened the abhorrence to the general seminary, but it increased the apprehensions of the progress of arbitrary power, which were already so generally entertained. For the laws of Brabant ordain, that no person shall be punished but by due form of law, declared by the sentence of a proper magistrate; and thus an opportunity was taken in shocking religious prejudice, to violate civil right. But the principle of irritation was extended to many other acts, and all at the same point of time.

Mr de Hondt, a man of irreproachable character, and an eminent merchant of Brussels, had held a contract for supplying the army in the Low Countries with forage. The term of this contract had expired, his accounts were examined in the customary manner, liquidated and closed, and the whole transaction was to all appearance ended. But suspicions having arisen upon an after-thought, that some
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unfair transactions had taken place in the department of contractors and commissaries, he was included in a charge brought before that tribunal at Brussels, to which the cognizance of such causes specially belonged. Mr. de Hondt had put in his answer to the charge, and the affair was proceeding in due course of law to a decision, when he was ensnared into a public office belonging to government, where he found himself instantly surrounded, and seized by an armed soldiery, who, after a few hours confinement on the spot, forced him into a carriage; and though he was labouring under a severe and dangerous indisposition, transported him by the most rapid journeys, as it was asserted, in chains, and under an armed guard, to Vienna.

Such an open contempt of the forms of justice struck every man with dread and with horror; while Austrian despotism, military government, chains, dungeons, and Vienna, became inseparable ideas, and filled every imagination. It was in vain that the ministry endeavoured to gloss over the act, by pretending that Mr. de Hondt's contract for forage rendered him subject to military law. The people were by no means in a temper to listen to such arguments. Madam de Hondt lost no time in addressing and publishing a spirited memorial to the states of Brabant (although they were not yet assembled) in which, with the dignity of a Roman matron, she seemed not less sensible of the violence offered to the laws and constitution of her country, than of her own particular injury; but strongly called upon them to assert her cause as that of the public, and to discharge their duty

with effect, as the guardians of the rights and privileges of the people.

The eyes of all men were now directed to the meeting of the states, and their minds suspended until they could form some conclusion, from their proceedings in the outset, of what they might farther hope or expect. This assembly was convened at Brussels in the month of April, and soon relieved the minds of the people, by shewing that the spirit of their ancestors was not yet extinct. When they were requested, according to the usual forms, in the name of the sovereign, to grant the customary subsidies, they totally refused to treat in any manner upon the subject of subsidies, until the grievances of the people were fully redressed. They then issued orders to the collectors and receivers of the public revenues, forbidding them, on pain of instant suspension from their offices, to pay any regard or obedience to the commands of the new intendants or their commissaries. Having given this specimen of the spirit by which they were actuated, and earnest of the conduct which they intended to pursue, they proceeded to vindicate the rights of the constitution in a most spirited remonstrance to the governors general.

In this piece, having declared their undoubted rights, and stated in strong colours the numerous infractions of the constitution which had taken place, particularly by the new edicts, which had been published contrary to law, without their consent, or any communication with them, they particularly specified the violation of the compact between the sovereign and his subjects, by wresting the great seal of Brabant from those hands in which the constitution

situation had lodged it, and placing it in those of the minister. They then stated the mockery put upon themselves, and equal violation of the laws, by the substitution of a single deputy to supply the place of their committee; and pointed out the deplorable servitude with which the provinces were openly menaced, by the new and extraordinary powers with which the intendant and his commissaries were furnished. They recited the violent acts in religious matters, as part of the same arbitrary system with the late edicts; and particularly complained of the injury to the states, and the violence offered to the constitution, by withholding from them the abbots, who formed an essential part of their body. They asserted that the syndics, in their memorial, had held up a true picture of the afflicted state of the nation, of the decline of commerce, and of the apprehensions with which all ranks of men were seized; and they added, directly from themselves, that these apprehensions were no longer vain forebodings, for that the reign of despotism and military government was already begun, and had fully displayed itself in the seizure of Mr. de Hondt, who was forced from his dwelling by an armed soldiery, and carried away, to be tried by the laws and the tribunals of a country to which he was not amenable. They represented, in striking colours, the effects that must ensue from the prosecution of this arbitrary system—the fall of commerce, the emigration of the citizens, and the desolation of those flourishing provinces, whose riches and credit had so often been successfully employed in the service of the house of Austria.

The court of Brussels was astonished, and not a little disturbed, at the vigorous measures pursued by the states, which it seems far exceeded what was expected. The minister thought at first that every thing must bend to the weight of authority, and endeavoured to intimidate the states into a compliance with the requisitions of government; but he found to his disappointment that the members were not to be shaken by menaces, and that they resolutely persevered in their refusal of granting subsidies until their grievances were redressed. While things were in this state, a circumstance took place which afforded a new opportunity of shewing their spirit and firmness. Mr. Vandernoodt, a counsellor of Brussels, and an eminent advocate in the cause of liberty, published a treatise addressed to the states, in which, from ancient records and documents, he traced out and elucidated the constitution of Brabant; the states not only ordered this treatise to be read in their presence, but decreed public thanks to the author, for having so ably and so justly vindicated the rights of the people.

On the first of May the ancient tribunals were to cease, and the new to commence acting; but the states forbid the council of Brabant to pay any regard to that decree, and commanded that tribunal to maintain itself in the exercise of its functions. The council obeyed the states, and though now deprived of that stately edifice which the city of Brussels had erected solely to be the seat of that tribunal, they exercised their functions with full effect elsewhere, boldly declaring, that the pretended new tribunals

were

were set up against law, and that their acts were to be held of no effect.

Whilst this vigorous opposition to the new decrees was carried on in Brabant, the states of Flanders and of Haynault seemed to go even beyond them in the loudness of their complaints, the boldness of their remonstrances to the sovereign, and at least to equal them in their absolute rejection of the new tribunals, and their refusal to submit, in any degree, to any of the decrees contained in the late edicts. Even Luxemburgh and Namur only waited the assembling of their states to declare an equal opposition.

The nobles of Flanders, who had for more than a century been excluded from the assembly of the states, were upon this occasion recalled, in order to give the greater weight and dignity to their representations. This body, thus reunited, did not endeavour to conceal the importance which they derived from the superior fertility, opulence, and population of Flanders, in which it far exceeded any other province, as it likewise did in the amount of the subsidies which it granted to the sovereign. These topics they stated and enlarged upon; and after reminding the sovereign of their mutual relation, and of that compact by which he was instituted count of Flanders, and they became his subjects, they concluded in the following terms:—
“We demand only things that are just and due, and assured to us by the oath taken at your inauguration.”

The court of Brussels was perplexed beyond measure at this determined opposition to the measures of government which appeared on

every side; and the minister found himself obliged to depart from that haughty carriage and mysterious reserve which he had hitherto assumed. Frequent conferences were held with the states, concessions were made in small matters, and promises were liberally bestowed with respect to objects of moment. Condescension, intercourse, with an appearance of candour and good-will, seemed now likely to succeed; where a different conduct had so totally failed. The two first orders of the state, the clergy and the nobles, seemed a good deal disposed to relax, and for the sake of present quiet and security to give up some things; and, by modelling or paring the constitution, to make it accord in some sort with the views of the sovereign. —This was only in Brabant.

The syndics now acted a great part. Those of Brussels, being joined and firmly supported by their brethren of Antwerp and Louvain, were not only the dictators of these great communities, but had such an influence with the people at large, that they might be considered as virtually possessing almost the whole authority of the commons. Names, and established opinions, must always have a great effect upon the conduct of mankind. The circumstance of the minister's being an Italian, rendered these people more suspicious and apprehensive of him than they might have been perhaps of any other. They dreaded the Machiavelian principles, the dexterity in intrigue, and the political duplicity, which are so frequently, but too generally, ascribed to his countrymen. They said that he only dallied with the states, and played upon them by insignificant concessions, and by promises which he never intended to perform,

perform, in order to protract the time until the emperor's return from Cherfon, and until an army could be sent to establish despotism with the point of the bayonet. The syndics accordingly published a declaration in the name of those large communities which they represented, but well understood to include the people at large, that they would never submit to any alteration in their ancient constitution, and particularly that they would not suffer a single *iota* in the articles of the *joyous entry* to be changed. The clergy and nobles suddenly awaking as it were from a dream, immediately adopted this determination; and representing to the court of Brussels that they would not consent to any innovations, gave notice, that they were not disposed to waste time in vain conferences and fruitless negotiation.

As the governors general delayed giving any solid satisfaction, this was imputed to the malignity of the minister, who accordingly became more odious than ever. The syndics held forth the terrors of an ancient statute of Brabant, which declared it to be lawful to apprehend and to punish any person who should obstinately persist in obstructing the public good. As the application intended by bringing forward this old law could not be misunderstood, the minister began to be seriously alarmed for his person; the peaceable character of the people not affording any sufficient security against the violent effects of their indignation, when the law thus held out an apparent justification for its greatest excess. The apprehensions entertained by the minister could not be lessened by the conduct of the chancellor of Brabant, who finding him-

self included in no small share of the popular odium, and that he had been not obscurely pointed at in some of the resolutions of the syndics, thought it prudent, notwithstanding the favour and protection of government, to abandon both his new and his old office, and to withdraw himself entirely from the Low Countries. In the mean time, the public heats continually increasing, and there being reason to apprehend that the people, impatient of the apparent tardiness of their rulers, and of the uncertainty of their situation, might rush headlong into some acts of extreme violence, the states of Brabant declared to the governors general, that unless measures were speedily taken to satisfy the just demands, and to allay the fears of the people, they could no longer be answerable for their conduct; and would therefore be obliged themselves to proceed to the exertion of that authority with which they were invested, in order to preserve the constitution from injury, and the country from ruin.

The governors general could not fail being alarmed at the sudden revolution which had taken place in the temper and disposition of a people, whom they had hitherto governed not only with the greatest tranquillity, but who had manifested on every occasion an affectionate attachment to their persons, as well as a dutiful submission to their authority. They now saw plainly that they were inspired with an universal spirit of resistance; and that their being hitherto restrained, was only to be ascribed to the prudence and moderation of the popular leaders. The emperor was at so great a distance, and the communication so uncertain and difficult, that they were

were under a necessity of acting from themselves, without waiting for his council or instruction. In these circumstances they saw there was no other alternative to a general insurrection, the event of which could not be foreseen, and which must in any case be highly destructive in its consequences, but to make such concessions as would afford satisfaction to the people.

In this view they suspended, until the farther will of the sovereign should be known, the whole order of intendants and commissaries. They ordered the new tribunals, which had been so lately opened, to be shut, and gave the sanction of government to the ancient tribunals, for the resumption of those functions, from the exercise of which they had not desisted. They also recalled father Godefroy from his exile; and promised their application at the court of Vienna, for the restoration of Mr. de Hondt back into Brabant.

The governors general, however, soon found that these concessions were not sufficient, that the states of Brabant were far from being satisfied, and that the minds of men were still generally agitated by apprehensions and jealousies. They accordingly determined, with equal justice and prudence, to restore, as far as the power lay in themselves, the tranquillity and happiness of the provinces, by meeting the wishes of the people in their full extent. For this purpose they issued a decree, fully competent to the design, and which promised to render the 30th of May
1787. a day of perpetual jubilee in the Low Countries. In this important document

they declared, that all arrangements, which were in any respect contrary to the *joyous entry*, should be entirely set aside; and that due reparation should be made for all infringements on that great charter, which the people held so sacred. They expressed their hopes and wishes, that the sovereign would ratify this declaration; and promised to employ their own good offices to the utmost at the imperial court, for the accomplishment of that purpose; and they consented to remove from their councils all those persons whose conduct had rendered them obnoxious to the states of Brabant.

This ample declaration produced the most unbounded joy among the people. The states of Brabant, and the syndics, hastened to express their warm acknowledgments to the governors general, and received the favour as if it had been an original grace, and the first grant of privilege or liberty. The princes afforded an opportunity to the people at large of pouring forth their grateful acclamations to them; and had the satisfaction of beholding heartfelt joy, gratitude, and affection, depicted in every countenance, in the place of lowring discontent or furious anger. The same assurances of the preservation of their rights having been communicated to the other provinces, the satisfaction and joy became universal; and in this season of general triumph, the citizens of Mons, in Haynault (who had been distinguished by their zeal and spirit, and by the strength and boldness of their remonstrances in the late period of danger) could not be restrained from celebrating their ancient

cient and dearly beloved festival of the Kerremesse, although it had been suppressed and prohibited by an imperial decree some time before.

The joy of the Flemings was, however, once more interrupted by disquietude and apprehension, when they had leisure to ruminate on the danger of the emperor's refusing to ratify the declaration made by the princes. They began now to know his temper and disposition, and could not, upon cool reflection, but be sensible of the uncertain ground on which they rested their hopes. The celebrated prime minister, prince Kaunitz, had formerly resided as minister in the Netherlands, at which time he had fully acquired the affection and confidence of the people, and had ever since continued to shew such regards for them, that he was in a great measure considered as the friend and patron of the nation. As every body knew the unbounded plenitude of his power in the councils of the court of Vienna, so it was eagerly hoped that he would not wait the emperor's return for the ratification of a document which had already produced such happy effects.

It was then a grievous disappointment when they were informed by prince Kaunitz, that although he held hopes that the sovereign might not be unwilling to comply with the wishes of his subjects, yet it was impossible the ratification should take place until his return to the capital. This light way of treating an instrument on which all hope and reliance was placed, authenticated by all the powers of acting government, and which seemed to receive a particular sanction from the near relation of the governors general to

the emperor, struck every body with consternation and dismay. As the emperor did not return for several weeks, the states of Brabant remained sitting, and the syndics continued to hold their meetings. The states of Namur and Luxembourg being now convened, warmly joined in their remonstrances with the other provinces, and displaying the charters and ratifications obtained from their ancient princes, rather demanded than solicited the re-establishment of their constitutions and liberties. All ranks of men, as their suspicions and apprehensions continually increased, became daily more impatient for the ratification; and the general solicitude for the constitution, and determination to maintain it, grew more conspicuous,

In this state of things the people were seized with a sudden impulse of arming, in order to be prepared for the worst that might happen. At Brussels, and in all the principal cities, the burghesses formed themselves into volunteer companies, equipped themselves with an uniform and cockades, and displaying banners with the arms of the province, applied diligently to the practice of military exercises. The court of Vienna, as well as that of Brussels, were seriously alarmed at these appearances, and still more at the general disposition with which they were accompanied. Prince Kaunitz endeavoured, by lenient language, and fair but unexplicit promises, to mitigate the heats that prevailed in the provinces. His dispatches, however, produced in some instances an effect contrary to what he seemingly intended. Having sent Mr. de Hondt back to Brussels,

Brussels, in order that the charge against him might be tried by the proper tribunal, the effect which this satisfaction to the violated laws of the country might otherwise have produced was much lessened, by some expressions which seemed to justify the violence, and to hold out his being returned as a matter of grace and favour rather than of right. He likewise expressed in the same dispatch his hopes, that the sovereign would be willing to concur with the states, in making such amendments in their constitution as were now become necessary. This expression gave such umbrage to the states, and caused so universal an alarm and ferment, that the governors general found it necessary to issue a declaration in which they gave it as their opinion that no innovation was intended, and that an unlimited ratification would be granted by the sovereign.

It is an observation which will be found right with respect to the conduct of mankind in general, that the people, partly from the love of quiet, partly from the means of influence and corruption, which the sovereign under the most limited forms of government possesses, partly through inattention and slackness of perception, and partly from a disposition to hold a more favourable opinion of the designs of their rulers than they really deserve, are insensible with respect to silent and gradual invasions of their rights and privileges. But when by any sudden and violent infraction of ancient rights or customs, discontent is once spread, and the spirit of suspicion roused; men, by continually agitating the subject of grievance, mutually act and are acted upon in inflaming each other, and can with

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difficulty be restrained within any bounds of moderation or reason.

Such was pretty much the case at this time in the Low Countries. The governors general, so far as lay in themselves, had yielded every thing to the wishes of the people. Instead of pursuing the temperate line of conduct which prudence and reason had so obviously marked, they proceeded hastily to open new grounds of altercation, to probe and wound the sovereign in those parts which were most sensible, according to the high ideas which he and all sovereigns entertained of sovereignty; and seemed to be seized with the same restless spirit of innovation, and the same inability of knowing where to stop, which they had so strongly condemned in the emperor.

It is, however, necessary to shew from what cause a deviation so contrary to the temperate character and plain good sense of the people may be attributed. It is then to be observed, that the influence and power of the clergy over the people had increased in a prodigious degree during the progress of the troubles; and they were as eagerly desirous to render their authority permanent as to increase it. They had already succeeded in two objects, which they deemed of the greatest importance. The general seminary at Louvain, and another similar to it, which had been established at Luxemburgh, were suppressed, and the foreign professors dismissed from their charges, without the knowledge or consent of the emperor.

Not satisfied with this source of triumph, they loudly called upon the governors general to exercise the peculiar rights of the sovereign in his absence, by proceeding with-

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out

out delay to the appointment of abbots to the vacant abbeys. Feeling at the same time that their influence was become supreme with the states of Brabant, they led that body to demand, that all the suppressed convents should be re-established, without exception to those whose suppression had received the sanction either of the states themselves, or of the council of Brabant. And, as if it had been a struggle to shew how far the spirit might be carried, the states of Namur presented an address, for revoking the edict for universal toleration, which was undoubtedly the most illustrious act of the emperor's reign.

The emperor returned to Vienna in the beginning of July; but his return produced no ratification; and instead of affording any omens encouraging to the late requisitions, they were of a nature which served to damp the most moderate and best founded expectations. He lost no time in dispatching an angry mandate to the states of the Low Countries, in which, displaying all the terrors of offended majesty, he expressed in strong terms his astonishment, indignation, and displeasure at those intemperate and violent measures which the states had adopted, and that bold defiance which they had given to his authority. He however declared, that he had never intended to subvert their constitution, and that in his edicts he had sought only to correct ancient abuses, and to make salutary reforms. He required, as a proof of obedience, that the states of each province should send deputies to Vienna, to lay their subjects of complaint at the foot of the throne; professing, that he retained the sentiments of a fa-

ther, and knew how to pardon the errors and temerity of his subjects; but threatening them with severe chastisement, if they should refuse to pay the mark of respect which he demanded. He likewise informed them, that he had called the princes, the governors general, to Vienna, that they might act as mediators between him and the states; and that he had also ordered the count Belgiojoso to repair to that capital.

Thus were the lofty hopes and fond expectations of the Flemings laid at once in the dust, and their short-lived gleam of liberty seemed expired, never more to revive. The provinces did not, however, sink under the haughty and severe language with which they were so little acquainted. The states complained grievously of the false representations which had been made of their conduct, by which the sovereign was not only withheld from that ratification which they had so just a right to expect, but through which he had likewise been induced to construe into disaffection and revolt their honest zeal in maintaining their rights and liberties. They lamented the recall of the princes, in a season when their presence was more necessary than ever for the preservation of tranquillity; and by no means concealed the discontent with which the order of sending deputies to Vienna inspired them. This order was indeed so odious, that the syndics compared it to the only similar order that had ever been issued under the cruel and arbitrary reign of Philip the second; and recalling the events of that disastrous time, did not fail to apply them to the present, and seemed to augur as dismal a catastrophe to the Austrian as to the Spanish peregrination.

It

It was, however, in a general assembly held at Brussels, thought better to comply with this new test of obedience required by the sovereign, and deputies from the states were accordingly appointed to proceed to Vienna; but they were entrusted with very limited powers, being only charged to express the loyalty of the nation, and to represent their grievances, and totally restricted from coming to any conclusion with respect to public affairs, without the special and immediate authority of the states.

Towards the end of July the princes, as well as the count Belgiojoso, set out for Vienna, the former attended with the general regret, and the latter with the execrations of the people. The count de Murray, a gentleman of Scottish descent, who had for some years commanded the Austrian forces in the Netherlands, was now appointed to the government of the country during the absence of the princes. The deputies of the states likewise commenced their pilgrimage to Vienna about the same time; and the provinces now began to flatter themselves that this mark of submission would remove all suspicions of disloyalty, and prove the means of procuring that ratification which was now become the ultimate object of their hopes.

But the deputies were not far advanced on their journey, when intelligence was received, that the imperial forces in Germany were all in motion; that a mighty army was destined to march into the Low Countries; the battalions to be employed on this service were enumerated; the generals who were to command named; the route the army was to take described; and it

was said, that the princes of the empire, whose territories lay in the way, had already been applied to, and had already granted a free passage to the troops. The greater currency was given to the whole of this alarming intelligence, from the sudden and unexpected approach of the regiment of Bender (which was now considered as the precursor of the grand army) which by long marches and extraordinary expedition had already nearly arrived on the frontiers of Luxemburgh.

Although the minds of all men were exceedingly agitated, yet the spirit of the people did not sink so much as might have been expected, considering how long they had battered in the lap of plenty and ease, and what entire strangers they were to the tumults of war. While they hardened their minds, by recalling images of those scenes of devastation and horror which took place under the tyranny of the duke of Alva, they comforted themselves with the reflection of the success which then attended the determined efforts of a handful of brave men, in defending their liberties against the arbitrary violence of the greatest power then in the world. They estimated their population at three millions, which they counted to be far superior to that of Holland at the period alluded to; and they could not acknowledge any inferiority of their own courage to that of their countrymen; or if the enthusiasm of religion was absolutely necessary to incite men to great actions, that was no less interested in the present than in the former instance. They consoled themselves much upon their great distance from the sources of the emperor's action and power, and thought he was too accurate a politician

politician not to perceive, that although he might succeed in overwhelming them with a mighty force for the present, yet that nothing less than the continuance of a powerful army in the country, which it was not in the course of things that his situation would long admit, could retain in subjection a people who were so zealously attached to their ancient liberties. But above all things, their hope and confidence was placed in France; nor did they think it possible that she could now so far depart from that attention to her own interest and greatness, which had ever marked her conduct, as to suffer the desolation and ruin of those rich and beautiful provinces, which would afford so noble an addition to both, and which, in such circumstances, would most willingly throw themselves into her arms.

Count Murray sent a message to the states of Brabant, in which he acquainted them, that the troops which were stationed in different parts of the Low Countries were ordered to concenter in such a manner, as to enclose the province of Brabant; that the sovereign, in giving this order, meant to put the obedience of the states to a trial; that if they did not oppose this measure of centering his troops, he might be inclined to suspend the march of that army which was now advancing towards the Low Countries, and might permit the regiment of Bender only to enter the provinces.—This second test of obedience was a very extraordinary, and seems indeed a very absurd measure. As its object was evidently to curb the states in their proceedings, and to over-awe the province; instead of producing good temper or submission, nothing could tend more

to irritate the minds of men, and to excite the people to commotion. Neither were the means at all commensurate to the end proposed, the troops being in no degree equal to the task of bridling that powerful and populous province, if it did not choose itself voluntarily to admit the rein. The states of Brabant, however, submitted freely to this new test.

In the mean time the eyes and thoughts of all men were directed to Vienna, and their minds kept in suspense, until the reception which the Flemish deputies met at the imperial court could be known. The deputies were admitted to an audience of August 15th. state on the third day after their arrival in that city; but their reception was sufficiently ungracious. Along with that haughty and austere assumption of dignity, which has through so many ages peculiarly characterized the house of Austria, a strong mixture of anger now appeared in the countenance of the sovereign. After hearing their professions of duty and loyalty, which, notwithstanding the forbidding rigour of the imperial countenance, were accompanied with a recital of their grievances, he replied sternly, that he was not to be moved by a vain display of words, and that his states in the Netherlands were highly culpable in his sight; but that he had given a proof of the affection he bore them, in not immediately employing against them that military force which he held at his command. He added farther, that before he explained himself with regard to the subjects of their complaints, the dignity of the throne required, that certain preliminary articles should be

be executed, which he now communicated to them, and had already commanded count Murray to communicate to his states in the Low Countries.

The substance of these articles was chiefly, that all things in the provinces should remain on the same footing on which they stood at the first of April; that the current subsidies, and the arrears on former, should be paid forthwith into the royal treasury; that the seminary of Louvain, and that of Luxemburgh, should be re-established; that all persons who had been displaced should be restored to their employments, excepting the intendants and members of the new tribunals, about whom he wished to take council with the states: that the volunteer companies should discontinue their martial exercises, and lay aside the uniform and other marks they had assumed of military distinction.—And they were given to understand, that if these articles were not executed, the nation would draw upon itself the heavy marks of a monarch's resentment.

Count Murray having communicated these articles to the states of the Low Countries, before they could hear from their deputies, the information renewed all the jealousies and discontents of the provinces. The states of Brabant prepared fresh remonstrances, in which they complained, that all the demonstrations of respect and submission which they were capable of giving, had not been able to conciliate the mind of the prince. That he required the strongest proofs of duty and good will, even the granting of subsidies, whilst he delayed to give satisfaction for the infringements made on the constitution. They

declared, that though they were menaced with arms, yet they were so bound by the engagements of the *joyous entry*, that they could not comply with the preliminary articles, until security was obtained for the redress of grievances. And they added, that although they sought only to oppose representations to the will of the prince, yet if any tumult should take place in consequence of those articles which were now to be enforced, the states could not hold themselves responsible for any such commotion that might ensue.—Every body expected that this remonstrance would have been the immediate means of putting the grand army in motion; and rumours were even circulated of its advance, which seemed only to increase the determined obstinacy or resolution of the people.

The dispatches from Vienna arrived opportunely, in a great measure to dispel the apprehensions and allay the discontents of the people. By these they received information from their deputies, that the sovereign, having testified the displeasure which he thought suited to the dignity of his throne, had relaxed entirely from that harsh austerity which had been exhibited at their public audience. That he had permitted communications to be secretly made to them, that he entertained sentiments favourable to their requests, though the dignity of his crown did not allow him to express them fully until the preliminary articles were executed; that he had weighed in his mind the complaints of the provinces, and was disposed to grant redress in the principal points, though he would not in all things acquiesce in their demands; particularly in the re-

establishment of convents, nor in that nomination of abbots, which, he said, former princes had been constrained to come into.

The deputies farther stated, that the sovereign had since admitted them to private conferences, in which, laying aside all state and majesty, he conversed with them on equal and familiar terms: that he enquired minutely into the affairs of the Netherlands, and listened with the most marked attention to the accounts which they gave him. That he declared, he never had the smallest intention of enforcing his edicts by arms; and said that the Flemings had frightened themselves with vain terrors, in their apprehension of a military enrolment, and of a territorial impost, neither of which he had ever intended to establish in the Netherlands. And that he professed himself well inclined to restore the *joyous entry* to its primitive vigour; and intimated a desire of re-visiting the Low Countries, that he might take measures with the states for promoting the welfare of the people.

The deputies were so captivated by these instances of condescension, that they received every assurance that was given, and profession made, with unbounded faith; so sure a dominion have the great, if they use it with any degree of address, over the minds of men. The ministers, by command of the sovereign, treated them with every degree of respect and esteem; and they seemed to want words in describing to their constituents the high sense they entertained of the honours which they received; exclaiming, in the honest exultation of their hearts, that they were treated in Vienna with all the re-

spect due to the representatives of a nation which had so gallantly maintained its privileges. As a farther gratification and more substantial mark of favour to the people, the emperor sacrificed his predilection in favour of count Belgiojoso, by appointing in his room the count Trautsonandorff to be minister for the Low Countries; than which nothing could be more truly acceptable to all the provinces.

But notwithstanding these favours and professions, few politicians will entertain any doubt, that the emperor's engagements with Russia, and the coming war with the Ottoman empire, were the real causes of all these flattering appearances; and that, in other circumstances, the march of an army to the Low Countries would be found no vain threat.

The states of Brabant did not appear to be so entirely captivated by these fair appearances as their deputies: for though count Murray acquainted them that he was empowered by the sovereign, as soon as the satisfaction demanded was made to the throne, to issue a declaration in his name, which would afford universal content to the nation, and accordingly pressed them in the most urgent terms to the execution of the preliminary articles, yet difficulties still lay in the way which prevented their compliance; but in order to shield themselves from the imputation of obstinacy, or the charge of disaffection, they pleaded the spirit of the constitution, as well as the written letter of the *joyous entry*, both of which forbade the grant of money until a full redress of grievances was obtained.

Things

Things were in this state, when a sudden tumult at Brussels threatened immediately the most fatal consequences. The volunteers had signified to the representative of the governors general their intention of laying down their arms on an appointed day, as a proof of their good disposition towards a general conciliation; and the offer was received by him with the greatest satisfaction, as a measure that tended beyond any other that could be adopted to the accomplishment of the wished-for purpose.

Sept. 20th. On the very morning of the appointed day, when the volunteers were beginning to assemble for the purpose, an officer of distinction, who (a circumstance that appears not a little singular) was not apprized of the intention, gave a rash order to the soldiers to disarm them by force. The volunteers passing through the streets, were haughtily commanded to lay down their arms and cockades; these, considering it as an act of premeditated treachery, indignantly refused to comply: an universal uproar took place; while the volunteers ran hastily from all quarters to the relief of their brethren.

It happened unluckily at this critical instant, that a fresh body of forces marched into the city; and an alarm was immediately spread, that a concerted design had been laid for subduing Brussels by the force of the army. In the mean time, when the first scuffle was over, the appearance of things made the military think it necessary to unite their whole force, and to form in a body in one of the great squares; while the volunteers, doing the same, were drawn up in another square.

Their scattering detachments wherever they met fell on with various success, but with equal fury and animosity, so that blood was shed on all sides. Nor were the unarmed citizens inactive, for they tore up the pavements of the streets, and carried the stones to the tops of their houses, to overwhelm the soldiers as they passed. And as if the confusion had not been already sufficient, the peasants from the adjoining country, armed with the weapons of husbandry, rushed in great bodies into the town, determined to support, or to perish with their friends and countrymen: so that every thing announced, along with the probable ruin of the city, a most bloody and destructive contest.

In this season of general terror and confusion, count Murray, by an exertion of no small courage and patriotism, happily prevented the direful consequences that were apprehended. With the most imminent danger to his person, as the supposed treachery was unjustly imputed to him, he passed through the midst of the enraged volunteers, in his way to the assembly of the states, which was then sitting. By his and their temperate conduct the tumult was most happily suppressed; the military were withdrawn; and the volunteers indulged in patrolling freely through the streets; nor could the spirit which they displayed on this occasion, and the fearlessness with which they every where encountered the soldiers, prove at all detrimental to the public cause.

The tumult had likewise the good effect of, hastening an accommodation. The states were so well satisfied with count Murray's temperate

perate conduct, and held such an opinion of the fairness and moderation of his views, that they voted the subsidies to be paid into the royal treasury; and the volunteers at the same time laid by their uniforms and other marks of military distinction. The count in return published the royal declaration; by this instrument the fundamental laws of the provinces, and the *joyous entry* of Brabant, were to be preserved entire, as well with respect to the ecclesiastical as the civil orders; the new tribunals to

be suppressed, and the ancient courts of judicature to resume their functions; the office of intendant, and his commissariat, to be abolished; the states to remain on their ancient footing, and to retain their committee; the abbey-houses, whose heads had a right to sit in the assembly of the states, to be maintained, and supplied with abbots; and the sovereign promised, that he would consult with the states about all objects which were thought infractions of the *joyous entry*, and would take measures for granting redress.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

BY accounts from Naples, we hear, that Mount Vesuvius, which had been tolerably free from eruptions for near eleven months, had, on the 31st of October last, burst with uncommon violence, and thrown up vast quantities of calcined stones. The lava destroyed several vineyards four miles from the volcano six days after, and continued burning with great fury when the letters, which are dated the 23d of November last, came away. It is remarkable, that no previous notice of this eruption was given by any subterraneous noise taking place, which has generally heretofore been observed.

By the mails, which arrived on Saturday the 13th from Paris, was received an account of the determination of the court held at Rome on the affairs of the cardinal de Rohan. On the twelfth of the last month, a particular convocation was summoned, consisting of six of the most respectable personages, who declared, after all proper investigation, in favour of the cardinal.—

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The order of suspension from his function, on account of a former decision, is consequently erased, and he is reinstated in his full privileges.

The following extract of an authentic letter from Leghorn, dated the 15th of December, will clear up the doubts which have arisen respecting the engagement between the Maltese fleet and the Algerine squadron. "On the 24th of December last, the vessels of the two powers fell in with each other, about ten leagues off Messina, and a furious and bloody engagement ensued, which lasted till night.—The Algerine admiral's ship blew up in the thickest of the action, and not one of the crew escaped.

"The Maltese have lost two ships, one of which was sunk, and the other burnt, as also three xebecs and one galley. The Algerines have lost, besides their admiral, two xebecs, two barks, one polacre, and one row-galley. The Maltese fought with the greatest bravery, and the pirates like desperadoes.

"The loss of the Algerines, in this engagement, is said to amount to 1800 men; that of the Maltese
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must also have been very considerable, because the crews of their ships of war are very numerous.

"The Maltese fleet having returned in a most shattered condition, it is at present very doubtful on which side the victory was obtained. The most general opinion, however is, that it terminated in a kind of drawn battle."

Extract of a letter from Clonmel, Ireland, Dec. 28.

"We lay before the public the following circumstances relative to the murder of John Dunn.

"Dunn was an industrious farmer, and lived on the lands of Fennor, contiguous to the road leading from Longford Pass to Urlingsford; about the middle of January last his horses were taken away, and abused by the White Boys, several of whom being known to him, he threatened to lodge informations against them, if his horses were again taken; on account of this declaration, the White Boys went to Dunn's house the 31st of the same month, took him naked, in triumph, to Beggar's Inn, in the county of Kilkenny, a distance of about five miles, where a grave was prepared, in the center of the three roads, in which they buried him up to the neck; but not content therewith, they most inhumanly cut off both his ears, which they nailed to a public pump in the said town, where they remained for some days. In consequence of this outrage he lodged an information, and three of the offenders being taken, he attended at the last assizes of Clonmel to prosecute, but the prisoners found means to have the trial put off, and the White Boys, in order to defeat the operation of the laws, and put an ef-

fectual stop to the prosecution, went armed with guns, on Sunday night the 17th instant, about the hour of nine o'clock, to Dunn's house, broke open the door, took him out of bed, and with a hatchet clove his head, laying it open from the crown to the joining of the neck, and then severed the mangled head from the body."

January 1st, 1787. A striking instance of the effects of temperance appears in Mrs. Price, of Beckley, in Oxfordshire, a maiden lady, who is now in her ninety-eighth year, and has all her faculties in full perfection, being able to read the smallest print without the help of glasses. About two years since she cut two young teeth, and at the same time her eyes received fresh vigour.

A letter from Belfast states 6th. a most serious dispute which has arisen between the Earl of Donnegal and Lord Chief Baron Yelverton, of Ireland.

The facts are as follow:

"The Lord Chief Baron purchased from a gentleman named Pottinger, a piece of ground which had been in possession of his ancestors for many years.

"This piece of ground is situated in the county of Down, on the banks of the river Lagan, and communicates with the town of Belfast by a narrow bridge.

"The town of Belfast is the sole property of the Earl of Donnegal, who has always refused to let what is called in Ireland an improving lease, to any of his tenants, but sets his leases up to sale, and lets the premises to the highest bidder, without any regard to the interest of the old tenants; which conduct, some years ago, gave rise to a very serious

rious insurrection of several thousand insurgents, under the denomination of Hearts of Steel.

"The Lord Chief Baron seeing the advantages which must arise from building a town opposite to Belfast, banked in a large piece of the sea strand by a strong mound, and marked out the place so inclosed into streets, which he let to tenants on leases in perpetuity.

"An elegant new town was rising from this foundation, when a number of armed men, under the direction of the Seneschal of Belfast, and the overseer of the Belfast canal, came down from the inland country, and so far demolished the works as to let in the sea.

"The Chief Baron is now on the ground overseeing the repairs, with friends prepared to oppose and repel any further attempts to injure him."

At the close of the Old 19th. Bailey business on Tuesday the 16th, the following case stands as most remarkable. Samuel Burt, condemned to die for a forgery on Mr. Evans, gold-beater in Long-Acre, to whom he was an apprentice, was brought up and informed by the recorder, that his majesty had remitted his sentence of death, on condition of transportation—which mercy, in a speech of some length, the convict begged to decline. The recorder took every pains to convince him of the impropriety of his conduct.—But the prisoner, acknowledging his majesty's clemency, said, "The object for which he wished to live not being in his power to obtain, he declined all intercession in his favour, and must beg leave to have his sentence put into execution." On which the recorder

informed him, that he should wait till the first day of next sessions, and if he then persisted in his resolution, he should suffer. The prisoner then returned from the bar, saying, "he should ever keep his intent, and only wished that the day was already come."

Whitehall, Jan. 20th. One of the king's messengers, dispatched by the Right Hon. William Eden, arrived here on Thursday morning last, with a convention between his majesty and the most christian king, concerning the execution of the late treaty of navigation and commerce, which was signed at Versailles on the 15th instant, by Mr. Eden and his most christian majesty's plenipotentiary.

Brussels, Jan. 20th. The emperor has abolished the court dresses hitherto worn by the ladies of the court; and also the custom of kissing the hands of the sovereign and the royal family, and all kinds of bending of the knee and kneeling down, his majesty looking upon the latter as only due to the Deity.

Paris, Jan. 23d. The Droit d'Aubaine in France, both as to personal and real property, is abolished so far as may affect any future claims of his majesty's British and Irish subjects. This was declared by an arret which passed a few days ago.

DIED.—Lately, at Upsal, aged 77, the famous Walerino, the most celebrated natural philosopher of the present age, and well known through France for his curious works in mineralogy.

At Horton, near Leak, Staffordshire, Mary Brook, who in August last arrived at the age of 119 years. She lived single 50 years, was then married; lived a married life 50

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years,

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years, and has been 19 years and some months a widow.

FEBRUARY.

The Severn East-India packet, Captain Kidd, which was lost in the mouth of Bengal river, had fifty-five passengers on board, chiefly Lascars, out of whom only fourteen were saved. The following is a list of the officers and passengers lost: Captain Kidd, Mr. Schobbe, chief officer; Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Lacey, Major Adderly, Ensign Sir Richard Cox, Mr. Ryon, Mr. Dunn, and Mr. Friend, one of the hon. company's pilots.

Extract of a letter from New-York, via France, dated January 22.

"Congress have lately concluded a negotiation with the court of Lisbon, in respect of trade, by which the ships and subjects of the United States are to have all the privileges and immunities of the most favoured nation in the ports and dominions of Portugal, but are excluded from bringing away any of its current gold coin, under the same penalties as are affixed, in other nations, to such cases. Don Ximenes Perrai is come to reside here as consul for the Portuguese nation; and this treaty is to be in force ten years."

Letters from Constantinople import, that nothing is publicly known concerning the real situation of the Porte's affairs in Egypt; all that has transpired for certain is, an order given for a reinforcement of 25,000 men sent to the assistance of the Capitan Pacha, to give him an opportunity of disengaging himself from Cairo, where he is in a manner cooped up by the rebellious beys.

Among the illustrious personages who set out from Czarisko Zelo on the 18th January, to accompany the empress in her journey to Cherson are the English, Imperial, and French ministers. The emperor will leave his capital the beginning of March, in order to meet the czarina at the above place. Our letters from Petersburg also add, that the Neapolitan ambassador has at last, after an uninterrupted negotiation of four years, concluded a very advantageous treaty between his court and that of Russia.

An express arrived from France with an account, that the great casoon just completed at Cherbourg had given way; this event had been occasioned by the late violent westerly winds, which had caused an uncommon high sea.

The following melancholy event happened this day about eleven o'clock, in the forenoon, in Wood-street, Cheapside: Mr. Owen, one of the serjeant's at mace to the sheriff of London, on Thursday last arrested a gentleman for 200l. and upwards, took him to his own house, and having observed some marks of insanity about him, Mr Owen had desired one of the keepers of the compters servants to sit up with him, but before the hour of ten at night, Mr. Owen being out, the gentleman took the advantage, knocked down Mrs. Owen, seized the key, and made his escape, though Mrs. Owen seized him by the coat flap, which gave way, and was left in her hand; she then pursued him, calling stop thief! but he got clear off. Mr. Owen having intelligence where he was on Sunday morning, went with some

assistance and took him, brought him home into Wood-street, where he had not been five minutes before he took the opportunity, whilst Mr. Owen and his assistants were in an adjoining room, to cut his throat, and in such a manner, that he nearly severed the head from the body. A surgeon was immediately sent for, but nothing could save him, as he died in an instant.

A silver coinage, consisting of shillings and sixpences, to the amount of seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, has at length been completed in his majesty's mint at the Tower, and on Monday the 5th, part was brought to the Bank, and deposited in the treasury.

On the 8th ult. at a concert before the royal family at Naples, the celebrated D. Saveria Savilla, well known for his wonderful vocal powers, being in the act of singing a most charming air, which was honoured with profound attention, expired instantaneously without a groan, in one of the most exquisitely beautiful passages of the song. It is much easier to conceive than describe the surprize which such an event occasioned.

Paris, Feb. 18. This day Comte de Montmorin took the usual oath, in consequence of being appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs.

A very extraordinary circumstance happened at Covent-garden theatre on Saturday night the 17th, or rather Sunday morning. About one o'clock Mr. Brandon, who resides at the theatre, heard a violent noise in the house, and some person calling very loud, as from the interior part of the theatre; he procured a light, and went to the place where he heard

the noise, and found a gentleman in the pit, much bruised, and his finger broken. On enquiring how he came thither, the only account he could give was, that he remembered coming to the play in the evening, and hanging by his finger on some place, but had no recollection where or when. His hat and cane were found in the upper boxes. There is no doubt but that he fell asleep during the performance, and was locked in the house, and walking in his sleep, fell out of the boxes into the pit—as it is probable, from the situation of his hat and cane, that he fell from the upper boxes, it was highly fortunate that he did not receive much more injury.

The barons of the Scotch court of Exchequer lately determined a question, Whether the town-councils of the royal boroughs of Scotland were obliged to account for the public money of the borough in exchequer?

Baron Sir John Dalrymple and Baron Stewart Moncrief delivered their opinions, that, by the Scotch act of parliament, 1535, the town-councils were obliged to account for the expenditure of the revenue of the borough.

On the other side, the Lord Chief Baron Montgomery, Baron Norton, and Baron Gordon, thought the Act, 1535, was gone into desuetude; and it was consequently found, that the town-councils were not obliged to account for the revenues of the borough.

The barons regretted, in the strongest terms, the mal-administration of the royal boroughs of Scotland, and recommended to the burghs to apply to parliament for redress.

[N] 3

A cause

22d. A cause was tried in the court of Exchequer, of some consequence to the trading part of the community. The action was brought by Mr. Stewart, an eminent perfumer, of Broad-street, in the city, against Mr. Gale, a respectable merchant in the same place. It appeared that the clerk of the defendant had given two distinct written orders for articles in the business of the plaintiff; and that subsequent to this, the defendant himself had in person given a third order for goods of a similar kind; and upon application being made for payment of the whole, he expressed some surprize at the two former orders, as they were not made under his sanction, and at the same time refused to pay for what had been thus received without his concurrence. It was stated on the part of the plaintiff, that he had sufficient claim for payment, on the ground of the orders having been brought by the acting clerk of the defendant's house, and that if any clerk was vested with a power of transacting such business for his principal, that principal must be responsible for the consequences of such an indiscreet delegation. On the part of the defendant it was stated, that the order in question was subscribed by his brother, who was gone to the Bay of Honduras, and that as the defendant received no part of the articles in question, and had in reality given no order upon the subject, he ought not to suffer for a debt that was contracted by another. Upon a thorough examination into the affair, however, it appeared clear to the court, that as the defendant's clerk had received no directions from his master against ordering goods on the

part of the brother, that as the defendant was a part-owner in the vessel that conveyed away the goods, and that as there was no specified distinction of christian name upon the door of the defendant, to shew whether in his commercial character he acted for himself, or under a firm, there was sufficient ground for the plaintiff to trust the clerk of the defendant, and for demanding payment. This cause was deemed an interesting one, as involving consequences that might affect the trading world; and was therefore amply investigated, and finally decided in favour of the plaintiff. Much ingenuity was exerted on both sides, and the matter took up the discussion of nearly three hours. The counsel for the plaintiff were Messrs. Newnham and Flumer. Mr. Rous was counsel for the defendant.

DIED.—In the 100th year of his age, Levi Whitehead, of Bramham, in the West Riding of the county of York. He was formerly noted for swiftness in running, having won the buck's head for several years at Castle Howard, given by the grandfather of the present Earl of Carlisle. He also won the five Queen Ann's guineas, given by William Aisleby, Esq. of Studley, near Rippon, beating the then noted Indian, and nine others, selected to start against him. In his 22d year, he ran four miles over Bramham Moor in 19 minutes; and what is still more remarkable, in his 95th and 96th years, he frequently walked from Bramham to Tadcaster, four miles in an hour. He retained his faculties to the last.

In the parish of Alberbury, Shropshire, Catherine Jeffreys, widow, aged 104. The noted old Par

Par was a native of the same parish.

MARCH.

1st. Were executed in the Old Bailey, pursuant to sentence, Sophia Pringle, John Fatt, John Ball, Benjamin Nash, Charles Franklin, Richard Notley, Robert Richardson, Luke Hurst, and John Marshall.

Sophia Pringle, the unhappy woman convicted of forgery at a former sessions, for two hours prior to her execution was in strong convulsive fits. The sheriffs, judging that her being placed upon the scaffold with the others, doomed to the same fate, might have interrupted their devotion, kept her within the prison until a few minutes before eight. When orders were sent for her to be conducted from her cell, she again fainted, and was obliged to be brought forth by the serjeants at mace. — She was supported on either side by two men, until the scaffold dropped, and put a period to her existence. She was dressed in plain mourning, and had a kind of veil over her face, which being removed, her head appeared very neatly dressed in a morning cap. Her deplorable situation affected the spectators with the most poignant grief, every one present lamenting her miserable end.

Samuel Burt, a capital convict, who had refused accepting his majesty's mercy on condition of transportation, being set to the bar, and the conditional pardon read to him, after an apology for such his refusal, and the motives inducing him thereto, humbly thanking his ma-

jefty for his goodness to so poor an object, most thankfully accepted the same.

Was tried a second time at Guildhall, before Mr. Justice Buller and a special jury, the great cause relative to the tea sold by Mess. Voute, of Amsterdam, to the East-India company, and which amounted in value to above a million sterling.

The company still contended, that, under the contract, they were not obliged to receive any tea of the denomination of very ordinary.

It appeared in the clearest manner, from the evidence, that there are nine descriptions of the qualities of tea; consequently one ninth part is something more than eleven per cent. but the company objected to more than three per cent. of very ordinary, instead of eleven per cent. which Mess. Voute were entitled to deliver. Also, that the company sold, at every sale, very ordinary tea, and frequently of qualities inferior to very ordinary; the execution, therefore, of the contract on the part of Mess. Voute, appeared to be fair and honourable.

The judge summed up the evidence with great ability and correctness, and the jury, without going out of court, gave a second verdict in favour of Mess. Voute.

The landgrave of Hesse Cassel has taken possession of the estates occupied by the late Count de la Lippe Ruckebourg, whose son and heir, assisted by the privy counsellor of his father, fled by night to Minden, taking with him the archives. The dowager is kept as a prisoner. To justify this proceeding, the landgrave of Hesse alleges, that the deceased count was a bastard, got by his father on

[N] 4

a woman

a woman named Friesenhausen: but on the side of the dowager and her son, it is contended, that this allegation has been rejected twice already by two successive judgments of the supreme tribunal of the empire. The troops of the landgrave have obliged the officers of the deceased count to take the oaths of fidelity to their master; and being three regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and a corps of artillery, they are sufficient to keep the subjects in obedience, and to remain masters, unless some higher power interposes in behalf of the young prince.

Vienna, March 20th. An imperial edict has been published here, dated the 8th instant, prohibiting the importation into any of the Austrian dominions of hardware, cutlery, turnery, toys, stationary, cordage, whalebone, leather gloves, ribbons, cottons, linens, watches, fans, thread, sadlery, &c. unless by individuals for their own use, and not for sale; but cambricks, gauzes, muslins, and lawns, are permitted to be imported by passport for sale, paying a duty of six florins per pound weight.

Extract of a private letter, dated .

Paris, March 25.

"On the 23d instant, the son of the emperor of Cochinchina was presented to his majesty, by the Marechal de Castries. The princely child is in his 7th year; he fell on his knees before the king, who took him up in his arms, whilst two of the child's relations lay prostrate with their foreheads to the ground. He had in his train three pages, and next to him stood the missionary bishop, who accompanied him to France. The young prince staid at

court the whole day, and made himself a welcome guest. He is much more graceful in his deportment than is customary at his tender years. His dress consists of a loose muslin robe, covered with a kind of a mantle of gold tissue. It appears, from the account given by the prince's followers, that the usurper of the sovereignty is the collector of customs and taxes. The dethroned emperor has retired to the remotest part of his dominions towards the sea. There the unfortunate monarch, who has not yet completed his 30th year, defends himself at the head of a handful of trusty subjects, who have followed his fortunes. He has, it is said, proudly rejected all assistance offered to him by the Dutch and English; the bishop above-mentioned having persuaded him to place no confidence but on his most christian majesty."

From Leghorn we learn, that on the 27th of February, the largest galley in the service of the Dey of Algiers, which had committed the greatest depredation off that port, was taken, after an obstinate combat, by a Maltese man of war, and brought safe into harbour. Great numbers were killed on both sides. The Maltese captain and most of his officers were wounded. As to the Algerines, they have been lost almost to a man, and their commanders killed in the action. Both ships are represented as being in the most deplorable condition. The treasure found on board the Algerine is immense, and mostly consists of Portuguese coin.

A verdict was given against Lord Cowper at the last sittings after term, in which the mercantile and trading part of the community are seriously

seriously concerned. His lordship had, at several times, ordered parcels of diamonds to be sent to him abroad by the conveyance of the general post, which were sometimes insured, and sometimes not, according to his lordship's order. The last parcel ordered was worth one thousand pounds, the order for which did not direct insurance to be made; but it was delivered as usual at the General Post-office. These jewels never coming to the noble lord's hands, he positively refused to pay for them, or even to stand half the loss; upon which the jeweller brought his action for goods sold and delivered.

Upon this action the question was, whether the delivery at the Post-office was good; and the court was of opinion, that, as insurance was not directed by the defendant's order, the delivery at the Post-office was virtually a delivery to him; in consequence of which the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff of 1000*l*.

DIED.—A few days ago, at Craig-end of Glins, parish of Baltrun, Scotland, Elizabeth Fisher, in the 103d year of her age. She retained her faculties to the last, and was in the fields with her grand-child in her arms a few hours before her death.

Lately, Dr. Baylis, physician to the late and present king of Prussia. He was a native of England.

A P R I L.

9th. Was delivered in to the Admiralty board, the accounts from the commissioners, and other

officers of his majesty's dock-yards. Also a state of the ordinary of the navy on the last day of March; by which it appears there are, in the several ordinaries of Plymouth, Portsmouth, and in the river Thames and Medway, 125 ships of the line, 13 of 50 guns, 109 frigates, 58 sloops and cutters—Total, 305 ships in ordinary.

On the trial of Michael Casey, James Marshall, and Edward Lonigen, executed on Saturday morning, April the 7th, at Hind-Common, pursuant to their sentence, at the assizes for the county of Surry, held last week at Kingston, the following circumstances were proved, which were also corroborated by the confession of the prisoners—that they were sailors out of employment—and that on their road to Portsmouth they met with the deceased, who was also a sailor, and who having some money, and they none, agreed to bear the expences of the journey. Upon their coming to Hind-Common, near the Devil's Punch-bowl, Casey knocked the deceased down; they then stripped him, and agreed each of them to have two cuts at his throat, which cruel resolution they put into effect, and then rolled the body into the Devil's Punch-bowl.—Two countrymen, who had concealed themselves behind a hedge, were spectators of the horrid deed, who following them at a distance, gave the alarm, and had the murderers secured.

Paris, April 10. On Sunday evening his most christian majesty was pleased to remove Monf. de Calonne from the office of comptroller-general of the finances, and on Monday evening Monf. de Fourqueux, counsellor of state, was appointed

pointed to succeed him. His majesty has also thought proper to dismiss *Monf. de Miromesnil*, from his office of *garde des sceaux*, and *Monf. de Lamoignon*, one of the presidents of the parliament of Paris, is named to succeed him.

Monf. d'Aligre, first president of the parliament of Paris, has retired.

Hercford, April 26. On Wednesday last, the 18th instant, at the great sessions holden in Cow-bridge, for the county of Glamorgan, *William Owen*, and *Cornelius Gorton*, were found guilty of murder.

The case of *William Owen* was an extraordinary one; in its circumstances very much resembling that of *Mr. Hackman* and *Miss Ray*. He had paid his addresses to *Mary Harris*, the deceased, and had been well received; but, owing to the interference of his friends, they had been afterwards discontinued, and all connexion between the parties broken off: so strong however was his attachment, that he was obliged to renew the courtship; but such was her resentment of his former conduct, in deserting her at the instance of his relations, that she persisted in declining any further communication with him; the consequence of which was, that the excess of his passion, and the fury of disappointment, precipitated him upon this act of desperation. The deceased was servant to *Mr. Hill*, at *Merthyr-Tydfil*; she was seen about nine in the evening of the first instant, talking with the prisoner before the kitchen-window of *Mr. Cockslent*, next-door neighbour to *Mr. Hill*; and, in the kitchen, a conversation was heard in a tone of voice that indicated some dispute

or difference; then a woman's voice was heard crying out very loud; and the deceased almost instantly came into the kitchen streaming with blood from her neck, fell into the arms of *Mr. Cockslent's* gardener, and in half an hour expired. She appeared to have received a stab in her neck, two inches deep, with a sharp-pointed knife. He was found guilty principally upon his own confession, which was (upon being asked whether he had abused her more than this unlucky blow) "I did not touch her any more than that unhappy blow: I loved her in my heart, and I am willing to die for her sake." When apprehended by *Mr. Cockslent*, he said, "You need not hold me; I was not going to run away." He earnestly requested to see the body, and has since his conviction entreated to be buried in the same grave with the deceased.

On the 21st of last month, *John Hodgson*, a soldier, aged 26, was executed at *Bushmire*, in *Suffolk*, for a highway robbery. He confessed, at the gallows, that within the last six years he enlisted 98 times with different recruiting parties in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*; that he received, as bounty-money, 597 guineas; that he seldom remained with the party more than two days; and that he committed a number of robberies, by which he gained 236*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* He was a most extraordinary character. He kept a regular account of his receipts and disbursements, and died worth 80 pounds, which he took care to transfer to a favourite female previous to his trial. He was taken up three times for desertion, and received 350 lashes at *Colchester*

Colcheſter, which he bore without even ſo much as a ſigh.

Calcutta, Oct. 12. The following melancholy accident ſhews that a tyger is not always deterred from approaching fire. A ſmall veſſel from Ganjam to this port, being longer on her paſſage than was expected, ran out of provisions and water: being near the Saugar iſland, the Europeans, ſix in number, went on ſhore in ſearch of reſreſhments, there being ſome cocoa-nuts on the iſland, in queſt of which they ſtrayed a conſiderable way in-land. Night coming on, and the veſſel being at a diſtance, it was thought more ſafe to take up their night's lodging in the ruins of an old pagoda, than to return to the veſſel. A large fire was lighted, and an agreement made, that two of the number ſhould keep watch by turns, to alarm the reſt in caſe of danger, which they had reaſon to apprehend from the wild appearance of the place. It happened to fall to the lot of one Dawſon, late a ſilverſmith and engraver in this town, to be one of the watch. In the night a tyger darted over the fire upon this unfortunate young man, and in ſpringing off with him ſtruck its head againſt the ſide of the pagoda, which made it and its prey rebound upon the fire, on which they rolled over one another once or twice before he was carried off. In the morning, the thigh bones and legs of the unfortunate victim were found at ſome diſtance; the former ſtrip of its fleſh, and the latter ſhockingly mangled.

The comedy of the Way to 20th.

Keep Him, with ſeveral other dramatic pieces, have been lately performed at Richmond-houſe.

The following were the Dramatic Perſonæ:

Lovemore,	Lord Derby.
Sir Brilliant Faſhion,	Hon. Mr. Edgecombe.
Sir Baſhful Conſtant,	Major Arabin.
William,	Sir Harry Englefield.
Sideboard,	Mr. Campbell.
Widow Belmour,	Hon. Mrs. Hobart.
Mrs. Lovemore,	Hon. Mrs. Damer.
Lady Conſtant,	Miſs Campbell.
Muſlin,	Mrs. Bruce.

Havre, April 23. Monſ. Pirneu's ſcheme for clearing the mouth of the Seine has been lately begun upon, and is carried on with unremitting vigour and effect. The veſſels employed in this buſineſs, and which were ready in the early part of this month, have already raiſed a vaſt quantity of mud, and much more of gravel and ballaſt. In addition to the 200 galley-ſlaves at firſt employed, 300 more from different parts of the kingdom have been added, and they are daily employed in ſcreening and otherwiſe preparing the ſtuff which is raiſed. Veſſels, from the ſmalleſt ſize up to five hundred tons burthen, will, when it is completed, go up to Rouen with ſafety.

DIED.—The celebrated actress Mrs. Yates.

M A Y.

A few days ago, the ſhip Friends Goodwill, with a cargo from Newcaſtle, in the river Delaware, bound to Briſtol, put into Croſharen, in the county of Cork, the

the master of which reports, that every thing remained quiet throughout the Thirteen Provinces on the 12th of April, the day he sailed, the rebellion being extinguished without much bloodshed: That congress had issued a proclamation, offering a free pardon to all concerned in the late disturbances, except Capt. Shea, who is supposed to be flying in various disguises from place to place. This adventurer aimed at no less than overturning the government, and involving the American provinces in a fresh civil war. He is said to be about 35 years of age, and a native of Kilkenny, which he left some time ago, to better his fortune in the western world. He is now, probably, endeavouring to get to some sea port, but can scarce hope to evade a discovery, as diligent search is making after him, and all strangers are strictly examined at every town and cross-road.

Paris, May 3. On Monday the grand ceremony *de la benediction des drapeaux* (of blessing the colours) was held at Notre Dame, the cathedral of Paris, before the greatest concourse of people ever assembled in that church on a similar occasion. There were thirty-six new colours to receive the benediction, twenty-four for the French, and twelve for the Swiss guards. The whole corps of each, preceded by their generals, attended in new uniforms. The music, composed of the varieties of wind instruments, inspired the assembly with martial ardour, and was listened to with rapture. The archbishop, who pronounced the blessing on those emblematical supports of Gallic honour, seemed delighted in perform-

ing this part of his function. This ceremony takes place every fourth year, a few days before the king's review, that the new dresses may serve for both. The procession was very noble, and formed the finest and most perfect *coup d'œil* ever beheld. All the regiments were drawn up in the aisles of that capacious church, which is almost as large as Westminster-abbey; and double rows of grenadiers formed two beautiful hedges on each side of the middle aisle. The bulk of the people filled some of the other aisles, and the people of fashion were in the long galleries that extend from the entrance gate up to the chief altar and the choir. When the ceremony was over, and Marshal Biron was returning, the soldiers could not, even in the church, be prevented from testifying their attachment to this venerable and brave chieftain.

Came on at Huntingdon the election for a member of 9th. parliament for that borough, in the room of Lancelot Brown, Esq. who is gone the tour of Europe, when John Willet Payne, Esq. a captain in the royal navy, was elected without opposition.

A large seizure, consisting of 300 casks of spirits, and 19th. a quantity of tea, wine, and tobacco, was brought to the Custom-house warehouse at Southampton, by the Rose cutter, together with a large boat, and six men, who had violently beat the officers that seized the same; and on Monday last they were committed by a justice of the county to Winchester gaol.

They were conveying to Winchester in two coaches, guarded by 16 men well armed; but when they had proceeded about four miles, a man,

man, on the approach of the coaches, blew a horn; upon which a body of men, to the number of 30, well mounted, and disguised, having their faces blacked, and handkerchiefs tied round them, with each a brace of pistols and a blunderbuss, came galloping over the heath from Lord's Wood, and demanded the prisoners, saying they were their good and faithful servants, and unless they were immediately released, the consequences would be fatal. The prisoners thereupon rushed from the coaches, and were carried off in triumph.

22d. The House of Lords confirmed the judgment of the lord chancellor, and the chief justices Mansfield and Loughborough, which reversed the decree of the court of Exchequer, and determined the important affair of Sutton and Johnston, in favour of the latter.

26th. The celebrated Mr. Phillidor, whose unrivalled excellence at the game of chess has been long distinguished, invited the members of the chess club, and the amateurs in general of that amusement, to be present on Saturday the 26th of April, at a spectacle of the most curious kind, as it was to display a very wonderful faculty of the human mind.

In consequence of this invitation, thirty gentlemen and three ladies attended Mr. Phillidor at Parlo's, in St. James's-street, where in their presence, with his eyes closed, he contended with two gentlemen at the same time, who had each a chess-board, and who may, perhaps, be deemed the first players in Europe next to himself.

Count Bruhl was his adversary at one board, and Mr. Bowdler at the

other, and to each he allowed the first move.

The games commenced at ten minutes after two o'clock, and lasted exactly one hour and forty minutes.

The manner in which these games were played, was alternately as to each move.—Count Bruhl began, and mentioned aloud the move he had made. Mr. Phillidor then directed his representative, and so proceeded to the conclusion of both games.

The game with the count was drawn, and Mr. Bowdler was successful in the other, owing to the quickness with which the earlier moves in both games were made, and to the extreme similarity in the situation of the piece towards the commencement; for if the games had less resembled each other, Mr. Phillidor would have preserved a more distinct recollection.

The idea of the intellectual labour that was passing in the mind of Mr. Phillidor, suggested a painful perception to the spectator, which, however, was quite unnecessary, as he seldom paused half a minute, and seemed to undergo little mental fatigue, being somewhat jocose through the whole, and uttering occasionally many pleasantries that diverted the company. The whole passed in the French language.

The first act of the grand 28th. musical festival in Westminster-abbey commenced with the overture from Esther and Dettingen *Te Deum*, which was performed with wonderful excellence. The band was all force and correctness, and the vocal performers contributed a powerful assistance. Mr. Parry, in "Thou art the King of Glory," was not sufficiently heard.

We

We would advise him in future not to *draw back the time* so much.—“When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man,” employed the powers of Mr. Kelly; but whether his not being accustomed to sing in so large a place, or before so full an audience, had any influence upon his spirits, we know not: it is certain, that though he deserves respectable mention, the expectation which his repute had excited, was not thoroughly gratified.—Messrs. Saville, Knyvitt, Norris, and Harrison, displayed considerable merit in their respective parts through this act; but we lamented that the latter had not a more distinct scope for his interesting powers.

The grand funeral anthem led on the second part, and nothing can be conceived more affectingly solemn. During the first chorus, some inaccuracy happened respecting the time; but whether this arose from the tenors, or some other principal instruments, we were not near enough to discover. In this act, the chorus from Samson,

“Hear Jacob’s God, Jehovah hear!”

was most prominently excellent.—Signora Storace sung, “Every day will I give thanks to thee,” with great correctness; but we must declare, which we do without any partial bias, that her voice is really not calculated for the requisite style of singing. It wants that energy and fullness so necessary to impress the feelings, particularly in so large a place.

The first grand concerto introduced the third act. Rubinelli followed with the recitative, “Jehovah crowned with glory bright,”

from Esther, which he delivered with an uncommon degree of expression.—His voice, which may be deemed the finest contralto in this country, entirely filled the abbey, and was wonderfully touching. The grand chorus, “He comes, he comes, to end our woes!” was indescribably excellent.—Harrison, in “O come, let us worship,” from the anthems, fully exerted all that charming and pathetic taste for which he is justly distinguished; and after the intermediate chorusses, Rubinelli expressed with most beautiful effect, “Return, O God of Hosts!” from Samson. To Mara only one song, “Pious orgies, pious airs,” was assigned, and the manner in which she sung it was indeed so exquisitely charming, that it was totally beyond description. This song immediately succeeded the grand chorus from Saxon, “Fix’d in his everlasting seat,” which was peculiarly sublime; but the great powers of Mara totally effaced its impressions, and arrested the mind as much as if it had been the first time of her performing. The whole terminated with the grand chorus from Samson, “Oh God, who in thy heavenly hand,” which was executed with such august force, that the audience was wrapped in a kind of ecstasy, that wholly absorbed every faculty.

The choice of the music deserves great approbation, and it is hardly possible to do justice to Mr. Bates, who possesses a sort of animation in his mode of conducting a band, that produces an ardent sympathy in the performers; though it must be owned, that his zeal was not sufficiently rewarded yesterday, as many of them were not so alert as they should have been in rising to their parts, and
some

Some indeed violated the decorum of the place, by indecently prattling with each other.

The place was most largely attended. — Their Majesties, with all the royal family, except the prince of Wales, were present, and most of the rank and fashion of the country. The duke of Cumberland sat in the same place with the directors.

We understand there was a demand from the public of five hundred more tickets, which was rejected, in order that the company might enjoy the most perfect accommodation.

J U N E.

A very capital ship is under repair at the king's yard at Deptford, for the intended voyage to the Society Islands, for the purpose of transporting the bread-fruit trees to the West Indies. A large space is prepared between the decks to receive the trees with their native soil. A room is also to be fitted up for an astronomer, who will go out under the patronage of his majesty, to make observations on the comet that is expected to appear in the year 1788.

A trial of a singular nature took place at the court of King's Bench, Westminster, before Mr. Justice Buller, and a special jury. An action was brought by Ann Pigeon against Messrs. Hammerly and Moreland, bankers, Pall Mall, for an usurious contract in taking more than five per cent. discount, contrary to the statute. The action was laid for fifteen thousand pounds, being treble the value of

the bills so discounted. The evidence on the part of the plaintiff was J. M. Millea, who is at present, it appeared, a prisoner in the King's Bench, but who some time since had transacted business to a large amount at the bank of the defendants. In the month of May, 1786, he applied for the purpose of discounting three several bills to the amount of 5000*l.* being the acceptance of Mr. Cazalet, a merchant in the city, at four, five, and six months date. They complied with his request; but instead of the cash which he was entitled to receive, as having paid the full discount, they paid him with their own acceptances at sixty days sight; and this it was contended was an overcharge, to the amount of these two months interest on the sum discounted.

In reply, it was proved on the part of the defendants, that the evidence, on being asked how he would be paid, had made choice of these acceptances in preference to cash; and that he himself had antedated the checks, to make it appear as if they had been transmitted from Dublin; and it was urged, that these acceptances were equivalent to cash, as if they had been presented at any time, even within the sixty days, he would immediately have been paid the full amount. Exceptions were also taken to the credibility of Millea as a party interested in the cause, it being fully proved that the plaintiff now cohabited with him in prison, and that previous to his confinement they had been generally received as man and wife. From these considerations the jury, with the fullest approbation of the court, instantly found a verdict for the defendants.

At

14th. At the January session of gaol delivery, holden at the Old Bailey 1787, John Moffatt was indicted for forging and uttering a bill of exchange, in the words and figures following, with intention to defraud one William Ball.

Navy-Office, Dec. 21, 1786.

'Sir,

'Seven days after date, please to pay to Mr. John Moffatt, or his order, the sum of three pounds three shillings, and place the same to the account of,

'Sir,

'Your most obedient
humble servant,

'(L.S.) WALTER STIRLING.

'To George Peters, Esq. Accepted,

'Bank of England.' Geo. Peters.

'Indorsed—John Moffatt, now surgeon of the Scipio guardship at Sheerness.'

Upon the evidence, the guilt of the prisoner was clearly established; but upon inspection of the bill, it was found to be drawn upon paper with only a two-penny stamp; whereas by 23 Geo. III. c. 49, upon all paper on which any bill of exchange shall be drawn for less than 50*l.* there shall be paid a stamp-duty of sixpence. It was therefore objected, that as this was not a legal bill of exchange, it not being properly stamped, it could not become the subject of an indictment for forgery. But upon the authority of the case of the king *versus* Hawkeswood, the objection was over-ruled. However, in looking over the acts of parliament relating to bills of exchange, it was found to be enacted by 17 Geo. III. c. 30. 'That all negotiable bills of exchange above 20*s.* and under 5*l.* shall specify the

names and places of abode of the persons to whom, or to whose order, the same shall be made payable; and that every indorsement thereon shall specify the name and place of abode of the payer; and that both the signing and indorsement of such bill shall be attested by one subscribing witness.'—A doubt was therefore conceived by Mr. Recorder, whether this indictment could be supported, as for forging a bill of exchange, which upon the face of it, by the express directions of the statute, was void. He therefore recorded the verdict guilty, but respite the judgment until the opinion of the judges was had upon this point.—And at the last session, Mr. Justice Ashhurst delivered the opinion of the judges, that the indictment could not be maintained.

Arrived with his suit, in perfect health, at Portsmouth, 18th. from Gibraltar, Sir George Augustus Elliott. On his coming on shore he was saluted with the guns of the several batteries, and honoured with every testimony of public gratitude. At night there was a general illumination, and every demonstration of joy. He was accommodated at the house of the commissioner, and arrived in town the 20th.

Oxford, June 18. One of the greatest efforts in walking that has been known was this day performed by a sawyer of this place in Port Meadow; he walked fifty miles in nine hours and an half. At eight in the morning he started, walked till one, when he dined, and at half after five won his wager. He was allowed ten hours to do it in, but went over his ground with ease in nine hours and an half, and was so little fatigued with his expedition, that

that he refused a carriage, and walked into town two miles from the field, amidst the acclamations of numbers who occasionally accompanied him in the course of the day.

26th. Andrew Robinson Bowes, Esq; Edward Lucas, Francis Peacock, Mark Provost, and Henry Bourn, were, pursuant to order, brought into the court of King's Bench to receive judgment for a conspiracy, of which they were convicted in April last, against Lady Strathmore. The reading of the several affidavits took up almost four hours.—After the counsel on both sides had concluded, Judge Ashurst pronounced the sentence of the court as follows, viz.

"That Andrew Robinson Bowes, Esq; do pay a fine of 300l. to his majesty; that he be imprisoned in his majesty's prison of the King's Bench for three years, and at the expiration of the said term, he find security for 14 years, himself in 10,000l. and two sureties of 5000l. each."

"That Edward Lucas (the constable) do pay a fine of 50l. and be imprisoned in his majesty's gaol of Newgate for the term of three years."

"That Francis Peacock do pay a fine of 100l. and be imprisoned in the King's Bench prison for two years."

"That Mark Provost be imprisoned in the gaol of Newgate for one year.—No fine."

"That Henry Bourn do pay a fine of 50l. and be imprisoned in the gaol of Newgate for six months."

Lucas, Peacock, and Provost, were
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already under bail, by order of the court of King's Bench, themselves in 500l. together with two sureties in the sum of 250l. each, for keeping the peace towards Lady Strathmore for fourteen years.

Extract of a letter from Utrecht, June 28, Nine o'clock in the evening.

"We have this instant received accounts that this day at noon the Princess of Orange, with two of the princes, her sons, together with the well-known Chevalier Bentinck, were arrested by a detachment of burghers of Gouda, between Schoonhoven and Oudewater. Early intelligence had been received that a great personage would pass that way, and the detachment of burghers above named was placed on purpose to intercept her passage. The garrison of Woerden is drawn out on purpose to bring the above personages into that place."

We are informed from respectable authority, that the French ministry last week dispatched two private memorials; one to the British, another to the court of Berlin, to the following purpose:

"That in the present commotions in Holland, it is their fixed and decided determination not to intermeddle, except separately or conjunctively called upon as mediators;—but if any power in Europe shall take up arms either for or against the republic, they no longer hold themselves pledged to this determination; but shall consider themselves at liberty to act, as the exigencies of affairs may require."

M. de Calonne being stripped by the king of France of his ribband, has disposed of his whole estate, his
[O] beautiful

beautiful seat of Halonville, in Lorraine, and all his other fixed property, and has retired from France for ever.

DISP.—Mr. Abel, the celebrated composer, after three days illness. This great character expired on the 20th instant without pain, and with him a genius that was an honour to the science he professed. His various compositions are the progeny of knowledge, taste, and feeling, and will be held in admiration as long as music has any influence over the passions of mankind. Nor was he only distinguished as a composer; as a performer he realized those beautiful conceptions which his works abundantly involve. The *Viola di Gamba* is not an instrument in general use, and will perhaps die with him; but his performance rendered it exquisitely charming.

J U L Y.

Extract of a letter from Bury, in Lancashire, July 5.

“I am sorry to acquaint you with a most dreadful accident which has happened in this town. The theatre here being crowded, and the people in the gallery very riotous, on a sudden the whole gave way, and the walls, roof, and every part fell in, by which myself, wife, two brothers, and a sister, with upwards of three hundred persons, were buried in the ruins.—I believe I was the first who got out. The spectacle now was very shocking, the cries of the wounded pierced the ear. Happily, out of so great a number, only five persons were killed on the

spot, amongst whom I have to regret the loss of one of my brothers and sister. Many more, however, are dangerously wounded; and eight or ten past all hopes of recovery. In short, our little town is all in sorrow on the occasion. When it is considered that the heavy timbers in the roof, the slate, the walls, and all fell in, it is next to a miracle that one escaped.”

The states of Holland, in full assembly at the Hague, published an edict the 30th ult. strictly forbidding all persons whatever from quitting the province, or going into other states with their effects, under pretence of flying for safety; the states being themselves of sufficient ability to protect their subjects: adding thereto, that in time of public disaster it was the duty of every good citizen to continue at home, and use his endeavours in the defence of his country.

John Elliot was tried upon 20th an indictment on the black act, with wilfully and maliciously discharging two pistols, loaded with powder and divers balls, at the person of Miss Mary Boydell. The second count charged him with firing one pistol, loaded with powder and one or more bullets, at the said Miss Boydell.

The evidence produced for the prosecution was as follows:

Mr. George Nicol, bookfeller to his majesty, swore, that in walking up Prince's-street in company with Miss Boydell, he heard the loud explosion of a pistol close to his ear. It was so near, and the concussion of the air so strong, that it struck his ear like a blow. He turned round, and seeing the prisoner quite close to him with a pistol in his hand, which

which afterwards however turned out to be two pistols strongly tied together, he seized him by the throat, and said, "Are you the villain that fired?" The man said he was, and a footman coming up at the same moment, either wrenched the pistols out of his hand, or took them up as he dropt them: that then, having seen the lady taken into a shop, he went with the prisoner to Justice Hyde's. In going there he expressed great joy at what he had done; and in particular said, that now he should die in peace, as he had sent the lady before him; that two more pistols were found in his pocket, apparently loaded to the muzzle, and those Mr. Nicol delivered into the hands of Justice Hyde, and had not seen them since. That during the examination, a lady came into the office, and said, she was happy to find that Miss Boydell was not dangerously wounded; upon which the prisoner, clashing his hands together, seemingly in an agony of disappointment, exclaimed, "Is she not dead?"—and from this time, and during the continuance of the examination, he burst into a torrent of abuse against the lady, the Alderman, and his family.

These facts were clearly and circumstantially corroborated by the evidence of the livery servant and of Mr. Griffith, a shoemaker in Princes-street, who saw him fire the pistol, and who assisted in securing him. The servant swore that Elliot dropt the pistols, and he took them up. He found the one upon half cock, and the pan shut down, and some grains of powder in the pan—the other had all the appearance of having been instantly fired, and he thought indeed that they had both

been fired, notwithstanding the circumstance of the lock being on half cock. In all the points of the prisoner's declarations of his intentions—of his behaviour at the justice's—of the two loaded pistols in his pocket, &c. they agreed with Mr. Nicol.

Mr. Nicol then swore that almost one half of the lady's cloak was burnt, and that there were two marks on her gown, just below the shoulders, which seemed to correspond with the marks of the pistols as they were tied together.

A surgeon swore that Miss Boydell had two contusions just below the shoulder blade, which correspond with the marks on the gown, and which evidently proceeded from blows received from some hard substance. Being asked, if pistols loaded with bullets discharged so near the body could have made such marks? He said, he did not know; but it was certain, that a pistol put quite close home to any resisting body, and discharged so as not to have the assistance of the air, lost much of its force.

The cloak, handkerchief, and gown, were produced, to shew the effects of the explosion and shot.

Justice Hyde was sworn, and he gave an account of the pistols. He said, that about a quarter of an hour after Mr. Nicol had withdrawn, a person who called himself Thomas Brown, and whom he observed in conversation with the prisoner, came to his office, said he came from Mr. Nicol, and desired to have the pistols, which he accordingly delivered to him. He could not find this Brown, nor did he know him. He swore that the pistols were loaded to the muzzle, and that the paper wadding

[O] 2

being

being broken in the ramming of the bullets down, he clearly saw the lead of the bullets.

There was some other evidence not so material. A gardener belonging to Mr. Josiah Boydell in the country, swore that the prisoner had lodged with him six months last winter, and that by so doing he had often got into the house of Mr. Boydell, where Miss Boydell frequently visited.

Mr. Silvester, on the part of the prisoner, called a Dr. Symmonds to prove that he was insane. The doctor gave it as his opinion that he was so, and he had formed this opinion from a letter he had received from him in January last, the purport of which was a philosophical hypothesis, that the sun was not specifically a ball of fire, but that his heat proceeded from the quality of the atmosphere that surrounded his body.—Some part of this paper was read, and so far from betraying symptoms of insanity, it had all the marks of quick and cultivated parts. The hypothesis, however false, was ably argued—and as to the absurdity of the doctrine itself, the recorder aptly asked the doctor, whether, if he judged of his intellects merely from a vague supposition as to the nature of the sun's heat, he might not equally declare Buffon, and many other philosophers, to be mad.

Mr. O'Donnell, the successor of Mr. Elliot, said, he had observed symptoms of insanity in him, although he attended his patients very regularly and very properly. This inconsistency drew from Mr. Garrow some sharp questions, which Mr. O'Donnell said did not, by the way in which they were put, enable

him to give so clear an account of the case as he otherwise would do, if not puzzled by the counsel.

Two people with whom he lodged also said, they remarked insanity; but he was a good, quiet lodger, and they saw no harm of him.

The recorder was beginning to sum up the evidence; and he stated, that as the indictment varied, it was necessary that the jury should be convinced that one or both pistols were loaded with ball—That at least one of them was fired, and fired at the lady—That it was done wilfully and maliciously, was clear and manifest, on the testimony of three concurring witnesses—It was evident, first from the exultation, and afterwards the disappointment expressed by Elliot, as well as by the declarations, that his intention was to take away the life of the lady—that he had deliberated on the fact, and had coolly prepared the means;—but it was for them to inquire, whether, in the anxiety incident to so horrid a project, he had not either blundered in the loading, or had chosen the wrong pair of pistols—for if they were not convinced that one or both of them was loaded with ball, they must acquit the prisoner. Here one of the jurymen said, “Surely, my lord, nothing can be more clear, than that the pistols were not loaded with ball.” On this the recorder said, if they were all of this opinion, it was needless for him to enumerate the evidence in defence of the prisoner.

The jury, after some consultation, brought in a verdict, Guilty of shooting, but they do not find that there was ball. On this the recorder directed them to acquit the prisoner, which they did.

The

The recorder said, this was no ground for exultation to the prisoner. His crime in the eye of Heaven was the same, and he should order him to be detained to be tried for the assault; and it was a duty which the prosecutors owed to society to bring him to his trial in that way.

Arrived a mail from Holland, by which we have advice, that the prince stadtholder found in the hospital of the town of Wyck, lately captured by his troops, ten pieces of cannon, two hundred and fifty muskets, and a great quantity of gunpowder and military stores; and in the town-house three flags, the first *white*, adorned with three *fleurs de lys*, and the motto, *Pro His Morimur*: the second *green*, with the motto, *Terror Tyrannidas*; and the third *red*, with a French motto, *Prerogatives & Privileges*, and under it *Majestas populi*.

An account is received by late advices from Madras, of the following very extraordinary circumstance.

Shaik Soyllman, a private soldier of the 20th battalion of the seapoy corps, stationed at Chepauk, was tried at the Madras quarter session, in October last, for murdering his wife: the fact being sufficiently proved, the prisoner made the following very extraordinary defence: that he and his family having, from a variety of circumstances, been plunged into an insupportable state of distress, himself and his wife thought death infinitely preferable to the lingering rack of existence; that, after debating again and again the melancholy subject, it was resolved that he should first destroy their infant daughter, then his wife,

and afterwards himself. This horrid plan was defeated, he said, by his wife's maternal feelings, who not being able to endure the dreadful thought of beholding the slaughter of her beloved and only child, entreated him to give her the first fatal blow; that, in compliance with her request, he put an end to her misery, by plunging a dagger into her bosom, and that whilst, in an agony of despair, he was preparing to destroy his daughter, the guards, alarmed by her cries, rushed in, and prevented the execution of his purpose.

The jury, taking all the circumstances into their consideration, brought in their verdict, "Guilty without malice"—but the court representing the illegality of such a verdict, they agreed to find him "Guilty," at the same time strongly recommending the unfortunate wretch to his majesty's mercy. He will therefore remain closely confined till his majesty's gracious pleasure shall be known.

The removal of the minor lord viscount Gormanstown, from Ireland to Liege, supposed to have been accomplished by the means of his uncle, a Roman catholic, has been thought a measure of sufficient magnitude to call for the interference not only of the government of Ireland, but also of the cabinet of Great Britain. The marquis of Caermarthen wrote in his majesty's name to the prince bishop of Liege, to desire that his highness would cause the young lord to be delivered into the hands of such persons as his majesty shall commission to receive him. But his highness returned for answer, that though he was the sovereign of Liege, he was

bound by the laws and constitutions of his principality, and therefore could not take upon himself finally to determine in such a matter without the advice and concurrence of his grand chapter and his government; that he would, however, immediately communicate the affair, together with his majesty's wishes, to his council, and without delay make the marquis acquainted with the result of their deliberations. Accordingly the affair was maturely considered and debated in the prince's council; and it was at last resolved, that his highness could not, consistently with the laws of the state, force a catholic out of his dominions, for the purpose of putting him into the hands of those who would bring him up a protestant.

26th. Orders were yesterday sent off from the admiralty office, to the commissioners of the several dock-yards, to take on a number of additional workmen immediately, to expedite the work now in hand.

DIED.—4th, about two o'clock, at his house in Powys-y-lace, Great Ormond-street, sir Richard Jebb, physician to his royal highness the prince of Wales. Sir Richard has bequeathed the bulk of his fortune to a niece; and has left his brother a legacy of 2000*l.* with an estate of 300*l.* a year.

At his house, near the Bishop's 12. Palace, Lambeth, at about a quarter before six in the evening, by a flash of lightning, Mr. Bacon, clerk to the Salt-office. At the beginning of the storm he was drinking tea with his wife; the back windows of the one pair of stairs

to the south having been open all day, he went up for the purpose of shutting them; and in the action of lifting up his right arm received the stroke, which tore his coat eight inches in length, and four in breadth; from whence it entered his right side, nearly opposite his heart, went through his body, and out at the left hip, and down his left leg to his buckle (which melted) and tore the upper-leather of his shoe from the sole. His dog, being at that foot, was also struck dead; after which, the lightning penetrated the wainscot and floor of the one pair of stairs, and made its way into the front parlour, north, where it tore the wainscot in a singular manner, and went off with an explosion louder than any piece of ordnance.—Another account says, That he owed his death to a gun being laid across the window, placed there to prevent thieves from breaking into the house, which, on this occasion, operated as a conductor for the lightning; for at the instant that he was shutting the window he received the electrical fire from the barrel of the gun, which he accidentally touched, and was immediately struck dead. The violence of the stroke was such, that it tore out his intestines, and made his body a most shocking spectacle. He was first discovered by a little girl in the house, who was so terrified as to be unable to explain the cause of her alarm to Mrs. Bacon, who went into the room herself, and, in consequence of seeing this dreadful sight, has been at times in fits ever since, and great doubts are entertained whether she will ever recover.

AUGUST

AUGUST.

Hague, Aug. 2. According to letters from Berlin, the reigning Duke of Brunswick, Field Marshal of the Prussian army, has accepted the command of the forces which are to be assembled at Cleves. The same accounts add, that the Prussian hussars were on their march to Cleves.

Extract of a letter from Bress,
Aug. 11.

"The measures which have been lately taken, and which are, agreeable to order, carrying on with the utmost dispatch, appear to indicate an approaching disturbance.

"All the registered seamen within this admiralty have received monitions to attend the naval commissioners; the dock-yards have been augmented with additional hands, and 400 men have just arrived in addition to the garrison.

"The Marquis de Poligne, an experienced officer, and of the Croix St. Louis, has the entire conduct of the new arrangement."

Naples, Aug. 15. By letters from Sicily we have had a relation of an extraordinary eruption of Mount Etna, such a one as has not happened in the memory of man; a rumbling noise and numberless shocks of earthquakes preceded this eruption; but on the 18th of last month, about three o'clock in the morning, a terrible volume of fire issued from the mountain like a whirlwind, and of such a prodigious height, that it seemed as if the mountain was opened, and the column of fire appeared two thirds higher than the summit. An immense cloud of smoke preceded the flame, the blaze of which was so great that people could see to read

at twenty miles distance;—besides that a shower of sand, or calcined lava, and stones of an enormous size, were cast to a prodigious height, and fell down again with a most terrible noise. Sulphurous stones, lightnings, and horrible noises followed this dreadful eruption. The column of fire took its direction towards the Ionic Sea, to the eastward of the coast of Morea, but at a certain distance it shifted towards Africa. We learn that the shower of sand and stones fell on the city and suburbs of Messina and Calabria, and on all the islands and adjacent coasts as far as Malta.

All the ice and snow on the tops of the mountains was melted, and some persons wounded by the stones which fell in the neighbouring countries; the inhabitants suffered from a suffocating smell of sulphur and bitumen, and from the extreme heat of the air; all the produce of the earth, the olives, fruits, and Indian corn are burnt; in short, for many miles distance, the land resembles the scorched deserts of Lybia.

It is remarkable that Vesuvius at the same time began to send forth flames, and the lava flows at present along the valley which separates that mountain from Mount Somma.

Constantinople, Aug. 18. M. de Bulgakow, envoy from the court of Russia to the Sublime Porte, was this day summoned to a public audience, when it was proposed to him to affix his signature to an instrument for the restitution of the Crimea, and the annihilation of all the conventions subsequent to the treaty of Kainardgik, and upon his refusal he was conducted to the castle of the Seven Towers.—To-mor-

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row war against Russia will be solemnly declared in all the streets of this capital.

When the empress of Russia finished her last war with the Ottoman Porte, the following was the state and condition of her naval force fit for service :

uns.	Guns.
Jezekil 76	Kergopolte 54
Sans Pantele- maine 74	Moscouen 54
Elizabeth 74	Vollne 42
Anna Petrow- na 74	Toufa 36
San Sedair 74	Aleffandre 36
Tefferdou 70	Kuleden 36
St. Aleffandro 70	Simione 36
Alexandre	Ockzakow 36
Neutko 70	Jazeker 35
America 66	Holmne 32
Azai 66	Jenekuinn 32
Hermolandie 66	Kolegah 32
Victoire 66	Maria Anne 32
Slave Roffai 66	Pleina 30
Spiridone 66	Velifcone 28
Dabide 64	San Andrea 28
Europaine 64	La Patriche 26
Darifi 64	La Volga 26
Knees Vol- dimere 64	La Ruffe 26
Nebren Alen- go 64	La Donne 24
Parnet Jesneff 64	Pantaine 24
San Nicolai 02	Giddies 20
Vologda 54	Knies Ghent 20
	Ibrahim 20
	Bianco 20
	Dartoffe 20

Besides cutters, pinks, &c.

That Russia has considerably increased her marine since that period is beyond all contradiction, as the following, among others, are known to be now in her ordinaries at Revel, Cronstadt, &c. where the men of war are usually laid up.

Guns.	Guns.
La Catherine 90	Cronstadt 80
Holsteine 86	Patriarque 76
Olowe 80	Uladimeer 74

Zarchoe 74	Tigressille 74
La Cherfon 74	Kamfchatka 70
L'Adm. Bor- rifow 74	Maen 64
La Duc 74	Knowlenceer 64
San Pedro 74	Moscow 64
Unione 74	Kruesenchte 64
San Christian 74	La Zcaloffe 64
Potemkin 74	La Sophie 64
San Stephane 74	Denbrog 64

Of frigates, &c. upwards of thirty of different force have been built; but as there is no real account, it is impossible to speak with precision.—Russia has, however, at least an hundred men of war at this time, of which number about half are of the line, from 90 to 54 guns.

The Turkish navy, according to the latest accounts, consisted as follows :

Ships.		Guns.	Ships.		Guns.
1	of	100	8	of	64
2	—	92	7	—	60
4	—	80	8	—	58
5	—	76	6	—	56
8	—	72	2	—	54
4	—	66			

Besides frigates, sloops, bombs, xebecks, and galleys.

Out of these are the two fleets, one in the Black Sea, under the command of the Pache Ali Gabriel Beyd; and the other in the Archipelago; the first consists of sixteen ships, and the other of eleven.

There is a third fleet at Constantinople, which consists of forty sail, of which two were of the line.

A special court of directors was held at the India house, for the purpose of taking into consideration the conduct of the captain and officers of the ship Hartwell, unfortunately lost in her passage to China off Bona Vista, one of the Cape de Verd islands—and after an examination

examination into all the particulars, which lasted several hours, came to a resolution to dismiss the captain and chief mate, and suspend the second mate from the service.

The following is an exact state of the present commerce of Russia.

The last year the exports amounted to — 13,360,011 Roubles
And the importation to — 11,775,577

Bal. in favour of Russia — 1,584,434 Roubles

The Custom House duties amounted to — 3,274,050

Independent of these duties they have levied on singers & schools — 55,091

Athy, Aug. 28. The following curious attempt to evade justice was practised a few days ago. At the last assizes of Trim, one Kelly, a noted robber, was capitally convicted, and received sentence to be executed on Wednesday the 22d of August; previous to being led out he contrived to cut his blanket into strips of four inches broad, joined the pieces together with strong woollen thread, and formed a double sling, which passed under each ham, and the ends fastened at his neck with an iron hook to receive the rope; thus accoutred, he proceeded to the place of execution, where he addressed the hangman, (who by the by is supposed to have been bribed) told him he forgave him, but requested he would draw him up close to the pully, and when dead let him down gently; the unfortunate wretch, too confident of success, was shortly after launched

from the table, but not having allowed for the extension of the blanket by his own weight, after hanging about eight minutes, without appearance of life, the hook fastened in his windpipe, and gave him such exquisite pain, that he suddenly raised his arms, seized the rope, and struggled for a considerable time till he expired. After being cut down the whole apparatus was discovered, to the astonishment of the sheriff and a number of gentlemen present.

The right honourable lord Dunboyne read his recantation from the errors of the church of Rome, in the parish church of Clonmel, on the 22d of August last. The earl of Earlsfort, chief justice of the King's Bench, with several others of the nobility, and a very numerous congregation, were present at the solemnity. His lordship, who was titular bishop of Corke, had very lately entered into the holy state of matrimony, and was consequently suspended from his ecclesiastical dignity.

The directors of the India company have presented the 30th. society for promoting Christian knowledge with one hundred reams of superfine paper, for the purpose of enabling the society to complete a version of the Bible in the Malabar language, for the use of the natives of India.

A full board of admiralty was held, when several officers^{31st.} who applied for leave of absence for six months were refused, and informed, that if they attempted to quit England, without obtaining leave, they would be struck off the list, and not allowed to serve any longer.

Same day orders were sent down to Portsmouth and Plymouth, for the

the houses of rendezvous there to give bounties to such seamen as shall enter into his majesty's service, and to send up information to the admiralty twice a week, of the number entered.

DIED — Letters from Spain, of the 6th and 8th of July, mention the death of Marcus Bagot, Esq. lieutenant-general in the armies of his catholic majesty, at the castle of Seragossa, in Arragon, of which city and province he was governor. His excellency was a native of the county of Kildare, and is said to have been immensely rich. He was the oldest officer in Spain, being 93, wanting a few days, at his decease.

SEPTEMBER.

*Extract of a letter from Berlin,
Sept. 1.*

"A terrible fire has reduced to ashes the city of Ruppín, situated in the March of Brandenburg, about eight or nine leagues from Berlin; there are not above 240 houses standing; more than 600 have been burnt, as well as three churches, the town-house, and the building belonging to the prince Ferdinand of Prussia; the royal magazine, where there was a quantity of cloathing ready to be delivered to the troops, &c. The fire lasted twelve hours. They estimate the loss at many millions; and the inhabitants are reduced to the last misery. The queen and prince Henry of Prussia went there to comfort the unhappy people:—M. de Maufwitz, minister of state, also went there by order of government. Collections are making here for the sufferers, and the contributions have

been very liberal. General Molendorf has applied to all the military in garrison for their donations."

A meeting of the West India captains was held, when they came to a resolution not to take any sailors on board their ships that could not bring with them certificates of their good behaviour from the captains they have last served, and likewise from the owners, or husbands of the ships they have served on board the last voyage.

Leeds, Sept. 4. The captain of the Swedish ship seized at Hull a few days ago, for having a quantity of wool on board, has now made an open confession, and impeached several people in that neighbourhood, who it seems have carried on a large trade in this iniquitous practice for some time past.—The mate of the ship has declared upon oath, that he believes every Swede or Danish vessel that comes into the port of Hull smuggles wool abroad every voyage, both captain and crew being concerned in this business; and although the quantity in each ship is but trifling, yet when it is considered, that there are twenty or thirty ships of those two nations which make three or four voyages to Hull annually, the wool smuggled even from the above port becomes considerable.—Two other ships were also seized on Saturday last at Hull, with wool.

*Extract of a letter from Glasgow,
Sept. 4.*

"It is with very great concern I sit down to give you an account of a desperate affray which happened here this forenoon. For some time past, the operative weavers have been in very bad humour respecting the reduction of their wages upon some

some kinds of work. This forenoon a number of them assembled and cut several webs out of the looms of those persons who had agreed to work at the reduced prices. The magistrates met and sent the town officers to seize the perpetrators, but finding themselves too weak, they returned. The magistrates then went along with them, and came up with the operative weavers (who had several of the webs they had cut out in their hands) about the east end of the Gallowgate. The magistrates remonstrated with the weavers, who, in place of listening to their arguments, pelted them with volleys of stones, and one of them struck the lord provost a violent blow on the arm; some others were wounded with stones. It was then necessary to call for the aid of the military, who conducted the magistrates back to the council-chamber, where they deliberated upon what was to be done. The military were ordered to draw up at the Cross with screwed bayonets, and their muskets loaded with ball. The magistrates then came out, and caused the Riot Act to be read to an immense multitude, who were now assembled, and gave suitable advice to the populace, warning them of their danger, and desiring them to disperse, but in vain. The soldiers then were ordered to the Gallowgate, where the principal body of the weavers were. On approaching them, the military endeavoured to line the street and lanes, when a scuffle ensued, upon which they fired, and killed four or five persons, and wounded several. After this a number were taken prisoners and lodged in gaol. The military still remain under arms, and expresses have been sent to Lin-

lithgow and Hamilton, for a reinforcement of troops.

"This morning early, an express arrived at Edinburgh, for some dragoons to be sent, and orders are dispatched by his excellency general Mackay, for detachments of those stationed at Irvine, Ayr, Beith, and other places, to repair immediately to Glasgow."

Extract of a letter from Glasgow,
Sept. 6.

"I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that all is now quiet, and good order restored. Six persons, who were active in the late disturbances, and a petty writer, who acted as their secretary, are committed to gaol. The eight persons who were killed, and died of their wounds, were buried to-day, and not the smallest disturbance; every thing respecting the interment was carried on with the greatest decency. Several reinforcements of troops are arrived from different quarters, and the town is at present full of soldiers."

Among accidents of an extraordinary nature, the following may be recorded, and it is vouched for as truth: A man who resided at Chichester, having gone upon the rocks in search of shell-fish, perceived a large lobster in a chasm, and rashly thrust in his hand to pull it out. The lobster seized on his thumb, and the man, as it is supposed, actuated by the impulse of pain, thrust his arm forward to disengage his thumb, but was unable afterwards to draw it back, and the tide flowing, he was drowned. He was found in the situation described, his thumb dreadfully cut, and the bone broken.

One Thomas Stone underwent a long examination before

fore several of the faculty and some justices of the peace; when evident marks of insanity having appeared in many parts of his late conduct, he was ordered to be confined till farther orders in Bedlam hospital.

Some days before this her majesty received a very extraordinary letter from Stone, mentioning a very warm passion which he had conceived for her eldest daughter; and hoping, if their majesties approved of the idea of his marrying her, he and the princess royal would be a very happy couple! After this, the man appeared at St. James's, and begged leave to be introduced in form, as, from not having had an answer, he conceived his proposal was acceded to. Silence gave consent! This, however, was not much attended to by the people to whom he spoke. On his going afterwards to Kew, he was seized and confined till he could be taken to the public office in Bow-street to be examined, where he confessed to have conceived an attachment for her royal highness; also that she had conceived the same for him. A great many papers on the subject of love were found upon him, addressed to her Serene Highness the Princess Royal.

Stone is a heavy looking man, about 33 years of age: he is a native of Shaftesbury, and his father is a floor-cloth painter.—He was brought up an attorney, and has an uncle of the name of Sutton living in Islington. He wrote a letter to Mr. Delaval, of Pall-mall, saying he proposed a plan for paying off the national debt.

His conversation is truly that of a lunatic. He says, his heart was stole from him three years ago, and till last March he did not know who

was the robber, till being at the play, he saw the princess royal look up at the two shilling gallery.

The following are the lines which at the time of the above examination were submitted to the critical examination of Dr. Munro, and which Stone acknowledged to be his production:

To her Highness the PRINCESS
ROYAL.

Thrice glad were I to be your willing slave,
But not the captive of the tool or knave;
With woe on woe you melt my fighting breast,
Whilst you reject your humble would-be guest.

Aug. 22.

T. S.

Utrecht, Sept. 21. On the 17th instant, at ten in the forenoon, the Prussian troops summoned the city of Naarden to surrender; but M. de Matha, in the name of the commission of defence, refused to capitulate on any terms.

This night's Gazette contains a proclamation for encouraging seamen and landmen to enter themselves on board his majesty's ships of war; and promising that all such able seamen, not above the age of fifty, nor under the age of twenty years, who shall, on or before the thirty-first day of October next, voluntarily enter, shall receive the sum of three pounds each man; all ordinary seamen, two pounds each man; and all able-bodied landmen, twenty shillings each man.

The prince of Orange made his public entry into the Hague on Thursday the 20th, in the afternoon. His carriage was drawn in by the populace; and he

was

was congratulated by all the public bodies.

Hague, Sept. 18. On Thursday last, the Prussian army, under the command of his serene highness the duke of Brunswick, passed the river at Nimeguen, and advanced from thence in three columns. On their approach the Rhingrave of Salm evacuated Utrecht, after having nailed up 140 pieces of cannon, which he was obliged to leave behind him, and destroyed, as far as he was able, the powder and other stores, retiring with what he could collect of the garrison, in great disorder, towards Amsterdam and Narden. On Sunday the prince of Orange's troops entered the towns of Utrecht, Montfort, and the Vaart; and no opposition was made in any part of the province.

Intelligence was received at the Hague, of Gorcum, Dort, Schoonhoven, and several other of the principal towns of South Holland, having surrendered, without bloodshed, to the duke of Brunswick. The states of Holland issued orders for breaking and disarming the free corps; and late this evening they passed a resolution for restoring his serene highness the stadtholder to all his rights and honours, with the command of this garrison: and a deputation is appointed to the duke of Brunswick, and a letter sent off to invite the prince of Orange to return to his residence here.

Hague, Sept. 25. The states of Holland having agreed on Saturday last to write a letter to her royal highness the princess of Orange, inviting her to return to the Hague, and expressing their earnest desire to grant her royal highness satisfaction for the insult offered her near Schoonhoven, in the manner demanded by

his Prussian majesty; her royal highness accordingly arrived here from Utrecht yesterday, about three o'clock, and was received with the most joyful acclamations of all ranks of people. The deputations of the several states, and of the principal department, waited on her royal highness immediately after her arrival, and every possible mark of honour and distinction were shewn her.

To-day her royal highness received the compliments of the foreign ministers, the deputies of the different towns, &c. This evening she had a drawing-room, and at night the Hague was entirely illuminated.

The Duke of Brunswick removed his head-quarters on Saturday from Gouda to Alphen; and yesterday his advanced posts moved forward as far as Amsterwen and Oudekerke, within four miles of Amsterdam. General Gaudi with his division has attacked and taken Nieuwenfluis, with 800 prisoners, 10 pieces of cannon, and 60 officers.

The stadtholder was certainly reinstated fully in all his rights on Thursday afternoon, the 20th, at the Hague; for in two hours he was re-invested in complete power, and all the foreign ministers, except the French, Spanish, and Americans, paid their compliments to him on the event.—Three of the principal adherents of France, and who had been most active in opposing the interests of the stadtholder, had avoided the indignation of the Orange party by making their escape. It was feared that the stadtholder's party, in the ebullition of their joy, would proceed to outrages against their opponents, whose violence and acrimony had, in the absence of the prince, led them to in-

sults

sults of the grossest kind. Great pains, however, were taken to repress the indignation of the people, and the conduct of the Prussian army was exemplary. No tumult had happened when the express came away.

Extract of a letter from Canterbury, Sept 28.

"Powell, the great walker, set off at four o'clock yesterday, and arrived at London-bridge ten minutes before three o'clock. He was at Dartford, on his return, at seven o'clock; at Rochester at ten o'clock; and he came running into Canterbury (amidst thousands of spectators) at six minutes and a half before four o'clock, and appeared to have done his best:—so that at 53 years old he has travelled on foot 112 miles in 23 hours, 53 minutes and a half."

DIED.—On the 14th, on his passage from Jamaica, on board the Amity, Captain Nixon, the Hon. John Jackson, Esq. advocate-general, and one of his majesty's privy council in the said island.

OCTOBER.

Amsterdam, October 4. At four o'clock in the morning of the 1st of this month, the duke of Brunswick attacked this city; and a vigorous contest was maintained till about six.—The posts of Muyden, Diemardam, Duivendrecht, Oudekerk, and that of the dyke of Haaerlam, were assaulted at the same time.—The enemy was repulsed from the four first-mentioned posts with very great loss. The post of Oudekerk sustained three different attacks in the space of three hours. Unable to withstand the fire from this place,

the enemy abandoned their enterprize, which cost them dear. The post of the dyk of Haaerlam being attacked in two places, and by a superior force, was abandoned almost without resistance, and the auxiliaries who defended the place retired without loss. The post of Amstelveen was carried by the Prussians in the afternoon; and it is said that it might have been better defended. The loss of this post occasioned Oudekerk to be evacuated, for by the above event it would have been situated between two fires, and could not possibly have been defended. An armistice for an unlimited time ensued; and each party is to give twelve hours notice before the commencement of hostilities. We do not expect that the contention will be renewed, as fresh negotiations are begun. The number of killed and wounded is not known.

Authentic extract of a letter from a gentleman in Dominica, to his correspondent in London, dated September 1, 1787.

"The island is at present in a deplorable situation, from three gales of wind that have happened here in the last month, which have laid desolate the whole island. The first was on the third, of short duration, and did little damage to the country, but cast on shore an African ship, and several sloops and schooners, which were totally lost. The second gale or hurricane began at ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 23d, and continued with unabating fury till eight in the evening; the wind shifting from the north to the south, which cast on the shore another Guinea ship that was consigned to this island, three brigs, and all the drouging vessels be onging to the island; and the damage done
to

to the country is much more than I can inform you of. The windward part of the island has suffered most, the sugar works and canes being totally destroyed; and to complete the ruin of this island, it was attacked a third time, on the 29th, at four o'clock in the morning, much severer in this quarter than the former, destroying and carrying away every thing before it (the like I have never seen in the West Indies). A third African ship consigned here, loaded from hence, and ready to sail with a cargo worth eight or ten thousand pounds, two brigs also, loaded with rum, &c. &c. totally lost; Mr. G—'s brig and the Cork brig, dismasted. All the barracks and buildings on Morne Bruce entirely blown down and destroyed. Many houses in town shared the same fate, and few have escaped without very great damage; the provisions totally destroyed, and the country apparently ruined."

The following is an exact copy of an American paragraph in a Boston news-paper:

"At the supreme judicial court held at Worcester, Ichabed Hayward and Patience Twitchell were convicted of the crime of adultery, and received sentence as follows:—Hayward to sit one hour on the gallows with a rope about his neck, one end thereof cast over the gallows, to be publicly whipped on the naked back thirty stripes, and suffer three months imprisonment. Patience Twitchell to sit one hour on the gallows, with a rope about her neck also, one end thereof cast over the gallows, and to be publicly whipped twenty stripes on her bare back."

This sentence was literally executed in the presence of a gentle-

man just arrived from America; and as it happened to be the first circumstance of the kind, an innumerable quantity of people were assembled. The culprits were both young and handsome, and by no means in low situations of life.

Paris, Oct. 23. A Turk, from Algiers or Tripoli, who was going from Paris to Auxerre (40 leagues from the capital) in the *cocbe d'eau* (a barge where passengers pay 7s. 6d. and are four days in going) being provoked by several jocular remarks on his dress, some scurrilous reflections on his religion, and, as they say, by having his whiskers cut off and burnt while he was asleep, committed great outrages the beginning of last week, which ended very fatally. He stabbed furiously with a dagger four or five of those that were nearest to him, who died instantly of their wounds. He seized then a hatchet, which had been brought with an intention to knock him down, and cut and maimed the arms and faces of fourteen or fifteen more. The guards being called on board, fired a pistol at him, loaded with case-shot, in order to make him let go the fatal hatchet, but the shot hit him in the lower part of the under jaw, which, added to his mad efforts and furious blows, forcibly distributed to the barge-planks and the empty air, occasioned his falling quite exhausted to the ground. He was immediately secured and conveyed to the hospital at Sens. Thus, five persons owe their untimely end, and others are in danger of their lives, to the folly of some unguarded expressions, wanton jests, or inhospitable insults on a peaceful stranger, because he happened to wear an African

African or Oriental dress, a long beard, and to deny the Pope's infallibility.

Most of the imperial troops under-mentioned are already on their march towards the frontiers of Turkey; and which, with those under marching orders for the same destination, amount to

94 battalions of infantry		
of 1400 men each	-	135,306
3 battalions of artillery,		
1000 each	-	3000
63 divisions of cavalry,		
400 each	-	25,200

In the whole 163,560

To command which the following general officers are appointed; viz. one chief general, one quarter-master general, two generals of cavalry, three generals of artillery, 14 lieutenant generals, and 27 major generals.

20th. A court martial has been sitting some time at the Horse-guards, on the trial of major John Browne, of the 67th regiment, upon a complaint exhibited by the members of a court-martial at Antigua, of disrespect to them, and on a charge of cruelty to Thomas Edwards, a private soldier. And yesterday the court-martial delivered their sentence, that the major was so far guilty of the disrespect laid to his charge, in that he had disclaimed the authority of the Antigua court-martial to put him in arrest, refused to pay obedience to them as a court, and submitted to the arrest on the sole ground of the president being an officer of superior rank to him. But for this contempt it was judged, that the very long period of the major's arrest was a sufficient punishment.—

With respect to the private soldier he was found guilty, not of *cruelty*, but of *oppression*, and was sentenced to be suspended from pay and duty 209 days, the time during which he had confined the said soldier without trial; and he was also sentenced to pay the soldier 40l.

The court also declared, that all courts-martial are entitled to obedience, how low soever the rank of the members that compose it; and that an attempt to depreciate the military character of a commanding officer, when not in the exercise of his command, was not an injury of a mere private nature, but within the cognizance of a court-martial.

NOVEMBER.

At the court of directors 10th. for the East India company, held on the 7th, a letter was read from Sir Elijah Impey, acquainting the court that his majesty has been pleased to accept of his resignation of the office of chief justice of the supreme court of judicature in Bengal. The salary annexed to the office, which is in the gift of his majesty, is eight thousand pounds a year.

At about six o'clock on Saturday the 10th, a cruel murder was committed by Timothy Hardy, fellmonger, of Newton Flotman, near Norwich, on the body of Mr. John Aggus, his brother-in-law, who kept the Lamb inn in the Haymarket, at which house the barbarous deed was perpetrated.—Hardy, a short time before he put his inhuman purpose in execution, was with

with Aggus's wife, who reproached him with his prodigality and dissolute course of life, at which he did not seem to be much discomposed, but turning about, he, with much seeming friendship, offered his hand to Aggus, and observed that "he did not wish to be at variance with him, although he disagreed with his wife," and in the very act of shaking hands, he drew a knife and ripped up his belly about three inches on the left side above the navel, so that a large portion of the bowels came out, one of which was divided near two inches; several persons were in the kitchen at the time, who, upon the coroner's inquest, gave evidence, that immediately after the shocking transaction Hardy said, "I have done for you; and was my brother, John Hardy, of Lynn, here, I would serve him the same; and now I'll stab myself, for I know I must die for it."—He did make a feeble attempt for that purpose on his own body, but the wound was superficial. Messrs. Donne, Norgate, and Rigby, were sent for to the deceased, who stitched up the wounds, and administered every means of relief, notwithstanding which he languished until nine o'clock on Sunday evening, and then expired. Hardy was immediately taken into custody, and upon the jury bringing in their verdict "wilful murder," was committed and properly secured to prevent his committing an act of violence upon himself, to elude the hand of justice.—It is not known what gave occasion to such unnatural conduct in Hardy towards his brother, who had always behaved to him with the greatest kindness.

Bois le Duc, Nov. 13. Language can give but a feeble idea of the ravages and disorders that have pre-

vailed here from Thursday the 15th to the following Saturday. Drums were beating incessantly to arms; and guns firing, with the most lamentable cries, and tumultuous shouts, which greatly terrified the burghers. Vast numbers of the soldiery ran in the utmost disorder through the streets with their bare sabres, intent on plunder. In fact, the best houses in the town were sacked, not excepting even those of the magistrates, and all suffered in a smaller or greater degree. The houses of the stadtholderians were not exempted from ravage; the only distinction made between them and the patriots was, that the persons of the latter were violated, while the property only of the others was in danger. This ungovernable tumult continued till some cavalry were dispatched by the stadtholder, with orders to repress all disorder.—They arrived about noon on Saturday, and were obliged to fire on the rioters, and killed some of them before they could restore tranquillity to the distressed inhabitants. On the following day, we were busily employed in loading carts with goods that had been carried out of the houses of their respective owners, and put in hiding places till they could be conveniently carried away. In the gardens, the hedges, and the walls, money and jewels were found, which have been restored to their several proprietors, whenever they could be ascertained. But a considerable part, and that the most valuable of the property, had been carried off by the rioters.

Her royal highness the princess of Orange, having written a letter to the reigning duke of Brunswick, requesting that 4000 Prussian troops might remain during the winter in

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Holland

Holland—his serene highness has thought fit to comply therewith. The duke has also, in compliance with the princess's wishes, promised to recommend the unfortunate Dutch prisoners confined at Wezel, to the clemency of his Prussian majesty.

The prince stadtholder has published an amnesty and general pardon to all those who took up arms against him, or who signed addresses or declarations inimical to the dignity and interest of his serene highness.

The king of Spain has ordered, that a calculation should be taken of the number of inhabitants of Madrid, which are accurately stated as follow :

Up to 16 years of age	Boys	17,276	} 34,218
	Girls	16,942	
From 16 to 25	Men	14,182	} 27,364
	Women	13,182	
From 25 to 40	Men	23,495	} 43,601
	Women	20,106	
From 40 to 50	Men	10,221	} 19,161
	Women	8,940	
From 50 upwards	Men	8,603	} 20,545
	Women	11,942	
Friars	—	1,824	} 2,646
Nuns	—	822	
Residents in the convents, colleges, and hospitals	} 6,483		
Total		154,018	

Dublin, Nov. 17. This morning the funeral procession of his Grace the Duke of Rutland commenced about twelve o'clock, at the House of Lords, and proceeded through Grafton-street, Nassau-street, Dawson-street, round Stephen's-green, King's - street, William - street, Church-lane, Dame-street, Parliament-street, Essex-bridge, Capel-street, Mary-street, Henry-street, Sackville-street, Summer-hill, Circular-road, to the platform on the north-wall, where the barge waited

with the king's boat to receive the body, and conveyed it from thence in procession to his majesty's yacht.

The town-major, attended by a troop of horse, preceded the procession. The train of royal Irish artillery followed. Their rear was brought up with the regimental band playing a solemn dirge. The battalion companies of the several regiments in the garrison followed ; and after them their respective grenadier companies. They were succeeded by the whole of the army establishment, and the commander in chief, followed by the bands of music belonging to the six regiments embodied, which formed a most affecting combination of plaintive harmony. The standards of the orders of the garter and St. Patrick were borne on lances, and the arms of these respective orders, along with those of his grace, were displayed on the mourning horses. The Dublin herald carried the coronet on a velvet cushion—between which and the viceregal body, a few officers of the household intervened—The body was attended on each side by pages, aid-du-camps, and twelve yeomen of the guards, carrying escutcheons on their balberds—the mourning chariot was drawn by eight horses, covered with velvet, each horse led by a groom, the coachman in deep mourning—the chief mourners were the lords justices in their coaches, with their train-bearers, &c. attended by a troop of horse—then succeeded the lord mayor, as chief magistrate of the metropolis—the nobility, judges, commons, state officers, king's counsel, and corporations of Dublin, the university, rectors, and curates of the several parishes, the different boards, governors of the bank of Ireland, &c. and a squadron

a squadron of horse closed the procession.

The multitude of spectators was innumerable—but owing to the precaution of the commissioners of police, in conjunction with the right honourable the lord mayor, no material accident happened—no scaffolds were suffered to be erected in the streets.

The minute guns in the park commenced firing at six o'clock this morning—and the bells of the churches rung their dead peals during the day:

A few days ago, while one Fenner, a turner, and Philpot, a carpenter, were drinking together at the sign of the three compasses at Tunbridge Wells, a quarrel arose between them, which proceeded to blows. During the battle, which was severely contested for some time, the fright had so great an effect on Mrs. Peek, the landlady, that she expired, though the most immediate and necessary means were applied for her recovery. But what is more extraordinary, on the news of her death being carried to a Mr. Field, at Mount Ephraim, about half a mile distant, and a relation of the deceased, the shock was so great, that he died while the melancholy story was relating to him.

DIED.—In Drury-lane, in the 104th year of her age, Mrs. Alchorne, who several years since was shewn about as the strong woman.

DECEMBER.

1st. This day some fishermen fishing in the river Thames, near Poplar, with much difficulty, drew into their boat a shark yet alive, but apparently very sickly;

it was taken on shore, and being opened, in its belly were found a silver watch, a metal chain, and a cornelian seal, together with several small pieces of gold lace, supposed to have belonged to some young gentleman, who was unfortunate enough to have fallen overboard; but that the body and other parts had either been digested, or otherwise voided; but the watch and gold lace not being able to pass through it, the fish had thereby become sickly, and would in all probability very soon have died. The watch had the name of Henry Watson, London, N^o 1369, and the works are very much impaired. On these circumstances being made public, Mr. Henry Watson, watchmaker, in Shoreditch, recollected, that about two years ago he sold the watch to Mr. Ephraim Thompson, of Whitechapel, as a present to his son, on going out on his first voyage on board the ship Polly, captain Vane, bound to Coast and Bay. About three leagues off Falmouth, by a sudden heel of the vessel, during a squall, master Thompson fell overboard, and was no more seen. The news of his being drowned soon after came to the knowledge of his friends, who little thought of hearing any thing more concerning him. Mr. Thompson is said to have purchased the shark, to preserve it as a memorial of so singular an event. It is the largest ever remembered to have been taken in the Thames, being from the tip of the snout to the extremity of the tail 9 feet 3 inches; from the shoulder to the extremity of the body, 6 feet one inch; round the body, in the thickest part, 6 feet 9 inches. The width of the jaws, when extended, 17 inches. It has five rows of teeth,

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teeth, consequently five years' old, having an additional row every year, till it arrives at its full growth.

Between one and two o'clock 7th. Lord George Gordon was apprehended at a jew's house in Birmingham, for a contempt of the court of King's Bench, in consequence of a libel.

On Saturday evening he was brought before Mr. Justice Buller, when a warrant was made out, and his lordship is now lodged in the King's Bench.

8th. All of the Westminster gang of house-breakers, who have been apprehended, were finally committed to Newgate for trial at the ensuing sessions.—Fudge, the youngest in the gang, is about thirteen years of age, and the rest between that and twenty-one.—Durham was formerly one of the choir at Westminster-abbey; and Grace Mattocks, at whose house the gang usually met to play at cards, dance, and regale themselves, is said to have been the cause of hanging more young men than any other character, of a similar description, in the metropolis.

There were present, at the examination, the Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Braddyll, Sir James La Roche, &c.

Fleiming, the pawnbroker, and receiver of the various property taken by these depredators, gave information of twenty-eight robberies, the greater part of which, it appears, was committed in the neighbourhood of Westminster.

By the vigilance and activity of Mr. Justice Addington, of King's-street, Westminster, late on Saturday evening Marshall and Willoughby, who belong to the gang,

were taken into custody at a private house in the neighbourhood of St. Giles's, and, after an examination, were committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell. It has been discovered that some of the property taken by this desperate and alarming combination of villains, was sunk in the New River, near Islington; in consequence of which diligent search was made on Saturday last to recover it; but we have not been able to learn whether it has been taken up.

Particulars relative to the horrid murders committed lately at his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin's palace.

His grace intending to remove from Tallagh to Dublin, for the winter, sent his steward before him, on Tuesday morning, with orders to the servants in town, consisting of a porter and housekeeper, to prepare for his reception. The steward coming to the palace in Kevin-street, about ten o'clock, found the outward gate fast; this incident surprised him, and seeing fire and smoke issue from the roof, he forced the gate, and on entering the palace found the housekeeper on the floor of an apartment near the kitchen, stark naked and weltering in her blood, her skull being broke in various places, and several stabs in the body. On searching other parts of the house in company with a few of the neighbours, the porter, an aged man, late a pensioner of the royal hospital, was discovered on one of the stair-cases, with his throat cut, so as almost to sever the head from the body. A man was after found on the leads, who is sent to prison on a strong suspicion of being concerned, and two women have been since taken up and committed

as accomplices in the atrocious act. It seems probable that the villains, to conceal the murder of the innocent servants, and disappointed in their expectations, as neither money nor plate were in the house, set it on fire. The flames were soon extinguished, without doing much damage.

His grace's porter had been supposed to have accumulated a sum of money, and against this only, it is thought, were the efforts of the bloody villains directed. It is imagined they first proceeded to attack him; and it is evident he made a great resistance, from the marks of violence on his body. On one of his shoulders there is a great swelling, from a bruise he received; and the arm, near the elbow, is entirely broken, with the bone almost perforating through the skin. An iron spade lay near him, which was probably the instrument used in dispatching him—when down they cut his throat quite across—the young woman they butchered in the same horrid manner above stairs. They then dragged the body of the murdered man to the head of the staircase, and placing his head just over the stairs, scattered a great quantity of grease all over them, and set them on fire. The fire, however, did not spread according to their wishes, and very little damage was sustained from it. A quantity of plate was in the house, which they never touched. It is evident the miscreants must have been acquainted with the house, as not a single lock or bolt was forced.

The manner in which the woman was murdered, bore, if possible, more marks of barbarity than that of the man. One of her thigh bones was broken: she had several

marks of violence on her body, and was run through the heart apparently with a small sword. The scull at the back of her head was broken to splinters, and seemed as if it had been pounded with a weighty hammer. The grease which the wretches scattered about the grand stairs, they obtained from a store-room, in which tallow and candles were kept.

Prince William Henry, in the Pegasus, arrived at Plymouth. 27th.

DIED.—At Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, Mr. Walter Henry Franklin, aged 103 years.

BIRTHS for the year 1887.

- Jan. 5. The Countess of Granard, of a daughter.
 6. Lady of Sir John W. Pole, Bart. of a son.
 14. Viscountess Turner, of a son.
 23. Lady Brownlow, of a daughter.
 26. The Hon. Mrs. Arundel, of a son.
 29. Hon. Mrs. Watson, of a daughter.
 Feb. 17. The lady of Sir David Carnegie, Bart. of a daughter.
 The lady of Sir John Frederick, Bart. of a daughter.
 24. The lady of the Right Hon. Charles Townshend, of a son.
 26. Mrs. Pretyman, lady of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, of a son.
 March 21. Lady Melbourne, of a daughter.
 29. Lady of Sir Thomas Dyke

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- Dyke Acland, Bart. of a son.
- April 2. Countess of Leicester, of a daughter.
16. The lady of Sir H. Paulet St. John, Bart. of a son.
24. Lady Harrington, of a son.
- May 10. The Viscountess Falkmouth, of a son.
14. At Dublin, Right Hon. Lady Earlsfort, of a daughter.
- At Dublin, Lady of the Right Hon. J. Fitzgibbon, attorney-general of Ireland, of a daughter.
- June 7. Lady Charlotte Dundas, of a daughter.
20. Lady of the Hon. Col. Stanhope, of a son.
21. The lady of Sir Henry Gough, Bart. of a son.
23. The Duchess of Northumberland, of a son.
- July 8. Marchioness of Buckingham, of a daughter.
11. Lady of Sir H. S. Liddell, Bart. of a son.
26. Lady Elizabeth Fane, of a daughter.
- Lady of Sir E. Smyth, Bart. of a son.
- Aug. 10. Lady of Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart. of a son.
16. Viscountess Galway, of a son.
22. Lady Hawke, of a daughter.
29. Countess Waldegrave, of a son.
- Lady Ruthven, of a son.
30. Duchess of Beaufort, of a son.
- Lately, in Ireland, the Duchess of Leinster, of a daughter.
- Sept. 16. Mrs. Thurlow, lady of the Lord Bishop of Durham, of a daughter.
- Lady Lisimore, of a son.
- Lady Stourton, of a son.
- Oct. 3. Countess of Warwick, of a daughter.
- Lady Fortescue, of a daughter.
21. Lady of Sir James Grant, Bart. of a son.
- Nov. 11. Lady George Henry Cavendish, of a daughter.
21. Lady Bayham, of a daughter.
22. Lady Deerhurst, of a daughter.
29. Countess of Tankerville, of a daughter.
- Dec. 1. Lady of Henry Banks, Esq; M. P. of a son.
9. Lady of the Right Hon. Richard Pepper Arden, attorney-general, of a daughter.
- Lady of Sir Henry Dashwood, Bart. of a son.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1787.

- Jan. 9. Hugh Owen, Esq. member of parliament for Pembroke, to Miss Owen, daughter of the late General Owen.
25. Lord Sempill, to Miss Mellish, daughter of the late Charles Mellish, Esq.
- Feb. 27. Lord Arden, to Miss Wilson, daughter of Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, Bart.

March

March 10. Hon. John Townshend, to Miss Poyntz, daughter of the late William Poyntz, Esq.

31. Joseph Yates, Esq; son of the late Sir Joseph Yates, to Miss Charlotte St. John, daughter of the late Lord St. John, of Bletsoe.

Hon. W. Forward, to Miss Caulfield.

April 8. Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke, to Miss Beauclerk.

9. Rob. Dundas, solicitor general of Scotland, to Miss Dundas, daughter to the treasurer of the navy.

12. Lord Calysfort, to Miss Grenville, sister to the Marquis of Buckingham.

May 12. Hon. Geo. Neville, brother to the Earl of Abergavenny, to Miss Walpole, daughter of the Hon. Richard Walpole.

24. Earl of Aldborough, to Miss Henniker, daughter of Sir John Henniker, Bart.

27. The Earl of Altamont, to the Hon. Louisa Howe, youngest daughter of Lord Viscount Howe.

29. The Hon. R. Lumley Saville, to the Hon. Henrietta Willoughby.

June 5. Edward Place, Esq. to Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen.

7. Reverend Sir Thomas

Broughton, Bart. to Lady Anne Windsor.

20. Lord Mulgrave, to Miss Cholmley, daughter of Nathaniel Cholmley, Esq.

26. Lord Ballendon, to Mrs. Sarah Cuming, of Jamaica.

July 7. Sir John Whalley, Smythe Gardiner, Bart. to Miss Mary Newcombe, daughter of the late Dean of Rochester.

Sir John Ramsden, Bart. to the Hon. Louisa Susanah Ingram Shephard, daughter of the late Lord Viscount Irwin.

12. Sir John Swynburne, Bart. to Miss Emma Eliz. Bennet, of St. James's, Westminster.

30. Penn. Curzon, Esq; to the Hon. Miss Howe, daughter to Lord Viscount Howe.

August 3. Hon. Charles Redlynch, Strangeways, brother to the Earl of Ilchester, to Miss Jane Haine, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Haine.

11. At Milan, by dispensation from the Pope, the Marquis Lewis Mariscotti, to Lady Sophia Butler, daughter of the late Earl of Lanesborough.

18. Lord Compton, to Miss Smith, daughter of Joshua Smith, Esq. of Earl Stoke Park, Wilts.

Sept. 17. Lord Barnard, eldest son of the Earl of Arlington,

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ington, to Lady Catharine Powlet, daughter of the Duke of Bolton.

22. Howell Price, Esq; of Carmarthenshire, to the Right Hon. Lady Aylmer.

Oct. 29. Sir John Seahouse, Bart. of, Carlisle, to Miss Asley, of St. Leger's Ashby, Northamptonshire.

Dec. 29. Viscount Sudley, son of the Earl of Arran, to Miss Tyrrel, daughter and co-heiress of the late Sir John Tyrrel, Bart.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1787, from the London Gazette, &c.

Jan. 5. Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, secretary of state in Ireland, to be privy counsellor in Great Britain.

— 10. Henry Lyte, Esq. to be secretary and keeper of the privy seal, &c. to the prince of Wales.

Henry Lyte, Esq. Col. Gerrard Lake, and Col. Smith Hulse, to be treasurers and receivers-general of his royal highness's revenues.

Col. Samuel Hulse, to be one of his privy council.

— 20. George Brown, Thomas Wharton, James Stoddart, James Balmain, and Robert Graham, Esqrs. to be commissioners of excise in Scotland.

— 26. Sir James Eyre, Knt. to be chief baron of the exchequer.

— 27. Dr. Thomas Thurlow, bishop of Lincoln, to be bishop of Durham.

Jan. 30. Rev. George Cotton, LL.D. to be dean of Chester.

Feb. 9. Sir Alexander Thomson, Knt. Simon Le Blanc, and Soulden Laurence, Esqrs. to be serjeants at law.

Sir Nash Grose, Knt. to be one of the Justices of the King's Bench.

Sir Alexander Thomson, Knt. to be a baron of the exchequer.

— 19. Right Hon. John Charles Villiers, sworn of his majesty's privy council.

— 20. Dr. George Pretyma, to be bishop of Lincoln.

— 24. George Miller, Esq. to be consul in North and South Carolina, and Georgia, and deputy-commissary for commercial affairs to the United States of America.

— 27. Dr. George Pretyma to be dean of St. Paul's, and canon residentiary.

March 17. Rev. Samuel Smith, LL.D. to be a prebendary of Westminster.

Rev. William Pearce, B. D. to be master of the Temple.

— 23. Sir John Skynner, Knt. sworn of his majesty's privy council.

April 17. John Seton, Esq. to be governor of St. Vincent.

Arthur Philip, Esq. to be governor of New South Wales.

— 24. John Edward Astley, Esq. son of Sir Edward Astley, Bart. to be one of the equerries to the Duke of Cumberland.

— 25. Gerard Fortescue, Esq. to be Ulster king at arms, and principal herald of all Ireland.

— 27. Sir Thomas Wroughton, K. B. envoy extraordinary to Sweden, to be minister plenipotentiary at the same court.

William Fawkener, Esq. to be envoy

envoy extraordinary to the grand-duke of Tuscany.

May 1. Earl of Leven, to be high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Dr. George Hill, to be dean of the order of the Thistle, and of the chapel royal, in Scotland.

Earl of Dunmore, to be governor of the Bahama islands.

— 5. William Cockell, Esq. serjeant at law.

— 10. Hugh Carleton, Esq. to be chief justice of the common pleas in Ireland.

John Bennett, Esq. to be one of the judges of the King's Bench in Ireland.

— 11. Arthur Wolfe, Esq. to be solicitor-general of Ireland.

— 14. Lord chief justice Carleton, to be a privy counsellor of Ireland.

— 23. Appointments, in the household of the prince of Wales, viz.

Lord Southampton, groom of the stole.

Viscount Parker, Viscount Melbourne, Lord Spencer Hamilton, and Viscount St. Asaph, gentlemen of the bedchamber.

Henry Lyte, Esq. treasurer.

Hon. Hugh Conway, master of the robes and privy purse.

Col. S. Hulse, comptroller of the household.

J. Kemys Tynte, Esq. Col. Sir John S. Dyer, Bart. Hon. G. Fitzroy, Col. Stevens, Lieut. Col. St. Leger, Hon. Lieut. Col. Stanhope, Warwick Lake, Esq. Lieut. Col. Sloughter, and the Hon. Edward Bouverie, grooms of the bed-chamber.

Rev. Dr. J. Lockman, clerk of the closet.

Col. Gerard Lake, first equerry and commissioner of the stables.

Col. Charles Leigh, Edward Scott, Esq. Major Churchill, Hon. Capt. Ludlow, and Anthony St. Leger, Esq. equerries.

June 1. Henry, Duke of Beaufort, to be lord lieutenant of the county of Brecon.

— 25. Lord Carteret and Lord Walsingham, to the office of postmaster-general.

— 27. Henry Partridge, Foster Bower, and Edward Law, Esqrs. to be king's council.

John Toler, Esq. to be the king's second serjeant at law, and the Hon. Joseph Hewitt to be his third serjeant at law in Ireland.

July 5. Dr. Richard Warren and Dr. Robert Hallifax, to be physicians in ordinary to the prince of Wales.

— 7. Sir George Augustus Elliott, K. B. to be baron Heathfield, of Gibraltar.

— 10. George Augustus, Lord Heathfield, to have the arms of Gibraltar, as an honourable augmentation of his family arms.

— 14. Sir George Baker, Bart. to be physician in ordinary to his majesty.

Aug. 2. George Hardinge, Esq. to be judge of the counties of Glamorgan, Brecon, and Radnor.

— 4. Lord Hervey, to be envoy extraordinary to the great duke of Tuscany.

— 8. The Duke of York, sworn of his majesty's privy council.

— 10. Major-general Grenville, to be comptroller; Col. George Hotham, to be treasurer; Col. Robert Abercrombie, Lieut. Col. William Morhead, Capt. Charles Crauford, and Henry Bunbury, Esq.

Esq. to be grooms of the bed-chamber to the duke of York.

Aug. 11. Rev. Charles Inglis, D. D. to be bishop of the new see of Nova Scotia.

— 18. Right Hon. W. Eden, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Spain.

— 28. William Richardson, John Craven Carden, Charles Desvoeux, Edward Leslie, Henry Mannix, and Richard Gorges Meredyth, Esqrs; to be baronets of Ireland.

Sept. 15. Henry Frazer, Esq; to be secretary of legation at Peterfburg.

— 24. Richard, Viscount Howe, and John Montagu, and Hugh Pigot, Esqrs; to be admirals of the White.

Molyneux, Lord Schudam, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Sir Peter Parker, baronets, John Vaughan, John Reynolds, and Matthew Barton, Esqrs; and the Hon. Samuel Barington, to be admirals of the Blue.

Marriot Arbuthnot, Robert Roddam, George Darby, John Campbell, James Gambier, William Lloyd, and Francis William Drake, Esqrs; to be vice admirals of the Red.

Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. Sir Joshua Rowley, Bart. Sir Edward Vernon, knight, John Evans, Mark Milbanke, Nicholas Vincent, and Robert Edwards, Esqrs; to be vice-admirals of the White.

Samuel, Lord Hood, Sir John Lockhart Ross, Bart. Sir Chaloner Ogle, knight, Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, Benjamin Marlow, and Alexander Hood, Esqrs; to be vice-admirals of the Blue.

Sir Richard Hughes, Sir Francis Samuel Drake, and Sir Edmund

Affleck, Barts. to be rear-admirals of the Red.

* * The following captains were appointed flag-officers, viz.

Sir John Lindfay, K. B. and John Elliot and William Hotham, Esqrs; to be rear-admirals of the Red.

Sir Charles Middleton, Bart. Sir Richard King, Knt. John Peyton, John Carter Allen, John Dalrymple, Herbert Sawyer, and Jonathan Falconer, Esqrs; to be rear-admirals of the White.

Sir John Jervis, K. B. Sir Richard Bickerton, and Sir Charles Douglas, Barts. Hon. John Leveson Gower, and Philip Affleck and Adam Duncan, Esqrs; to be rear-admirals of the Blue.

Hon. William Cornwallis, and Philip Cosby and George Bowyer, Esqrs; to be colonels of marines.

— 28. Major Generals Spencer Cowper, William Wynyard, Edward Mathew, Richard Burton Philipson, Francis Smith, John Pattison, John Douglas, Hon. Alexander Leslie, Samuel Cleavland, Hon. Henry St. John, Sir William Erskine, John Campbell, and Sir George Osborn, Barts. to be lieut. generals.

Colonels Thomas, Earl of Lincoln, John Campbell, John Leland, James Hamilton, John Scratton, Allan Campbell, James Rooke, Samuel Birch, Charles Crosbie, John Martin, Winter Blathwayte, John, Earl of Suffolk, Ralph Abercrombie, Hon. Chapel Norton, Alexander Rigby, and John Gunning, to be major-generals.

— 29. John Douglas, D. D. to be bishop of Carlisle, and dean of Windsor.

Oct. 2. John Cayley, Esq; to be consul-general of Russia.

Oct.

O&A. 25. Samuel Wallis, Esq; to be a commissioner of the navy.

— 26. Paul Joddrell, M. D. knighted.

— 27. George, Viscount Townshend, to be marquis Townshend.

Samuel Marshall, Esq; to be a commissioner of the victualling-office.

John Daniell, Esq; to be comptroller of the salt duties.

— 20. Richard, Lord Rokeby, archbishop of Armagh; James, Lord Lifford, Lord Chancellor; and the Right Hon. John Forster, speaker of the house of commons; to be lord justices of Ireland.

Nov. 2. George, Marquis of Buckingham, to be lord lieutenant of Ireland.

— 6. Hon. and Rev. Dr. John Harley, to be bishop of Hereford.

— 17. Dr. Beilby Porteus, bishop of Chester; to be bishop of London.

— 27. Charles Runnington, Samuel Marshall, and James Watson, Esqrs. to be serjeants at law.

— 30. Right Hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert, a privy counsellor.

Dec. 5. Henry, Duke of Beaufort, to be lord lieutenant of Leicestershire.

— 7. Beilby, bishop of London, a privy counsellor.

— 8. Beilby, bishop of London, to be dean of the chapels royal.

Rev. Benjamin Blayney, to be Hebrew professor at Oxford.

— 15. Rev. William Longford, D. D. to be prebendary of Windsor.

Rev. John Plumtree, M. A. to be prebendary of Worcester.

— 16. Right Hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert, chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, to be a privy counsellor of Ireland.

Dec. 29. Thomas Millar, of Barfiskimming, Esq; to be president of his majesty's college of justice in Scotland.

Robert M'Queen, of Braxfield, Esq; to be his majesty's justice-clerk in Scotland.

John Swinton, of Swinton, Esq; to be one of his majesty's commissioners of judiciary in Scotland.

John Maclaurin, Esq; to be one of the ordinary lords of session in Scotland.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for 1787.

Berkshire. William Byam Martin, of White Knights, Esq.

Bedfordshire. Joseph Partridge, of Cranfield, Esq.

Bucks. R. Dayrell, of Lillingstone Dayrell, Esq.

Cornwall. Sam. Thomas, of Tregols, Esq.

Cumberland. Thomas Whelpdale, of Skirgill-Hall, Esq.

Chester. Sir Richard Brooke, of Norton, Bart.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. William Camps, of Wilburton, Esq.

Devonshire. J. Quick, of Newton Saint Cyres, Esq.

Dorsetshire. Peter William Baker, of Ranston, Esq.

Derbyshire. Sir Rich. Arkwright, of Cromford.

Essex. J. Judd, of Chelmsford, Esq.

Gloucestershire. Sam. Richardson, of Newent, Esq.

Hertfordshire. R. Cope Hopton, of Cannon Froome, Esq.

Hertfordshire. J. Roper, of Berkhamstead St. Peter, Esq.

Kent.

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Kent. J. Cotton, of Hill Park, Esq.
Lancashire. William Bamford, of Bamford-Hall, Esq.

Leicestershire. John Goodacre, junior, of Ashby Parva, Esq.

Lincolnshire. Theoph. Buckworth, of Spalding, Esq.

Monmouthshire. Thomas Lewis, of Chepstow, Esq.

Norfolk. Edward Billingsley, of Hockwold with Wilton, Esq.

Northamptonshire. William Walcott, jun. of Oundle, Esq.

Northumberland. Edward Collingwood, of Chirton, Esq.

Nottinghamshire. T. Waterhouse, of Beckenham, Esq.

Oxfordshire. Charles Marfack, of Caversham Park, Esq.

Rutlandshire. George Belgrave, of Ridlington, Esq.

Sherbrooke. Humphry Sandford, of the Isle, Esq.

Somersetshire. Nath. Dalton, of Shanks, Esq.

Southampton, county of. Sir Henry Powlett St. John, of Dogmersfield, Bart.

Staffordshire. Thomas Whieldon, of Fenton, Esq.

Suffolk. J. Meadows Theobald, of Henley, Esq.

Surry. Richard Ladbroke, of Tadworth Court, Esq.

Sussex. Richard Wyatt, of Trimings, Esq.

Warwickshire. Thomas Mason, of Stratford upon Avon, Esq.

Worcestershire. Richard Harrison, of Temple Langhern, Esq.

Wiltshire. Isaac Webb Horlock, of Ashwick, Esq.

Yorkshire. Francis Ferrand Foljambe, of Aldwork, Esq.

Cardiganshire. J. Martin, of Alltgoch, Esq.

Carmarthenshire. Hugh Mears, of Llanstephar, Esq.

Glamorganshire. John Price, of Llandaff-court, Esq.

Pembrokeshire. James Phillips, of Penty-park, Esq.

Radnorshire. John Price, of Penny Bont, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea. J. Griffith Lewis, of Tryselwyn, Esq.

Carnarvonshire. John Lloyd, of Gassel Gyfarch, Esq.

Denbighshire. Sir Foster Cunliffe, of Acton, Bart.

Flintshire. P. York, of Maes y Groes, Esq.

Merionethshire. John Jones, of Rhyd y Iſen, Esq.

Montgomeryshire. Trevor Lloyd, of Llanafan, Esq.

DEATHS for the Year 1787.

Jan. 2. Mrs. Moss, lady of the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, sister to the Countess Dowager of Radnor and Sir Philip Hales, Bart.

5. Sir John Tottenham, Bart. father of Lord Loftus.

7. The Hon. Thomas Compton Ferrers Townshend, second son to the Earl of Leicester.

8. Lieut. general Sir William Draper, K. B.

10. Henry Peckham, Esq. king's counsel.

13. Hon. Mr. Justice Willes, one of the judges of the court of King's Bench.

14. The Earl of Carhampton, father to her royal highness the Dutchess of Cumberland.

15. The

SOUTH WALES.

Breconshire. John Jones, of Llana-vanvawr, Esq.

17. The Right Hon. Lady Petre.
18. Dr. John Egerton, bishop of Durham.

20. Lady Frederick, reliſt of the late Sir John Frederick, Bart.

Feb. 16. Drigue Billers Olmins, Lord Waltham: the title extinct.

13. The Comte Gravier de Vergennes, late prime miniſter of France.

16. George, Duke of St. Alban's.
March 8. Samuel Graves, Eſq. admiral of the White.

15. Sir William Boothby, Bart. lieut. general, and colonel of the 6th regiment of foot.

April 1. Mary, counteſs Talbot, Dowager of William, Earl Talbot.

2. Major-general Sir John Wrotteſley, Bart. col. of the 45th regiment.

Hon. General Gage, brother to Lord Viſcount Gage.

6. Sir Merrick Burrell, Bart. the title extinct.

Hon. Charlotte Fettiplace, third ſiſter of Lord Howe.

Lord Viſcount Montague, only ſon of Earl Beaulieu.

9. Right Hon. Joſeph Browne, Lord Viſcount Montague.

Hon. Thomas Molesworth.
Robert Shirley, Earl Ferrers.

Princeſs Anne Amelia, aunt to his Pruſſian Maſteſty.

The infant and only ſon of the Marquiſ of Graham.

May 6. Frederick, Viſcount Bolingbroke.

14. St. Leger St. Leger, Lord Viſcount Doneraile.

Lord Viſcount Strongford.

24. Francis Pierrepoint Burton Conyngham, Lord Conyngham.

Governor Johnſtone.

25. Hon. Francis Colyear, young-eſt ſon of the Earl of Portmore.

26. At Paris, Lord John Murray.

Lately at Paris, Lord Elcho.

June 1. Lady Jane Home, ſiſter of the late Earl of Home.

4. Miſs Dawſon, only daughter of Viſcount Cremorne.

6. Vice-admiral Robert Duff.

12. Hon. Grey Bennet, young-eſt ſon of the Earl of Tankerville.

Hon. Mrs. Molesworth, ſiſter to the preſent Lord Molesworth.

20. Hon. Mrs. Magnus, eldeſt daughter of Lord Newark.

22. Lady Iſabella Moore, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Drogheda.

27. Sir Thomas Heathcote, Bart.

July 1. James Townſend, Eſq. alderman of London.

Sir James Hunter Blair, Bart.

4. Sir Richard Jebb, Bart. M. D.

7. General John Severne, col. of the 8th regiment of dragoons.

15. Lady Iſabella Stanley.

20. Viſcounteſs Dowager Wenman.

21. George, Earl of Shrewſbury.

Auguſt 4. Major-general John Salter.

14. Lady Boughton, reliſt of Sir Edward Boughton, Bart.

Edmund Law, D. D. Lord Biſhop of Carliffe.

16. Right Hon. John Ponſonby, late ſpeaker of the Irifh houſe of commons.

22. Sir Thomas Wroughton, K. B.

Sept. 8. William Campbell, Eſq. brother-german of the late John, Duke of Argyle.

12. Jane, Counteſs of Northington, reliſt of the late lord chancellor Northington.

24. Anna Maria, Counteſs Dowager of Pomfret.

Oct. 9. Hon. Mr. Dawſon, only ſurviving ſon of Lord Cremorne.

12. Sir Richard Hoare, Bart.

20. Lord

20. Lord James Beauchamp, lord
bishop of Hereford.

24. Charles, Duke of Rutland,
lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Lately in France, George, Earl
of Dalhousie.

22. Hon. George Shirley, only
surviving son of Robert, first Earl
Ferrers.

Nov. 2. Admiral Sir James Dou-
glas, Bart.

3. Dr. Robert Lowth, lord bi-
shop of London.

16. George, Marquis of Twee-
dale.

26. Hon. and Rev. Mr. Hamil-
ton, brother to the Earl of Aber-
corn.

Dec. 1. Sir Richard Sutton, Bart.
M. P. for Boroughbridge.

7. Mrs. Mary Pitt, youngest sis-
ter of the late Earl of Chatham.

15. Lady of admiral Sir Edmund
Ableck, Bart.

21. John, Earl of Hyndford.

23. Madame Louisa of France,
daughter of the late king.

27. Thomas, Earl of Kinnoul.
Jane, Marchioness of Lothian.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

A Narrative of the Proceedings on Two Informations exhibited in the Court of King's Bench, in January 1787, against Lord George Gordon—One at the Suit of the French Ambassador, for a libellous Publication against the Queen of France, and Monsieur Barthelemy, Charge des Affaires from that Court; the other at the Suit of his Majesty's Attorney General, for a libel entitled, "The Prisoners Petition," respecting upon the Administration of Justice in this Country, particularly with respect to the Transportation of Convicts to Botany Bay, and tending to excite Prisoners to Mutiny.

ON Tuesday the 25th of January, Lord George Gordon appeared in the Court of King's Bench, and stated to the judges, that he had received a summons from the solicitor of the treasury to appear personally in court on Tuesday next after the octave of St. Hilary, to answer to an information to be exhibited against him on the king's behalf, for certain crimes and misdemeanours. His lordship said, that he had looked into the popish calendars, and those sort of books, to see what an octave meant; and that he found it was eight days from the celebration of the feast of the saint; that he had

come himself, because he was desired personally to appear, and did not intend to be at any expence, or to employ any solicitor or counsel; his reason for which was, that one learned gentleman, who had formerly asserted his innocence, Sir Lloyd Kenyon, was raised (he was glad to see it) to a very high situation; and of the assistance of the other (Mr. Erskine) he was deprived, he having been retained against him some time ago. The court informed Lord George of the course he must pursue; namely, to plead in the crown office, and that then he would have regular notice to prepare for trial; upon which he retired.—This information was at the suit of the French ambassador, for a libellous publication against the court of France.

On the day following, at the rising of the court, Lord George appeared within the bar, with Blackstone's Commentaries tied up in a handkerchief. He said, that the attorney-general had filed an information against him, which blended the distinct and different informations, *Qui Tam* and by the master of the crown office, as the judges would perceive, by recurring to the doctrines contained in their good and worthy brother Blackstone. [Here the bar could not refrain from laughter.] His lordship turned round, and told them,

them, they were ignorant of this distinction, because it had originated in bad times; and that the only apology which could be made for the attorney general was, that he was equally incompetent on the subject. His lordship continued, that he did not chuse to join issue with the attorney general, until he had communed with the court, for that he was *bonus et legalis homo*, and entitled to all the privileges of other subjects, notwithstanding he was excommunicated.—The court told him, that the first step was to appear. He replied, that he had appeared yesterday. The court then begged his attention; and told him, that the appearance must be filed; that then he might either move to quash, or might demur to the information, if it were defective on the face of it; or he might plead to it, and so come to trial.

On the 26th lord George Gordon appeared again in the court of King's Bench, and informed the court, that he had an objection to state to a process which had been served upon him. Mr. Justice Buller informed him that he interrupted the business of the court. Lord George answered, he was counsel for himself, and was as much entitled to be heard as any king's counsel. Mr. Justice Buller replied, that the attorney-general could not be heard out of his turn. Upon this information lord George stepped within the bar, and took a seat between Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Cooper. The court having heard the motions of the king's counsel, called on lord George, who arose and said, that the nature of the business he had to state to their lordships would render an apology for the interruption he had given totally

unnecessary. There was a *mistake*, or, at least, a want of proper addition to the name inserted in a process served upon him, of which he did not intend to take advantage, either by moving in abatement, or availing himself of a dilatory plea; for he wished to accelerate his trial, and prove his innocence as soon as possible. For this reason he came forward to correct the court, by pointing out the error in their process. This process was directed to "George Gordon;" without any addition whatever, which was an error; the other names were properly described, the chief justice had his style of William Earl Mansfield, and Richard Pepper Arden was denominated an esquire. He had as good a right to the additions to his name as either of these, or even George Guelph himself. This process did not describe him; it ordered George Gordon to appear in court, but did not say, whether the George Gordon summoned was the right honourable lord George Gordon, George Gordon, knight, esquire, or yeoman. He knew four lord George Gordons—which of them did this process mean? He knew above a hundred gentlemen of the same name, to which of them was this process directed? For these reasons he called upon the court to correct their process, which he knew was wrong, having as competent a knowledge in the business as any man in court. The court informed the noble lord, that in the present state of the business the addition was unnecessary, but that in case of process of outlawry, then the additions would be essential to the proceeding. Lord George rose and said, that unless the court called upon him by his right name and additions, he

he would not answer; and bowing respectfully to the bench and bar, retired.

On the 1st of February Lord George Gordon made another appearance in the court of King's Bench, and took the same exceptions to the second summons as he had to the first. He was interrupted by Mr. Baldwin, who submitted to the court, that his lordship ought first to *appear*, before he could be heard. Lord George desired he would *use his eyes, and judge whether he did not appear*. The court then told him, that formally, it was necessary that his appearance should be recorded; and his lordship saying, that he meant to meet the charge *regularly* and fairly, the master was ordered to record his appearance to the information.

The information was then read, charging him with inserting a libel in the Public Advertiser of the 22d and 24th of August, on the queen of France, respecting the affair of Count Cagliostro, with which information his lordship was charged by the clerk of the crown; and on being asked whether he was guilty or not guilty, he attempted to shew the court, that a *confession* ought not to be recorded; and produced some case of adultery. The attorney-general rose, and candidly submitted to the court, that as his lordship had *voluntarily* appeared, he was entitled to an *imparlance* to plead till next term; and his lordship making no objection to it, it was granted accordingly.

On the 25th of April, Lord George Gordon appearing in the court of King's Bench, and being called upon to plead to the several informations exhibited against him, he desired to plead to them separately;

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but this requisition being refused, he pleaded "*not guilty*" to them all. His lordship was attended by a corporal of the guards, who carried his books and papers.

On the 26th Lord George Gordon again appeared in court. He went up to the matter of the crown-office, and the secondary, and told them, that the court had been wrong in pressing him to plead, the day before, to two informations, as Mr. Jones, of the crown-office, had only served him with one: however, he would speak to the judges at the proper time; and when the other causes were over, and the court rising, he addressed the judges, saying, that yesterday he would not contend with their lordships, as to the propriety of pleading guilty to two informations at once, though he had only been served with one, because the court were his friends; and a grenadier having carried his bag, gave occasion to one of the counsellors privately to ask him, "if he came to besiege them?" That day he had brought the bag himself, and requested the court to inform him, if he might subpoena one witness, and obtain the authority of the court to recover a letter relating to the first information, as the nicest delicacy ought to be attended to, great personages only being involved in the cause between the court of France, St. James's, and himself.

The court informed his lordship, that the trial being now at issue, the delicacy was out of the question; and that he might apply to their proper officers for whatever subpoenas and papers were necessary for his defence.

On the 30th of April Lord George Gordon appeared in court, with Mr. Wilkins the printer, who published

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the papers charged upon his lordship as libellous. The information being read, he pleaded Not Guilty. Lord George took his seat among the king's counsel, and when the ordinary business of the court was concluded, arose and addressed the bench. His lordship said, he came for information; that he found by the books, that in all cases where informations were brought on the part of the crown, the officers of the crown only could proceed, whereas, in this case, not one king's counsel appeared; he therefore desired to know, if Messrs. Baldwin and Law, who had moved against him, were crown officers; or whether, in case they were not, they could act by delegation from the attorney-general? Mr. Justice Buller answered, they certainly could. Lord George then informed the court, that as a personal enmity was harboured against him by the sheriff, who, he understood, was to strike the pannel of the jury by which he was to be tried, he hoped the court would order the pannel to be struck by some other officer of the court. Mr. Justice Buller said, his lordship was irregular; that if he had any challenges to make, he might make them on the trial. Lord George answered, that if the sheriff struck the jury, he should certainly challenge the array; but his wish was to come to trial upon such fair grounds, as not to offend the jury, by challenges. Mr. Justice Buller replied, that if his lordship had any objection to the sheriff, he must state it by affidavit. Lord George rebutted, that, if called upon, he was ready to state his objections upon oath. Mr. Justice Buller sur-rebutted, that the jury was to be special, of course the sheriff could

not act partially, as he must give in a list of the freeholders at large, from which forty-eight being taken, each party had a right to strike out twelve. Lord George made his bow, and retired.

Mr. Wilkins being called to plead to the information of the attorney-general against him, for printing the petition of the prisoners to his lordship to prevent their banishment to Botany Bay, pleaded Not Guilty.

On the 6th of June his lordship was tried before Justice Buller, at the court of King's Bench, on this information, for having written and published a pamphlet, intitled, "A Petition to Lord George Gordon from the Prisoners in Newgate, praying for his Interference, and that he would secure their Liberties by preventing them from being sent to Botany Bay."—This strange performance being read, appeared to be a sarrago of vague reasoning, and absurd reference, interlarded with a great number of Scripture phrases. The passage quoted in the information was to the following purpose: "At a time when the nations of the earth endeavour wholly to follow the laws of God, it is no wonder that we, labouring under our severe sentences, should cry out from our dungeons and ask redress. Some of us are about to suffer execution without righteousness, and others to be sent off to a barbarous country. The records of justice have been falsified, and the laws profanely altered by men like ourselves. The bloody laws against us have been enforced, under a nominal administration, by mere whitened walls, men who possess only the show of justice, and who have condemned us to death contrary to law, &c."

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The attorney-general opened the prosecution by remarking, that nothing could be more obvious than the purpose for which this publication was intended.—It purported to be an address to Lord George Gordon; but, as it would appear, had been actually written by himself, with a view either to raise a tumult among the prisoners within, in an endeavour to procure their deliverance; or, by exciting the compassion of those without, to cause a disturbance, and produce the same effect. It was now but a few years since, he said, without meaning any particular application in the present instance, that the citizens of London had seen those effects completed, which this pamphlet went to produce; and the consequences were too well known to need a repetition. It included the law and the judges in indiscriminate abuse: he would not contend for absolute perfection in the latter; but those who condemned our laws should not reside under their jurisdiction. The criminal law was nowhere attended to with more care, or enforced with so much lenity.—This, however, had nothing to do with the present case, as the defendant had sufficiently shewn, by his conduct, that reformation was not his object.

John Pitt, the turnkey of Newgate, was then called. He deposed, that, in the month of December last, Lord George Gordon had repeatedly visited the lodge, and asked to see the prisoners; particularly those under sentence of death; which request was often denied. On the publication of the pamphlet in question, Lord George sent a copy to him, and others to Mr. Akerman, and Mr. Vilette the ordinary. A

few days after he found a man and woman distributing them in great numbers at the door of the prison. In consequence of this, he waited on Lord George, at his house in Welbeck-street, and told him that there was sad work about the distribution of the pamphlet; to which his lordship replied, "No matter, let them come on as soon as they please; I am ready for them." He then saw a great number of the books in the room, and took one to Mr. Akerman, at Lord George's particular desire; and also gave a direction to the residence of those persons who had distributed the pamphlets in the Old Bailey.

The records of the conviction of several persons were then read and authenticated; and Mr. Akerman, and Mr. Hall, the keeper of the New Gaol, Southwark, were called, for the purpose of proving, that there existed, at the time, convicts of the same description as those who were supposed to have addressed the pamphlet to the defendant.

Lord George asked the witnesses, severally, whether he had ever any conference with the persons mentioned in the record; to which they replied in the negative.

His lordship then entered on his defence; which was of a strange and desultory kind. A petty fraud, he said, committed in his own family, had first drawn his attention to the laws against felony, when he found that it constituted a capital crime, though the sum taken was no more than *eighteen pence*. He then entered into a history of our criminal law from the time of Athelstan, for the purpose of proving that code, in its present state, to be by much too sanguinary. This, he said, was a subject which struck

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his heart. He had communicated his ideas to Lord Mansfield, and to the recorder, who had admitted their propriety; and to Judge Gould, who had desired him to put his thoughts on paper. This was all he had done in the present instance. His idea was only to enlarge the powers of the judges, though wicked lawyers had attributed to him another intention. He quoted the act of parliament for sending the convicts to New South Wales, as a proof that the legislature thought with him on the subject: he quoted the Gazette of last Saturday, as a proof of his majesty's attention to God's laws*, which he said were directly contrary to the present practice: and he assured the court, that, if he had time to send for his books, he could shew them that every word of his pamphlet was actually in the Bible!—His lordship complained very much of those vexatious prosecutions which were instituted against him. He quoted Blackstone's Commentaries, book iv. cap. 23, who says, that "informations filed *ex officio*, by the attorney-general, are proper only for such enormous misdemeanors as peculiarly tend to disturb or endanger the king's government, and in the punishment or prevention of which a moment's delay would be fatal." This, he said, had by no means appeared in his case, as one of the informations against him had been pending for *ten*, and the other for *six* months. This extraordinary mode was therefore a grievance on him, which was not justified, as it appeared, by any pressing necessity. He exhorted

Judge Buller not to lose the present opportunity of instructing the jury on the disputed point, whether they were to judge of law as well as of fact. He then complained, that spies had been set over him by the treasury for several months; and concluded with repeating his declaration, that his object had been reformation, not tumult. His lordship spoke for upwards of an hour and a half.

Judge Buller, having briefly summed up the evidence, remarked, that there could be no doubt of the fact of the defendant's having written and published the libel, the former of which he had actually confessed. There remained, therefore, only to determine whether the averments in the information were equally true; that is, whether the judges of the different courts, his majesty's law officers, were those alluded to, on which the jury were to determine.

The jury, without hesitation, returned their verdict **GUILTY**.

The printer, Thomas Wilkins, was then tried, and found **GUILTY**.

Lord George then presented an affidavit for the purpose of putting off his trial on the second information; stating, that he had proceeded, accompanied by a proper person, to Mrs. Fitzherbert's, in order to serve her with a subpoena: that, on appearing at the door, he read the original subpoena, and at the same time presented the copy and a shilling; but was, together with his attendant, turned out of doors by the servants: under these cir-

* Alluding to his majesty's proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality.—See State Papers for this year.

cumstances,

circumstances, so contemptuous both to the name of the king himself, and his "*dearly beloved Francis Buller*," it would, he was convinced, render it indispensably necessary for the court to postpone his trial; and, as he considered the virtues of the judge equal to his abilities (both of which he admitted to be bright), he trusted his integrity would still remain unsullied, and that the court would not proceed to try him till they had convinced their power sufficient to the production of his witnesses, and believed they would not attempt to decide on him till they were first enabled to do him justice.

The attorney general said, that he could not possibly allow the merits of this affidavit. The notice of trial had been given near three weeks ago; therefore an ineffectual attempt to serve a subpoena but two days ago, could not form a sufficient claim to any further delay. He wished also to know to what parts of his defence the evidence of Mrs. Fitzherbert would be applicable.

Lord George replied, by mentioning a conversation which, he said, he had with Mrs. Fitzherbert at Paris; in relating which he intermingled so many remarks, too absurd for repetition, that Judge Buller was compelled to interpose. His lordship was with some difficulty silenced; and it was then ordered that the trial should proceed.

The information was then read; which stated, as libellous and seditious, two paragraphs which appeared in the Public Advertiser, on different days in the month of August last, relating the particulars of a visit paid by Count Cagliostro, accompanied by Lord George Gordon, to Mons. Barthelemy, the

French *Charge des Affaires*, enlarging on the merits and sufferings of the count, and concluding with some severe reflections on the French queen as the leader of a faction, and on count d'Adhemar, the French ambassador, and Mons. Barthelemy, as the insidious agents of the queen and her party.

The attorney general opened the case, and said, that amongst the great number of libellous papers which the gentleman now before the court had published, it seemed to be strange that he should go so far out of his way as to libel the French ambassador, or any gentleman left in charge for him, as it could have no view whatever but to create a misunderstanding between the two courts. The characters of gentlemen representing their sovereign were not thus wantonly to be attacked; otherwise no man could ever serve as an ambassador from any foreign court to the court of London, because they would be under the apprehension of seeing themselves attacked in the public papers, and held up as base and infamous characters, without an opportunity of gaining redress.

John Bolt was then called, who purchased two newspapers at Mr. Woodfall's office. Mr. Woodfall swore to the hand-writing of Lord George. Mr. Fraser, one of the under secretaries of state, proved the official situation of Count d'Adhemar and Monsieur Barthelemy. He added also, that the abuse contained in these paragraphs had been known and felt in the capital of France.

Lord George then put the following questions to Mr. Fraser:—Do you know any thing of d'Adhemar's family at Paris? No. Don't

you know he is of a very low and mean extraction? I do not.—Don't you know that he bears a bad character in Paris?—The court stopped him by observing, that these questions tended to nothing, as the count was ambassador at this court.

Lord George then entered on his defence; when he contented himself with re-afferting and justifying every thing he had written. There did, he said, exist a faction in Paris guided by the queen, and the Count Cagliostro had been persecuted for his adherence to the Cardinal de Rohan; and although he had been acquitted by the parliament of Paris, yet d'Adhemar continued to publish base, false, and infamous paragraphs about him in the papers, particularly in the *Courier de l'Europe*, a paper in French, published in London under the immediate patronage and direction of the count d'Adhemar. Cagliostro, therefore, threw himself under the protection of his lordship, to extend what influence he might have in his favour in this country. Count d'Adhemar, he proceeded to say, was a low man, of no family; but, being plausible and clever, had pushed himself forward to the notice of men in authority; in short, said his lordship, whatever Jenkinson is in Britain, d'Adhemar is in France. His lordship then proceeded to speak of the queen of France in the most improper manner, but was stopped by the interference of the court.

The attorney-general observed, that his lordship was a disgrace to the name of a Briton.

Lord George then continued, and said, that it was in order to have these base paragraphs explained, that his lordship, with Count Cagliostro, had visited on the French am-

bassador, where not receiving the information they expected, the paragraph in question was written and published. He therefore contended it was no libel, as it contained nothing but truth in favour of Count Cagliostro, who had as much right to the protection of the laws as Count d'Adhemar, or any other foreigner.

After a short charge from the judge, the jury instantly returned their verdict, **GUILTY.**

The counsel for the prosecution were the attorney and solicitor generals, Messrs. Erskine, Bearcroft, Baldwin, and Law. On the other side Lord George stood alone, and pleaded his poverty as an excuse for having neither advocate nor solicitor.

Before the time appointed for receiving judgment, his lordship went to Holland. Whilst at Amsterdam he received the following orders from the burgomasters of that place: "*My Lord George Gordon, by order of the high esteemed lords the burgomasters of Amsterdam, you are to leave this city within the space of twenty-four hours. Signed TELLIER, sheriff's officer.*"

In consequence of the above notice, Lord George Gordon left Holland and returned to England; and on the 7th of December was apprehended at Birmingham, by Mr. Macmanus, on a warrant from Judge Buller, for a contempt of court. It appeared that he had lived at Birmingham ever since August, conversing with nobody but the Jews, whose mode of dress and manners he had assumed, and to whose religion, it is said, he had professed himself a proselyte. He was immediately brought up to London, and a few days afterwards, by a general habeas

habeas corpus, moved for by the crown, was committed to the master's side of Newgate.

On the 28th of January, 1788, his lordship was brought before the court of King's Bench to receive judgment; and the court having heard Mr. Wood and Mr. Dallas on behalf of his lordship, and the attorney-general in reply, Mr. Justice Ashurst delivered the sentence of the court, as follows:—"George Gordon, commonly called Lord George Gordon, you have been tried and found guilty, on very clear evidence, of publishing two very scandalous and very seditious libels; the one intitled *The petition of the Prisoners*, the other published as a paragraph in the *Public Advertiser*. The first of these libels is addressed to yourself, is merely fictitious, of your own fabrication, and is manifestly calculated to excite insurrection, discontent, and sedition, among the prisoners confined under sentence of death or transportation, and to propagate in the minds of his majesty's subjects a hatred, contempt, and abhorrence of the criminal laws of this country, of all others the most famed for lenity, and to traduce those who are entrusted with the administration of them. In the other, you attempt to asperse the character of her Most Christian majesty the queen of France, and Monsi. Barthelemy, as being the instrument of a faction. It would be doing you too much honour to read in public these libels, and particularly the scurrilous language and low abuse in the prisoners petition. It were to be wished you would make a better use of your reading in the Bible, and not use the scripture style and phrase for the wicked purpose of promoting mutiny and sedition, and to undermine the

laws of your country. If you were to read the sacred scriptures to any good purpose, you would find, that one great end of religion is to promote peace and harmony, to teach men submission to government, and obedience to the law. And it will be of great advantage to the public, as well as to yourself, to learn to govern your own practice agreeably to its precepts. One is sorry that you, descended of an illustrious line of ancestry, should have so much dishonoured your family, by deviating from those rules, the observation of which induced their sovereigns at first to confer titles of distinction on your ancestors; and that you should prefer the mean ambition of being popular among thieves and pickpockets, and to stand as the champion of mischief, anarchy, and confusion. As to that part which reflects on the judges, they themselves would pass it over with that contempt which it deserves; but it highly concerns the good of the community, that the dignity of the law, and of the administration of justice, should be maintained against these attempts of ill-minded people who endeavour to bring them into contempt. By endeavouring to asperse those who are entrusted with the administration of the laws, they at last are apt to bring the law itself into contempt, and to sap and undermine the foundation of all government. With regard to the second of these libels, it appears to be written with the same spirit of malevolence and wicked intention. Every good man is happy to see peace and tranquillity again restored to this kingdom, after having been engaged for a long time in a scene of wars with France and other powers. It has been the business of persons in

this country to cement a friendly intercourse with the two nations by making a treaty of commerce, and by that means to obliterate the traces of former enmity. This you could not behold with satisfaction, and therefore, as far as in you lay, you have endeavoured to rekindle animosities between the two nations, by personal abuse on the sovereign of one of them. You have supposed the queen to be the head of a party, who had conducted themselves oppressively and tyrannically towards Count Cagliostro, who was supposed to be guilty of crimes which made himself obnoxious to the laws of his country. This was a high degree of insult on her Most Christian majesty, and it was highly necessary to repress an offence of so dangerous a nature. Other nations who do not know how liberty, and particularly the liberty of the press, may be perverted in the hands of designing men, could not believe that such wicked publications could go forth without the connivance of the state where they were published; and well might they think so, were not the author dragged forth into public punishment. It is not in the power of the law to induce a man to the performance of virtuous and praise-worthy actions, to promote the happiness of his country and the good of his fellow-creatures; but it is in the power of the laws to restrain him for a time of that liberty which he has grossly abused. And we should ill discharge that trust which is committed to us, if we were not to secure the peace of the public, by imprisoning you for a certain time; and whatever our own feelings may be for your situation, we should be criminal if we were to give way too much to those feel-

ings. Your crime consisting of two parts, the forms of law require a separate and distinct judgment; and you being brought into this court in the custody of the keeper of Newgate, in virtue of a rule of this court; and being convicted of composing and publishing a scandalous paper, called "The Prisoners Petition," and other scandals; this court does order and adjudge, that for your offence aforesaid you be imprisoned in his majesty's gaol of Newgate for three years, and be immediately remanded back to Newgate, in execution of the judgment aforesaid. And being convicted of trespasses, contempts, and misdemeanors against the royal consort of his Most Christian majesty, and Mons. Barthelemy, this court does order and adjudge you to be fined in 500*l.* and to be further imprisoned in Newgate for the space of two years, from and after the termination of the aforesaid judgment; and that you give security for fourteen years good behaviour, yourself in 10,000*l.* and each of your sureties in 2,500*l.*"

The following is a Copy of the Letter of the celebrated Mr. Howard, addressed to the Subscribers for erecting a Statue to that Gentleman's Memory, and towards the formation of a Fund, to be called The Howardian Fund, and to be applied for the Relief of Prisoners.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,
"YOU are entitled to all the gratitude I can express for the testimony of approbation you have intended me, and I am truly sensible of the honour done me; but at the same time you must permit

mit me to inform you, that I cannot, without violating all my feelings, consent to it, and that the execution of your design would be a cruel punishment to me. It is therefore my earnest request, that those friends who wish my happiness and future comfort in life, would withdraw their names from the subscription, and that the execution of your design may be laid aside for ever.

"I shall always think the reforms now going on in several of the gaols of this kingdom, and which I hope will become general, the greatest honour and the most ample reward I can possibly receive.

"I must further inform you, that I cannot permit the fund, which in my absence, and without my consent, hath been called the Howardian fund, to go in future by that name; and that I will have no concern in the disposal of the money subscribed; my situation and various pursuits rendering it impossible for me to pay any attention to such a general plan, which can only be carried into due effect in particular districts, by a constant attention and a constant residence.

I am,

My lords and gentlemen,
Your obliged and faithful humble
servant,

JOHN HOWARD."

London, Feb. 10.

Feb. 7, 1787. *Report of the Committee of Shopkeepers, relative to the Tax on Retail Shops.*

1st. **T**HAT, from their continued and unvaried experience, as well as from the most minute enquiry, the tax on retail shops is in-

deed a personal tax on shopkeepers. What they advanced to the chancellor of the exchequer as theory is now confirmed in practice; from such premises they hold themselves warranted in asserting, that the retail trader has not in any instance whatever, been able to make an advance on his commodity to reimburse him the shop-tax.

2d, That, from their investigation, the relief held out by the new shop-tax act has not had any beneficial effect on the inhabitants of the metropolis; for as that bill never held out any assistance to the persons more especially aggrieved by the tax, who were the high-rented housekeepers, whilst it was an admission of the principle of personal taxation, it has a tendency to render the shop-tax more burthensome to them, and to appear like a fine and stigma on the city of London and its environs.

3d, That cases have been laid before the committee, of shopkeepers so reduced and distressed by the load of personal taxation, as to be obliged to quit their situation in public streets, and retire, ruined and distressed, into obscure parts of this metropolis amidst penury and want, while their houses and shops have been occupied by fictitious traders, under the appellation of wholesale dealers, factors, or warehousemen, or fallen to the share of gamblers under the denomination of lottery-office-keepers, to the injury of the real trader, to the dishonour of the dignity of the metropolis, and to the prejudice of the revenue of the state.

4th, That the committee, having satisfied themselves in respect to the operation of the tax on the part of the shopkeepers, have also taken
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into consideration the benefit the state is likely to receive therefrom, and find that it must be unproductive to a considerable degree; but the committee are not able to state the precise sum deficient, from difficulties and obstructions thrown in their way, of obtaining information.

5th, That the committee are informed, in order to make up the alarming deficiency in the gross amount of the shop-tax, the surveyors and inspectors have surcharged the shop-tax on many descriptions of persons not originally charged to it, publicans and manufacturers of different articles; which conduct of the officers under government, whilst it gives no relief to the high-rented housekeeper already assessed to the shop-tax, will cause it to be held up to the public as a larger object of revenue.

6th, This committee further report, "That they have received many propositions for new taxes, which have been stated to them as much more productive, and much less objectionable, than the shop-tax, and that such taxes might be imposed is apparent; but this committee have held it their duty, as constituted for a special purpose, that of obtaining a repeal of the shop-tax alone, not to intrude new plans upon his majesty's ministers, nor to presume to give their opinion on subjects it might be urged they were incompetent to."

7th, The committee report it as their opinion, "That the constant uniform opposition of the shopkeepers to the shop-tax is not founded on party, or a desire to resist the laws of the land; but stands on a superior basis, and is a claim on the justice of the legislature."

Thos. Skinner,	W. Seymour,
James Palmer,	Jos. Stafford,
James Bate,	Jn. Ratray,
William Stock,	Thos. Denham,
Jo. Nodin,	J. Philips,
Francis Thompson,	Geo. Van Neun-
T. J. Lawrence,	burg,
David Jennings,	William Nan-
Thomas Vallance,	son,
John Maberly,	Jacob Bird.

Guildhall, 7th Feb. 1787.

AT a very numerous and respectable meeting of the retail shopkeepers of the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and parts adjacent, for the purpose of conferring with the representatives of the various districts of the metropolis, upon the most effectual measures to obtain a repeal of the shop-tax,

Mr. Jennings, of Fenchurch-street, in the chair;

The following resolutions were carried unanimously:

Resolved,

1st, That it is the opinion of this meeting, founded on the report of their committee, and from near two years experience of the operation of the shop-tax, that it is a grievance of a very heavy and alarming nature, and such as demands every legal and spirited exertion on the part of the shopkeepers to obtain redress.

2d, That the partiality of the shop-tax, though severely felt by large towns and cities, is more *evidently* burthen some upon the inhabitants of the metropolis, where the shopkeeper is compelled to stand at an enormous rent, as the primary step to obtain subsistence.

3d, That the evidence delivered at the bar of the house of commons, proving the tax to be a personal impost,

impost, stands uncontroverted upon the records of that honourable house; and the further experience of a year renders that testimony incontrovertable.

4th, That the continued and increasing unpopularity of this tax arises not from any party clamours of personal attachments, but proceeds from higher motives, the partiality and evil tendency of its principles.

5th, That, the tax being proved personal upon the trader, the right honourable chancellor of the exchequer is called upon, by the united voice of the shopkeepers, for substantial justice, by the repeal of a tax, from which he himself declared, could it be proved personal, the shopkeepers were entitled to relief.

6th, That this meeting, apprehending the principal obstacle to their having hitherto obtained relief, has been the difference of situation between the members of the legislature imposing this tax, and the shopkeepers who were the *objects* of it, are desirous that their representatives in parliament should be put into possession of every information it is in the power of this meeting to communicate, respecting the oppression of this tax.

7th, That the number of petitions which were presented to the house of commons last session of parliament, render it unnecessary to adopt the mode of proceeding by petition at this period, the principle of the tax being in no respect altered; more especially as the honourable members of the house of commons now present are considered as pledged to support the cause of the shopkeepers, and are in possession of the sentiments of this meeting to enforce their case.

8th, That John Sawbridge, Esq. and Sir Watkin Lewes, Knt. the senior aldermen, representatives of the city of London, having agitated the repeal of the shop-tax in the last session of parliament, this meeting, out of respect to the senior representative for the city of Westminster, judge it their duty to request the Right Hon. C. J. Fox to move in his place the repeal of the acts of the 25th and 26th of Geo. III. laying a duty on retail shops, unless the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, at length convinced of the hardships the shopkeepers already labour under, shall himself come forward with a proposition for their relief.

9th, That the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, whom this meeting requests to move the repeal of the act, as well as all the members attending this meeting, be requested to communicate to the committee such information as they receive in the house of commons, touching the best mode of obtaining the repeal; and the committee are directed to continue to assist the representatives in parliament with such facts from the shopkeepers, as they shall think may strengthen their cause.

10th, That this meeting are duly sensible of the exertions of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of this city, to obtain the repeal of a tax so detrimental to the city of London; and desire this committee to attend the next court, with the thanks of this meeting, as well as to assure the court, they shall be ready at all times to co-operate with the committee of the corporation, in measures necessary to be adopted in pursuit of this object.

11th, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the ten representatives

sentatives in parliament, for their attendance upon this occasion, and for their assurances of support in a cause so highly interesting to their constituents.

12th, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the right honourable the lord mayor, for his grant of the use of Guildhall, for the purpose of a general assembly of the shopkeepers, and for the disposition he has shewn to assist their endeavours to obtain relief.

The chairman having quitted the chair, and Mr. Deputy Birch being placed therein, Mr. Gould moved the following resolutions :

13th, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Alderman Skinner and the committee, for the unremitting zeal, perseverance, and attention, which they have displayed in the course of two years endeavours to serve the shopkeepers of the metropolis.

14th, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman for his prudent, candid, and attentive conduct of the business of this day.

Mr. Jennings then resuming the chair, it was resolved,

15th, That the resolutions of this meeting be advertised in the morning and evening papers, signed by the chairman.

DAVID JENNINGS, Chairman..

Some Account of the Loss of the Hartwell East-Indiaman.

THIS unfortunate event took place near the island of Bona Vista, by the ship striking upon a reef of projecting rocks; and was occasioned by the mutinous behaviour of the crew, over whom all

command was at an end from the 20th to the 24th of May, the day on which she was wrecked.

The mutinous disposition of the Hartwell's crew manifested itself very soon after they sailed from England, and is said to have been occasioned by a piratical inclination to possess themselves of a very large quantity of specie that was on board, for the purpose of purchasing teas at the place of destination.

The captain and the greater part of the ship's company had the good fortune to save themselves on a reef of rocks, three leagues north-east of Bona Vista.

Mr. Jackson, and one of the mates, with the remainder of the crew, arrived, after beating about for sixteen days, much fatigued, in a state approaching famine, at St. Vincent's.

Captain Fiott arrived in town on Saturday the 11th, in a Portuguese vessel, which he had hired for the purpose of coming to England, with his purser, some other officers, and a part of the crew. Mr. Crish the third mate, and the sixth mate, remain at Bona Vista, where the mutineers are kept in safe custody by the Portuguese, till an opportunity offers of conveying them to England. The value of the property on board the Hartwell was very large.

On the first beginning of the mutiny, the chief mate, Mr. Charles Christie, went forward for the purpose of securing one of the ring-leaders, who instantly drew a knife from his pocket, and attempted to stab him; luckily, through the activity of the mate, he avoided the blow, or he must inevitably have been killed, as the knife went through his waistcoat; in this situation

ation finding the mutiny still increase, Captain Fiott saw there was no other remedy than for him to risk every thing; and with that spirit and resolution worthy the high charge entrusted to his care, he went forward himself among all the mutineers with a brace of pistols in his hands, and brought the culprit aft, who had so daringly attempted the life of his chief officer, and, with the assistance of his officers, put him instantly in irons; during which the villain drew another knife that he had concealed, and made a second attempt to stab the chief mate, and nearly accomplished his bloody scheme on the boatswain, who was helping to secure him.

A letter was after this presented to Captain Fiott, signed with above sixty names, couched in the most abusive language, insisting on the discharge of the man in irons; and threatening the captain, if he did not instantly comply with their request, that they would release him by force.

Captain Fiott and his officers were unanimous in their opinion not to release him; the mutiny still increased, and for three days and nights before the loss they were under the necessity constantly to remain armed upon deck; and even then, in order to keep the mutineers from coming aft, two of the quarter deck guns were obliged to be loaded with grape shot, and pointed forwards. Fortunately for the captain, all his officers, and some few others to whom he had entrusted fire arms, stood by him with a spirit which merits every encomium, and from their perseverance and unanimity only was his life, with many of their own, preserved. Since the loss, it has been discover-

ed it was the intention of the mutineers to have murdered the captain, and have thrown him, with about eight-and-twenty more, overboard, that they might make themselves masters of the ship, and rob her of the specie she had on board; which attempt was to have been made the night after, had she not been lost in the morning!

Thus ended the fate of one of the finest ships that was ever built for the company's service; and a loss to the public of near 150,000*l.* occasioned by the want of subordination and discipline, so very necessary in ships of that magnitude and consequence.

Letter from the Duke of Brunswick, delivered to the four Commissaries of the Town of Amsterdam, who were sent to his Highness to agree on the Satisfaction to be given to the Princess of Orange.

“THE satisfaction which his Prussian majesty demands as his right, as you must understand, gentlemen, is entirely conformable to the articles announced in the last memorial * of M. de Thulenmeyer.

“All the other members, states of the province, are ready to give this satisfaction, and are in expectation of your concurrence. The moment that you have consented, by your deputies to the states, I shall consider my commission as terminated, and the king's troops will immediately quit the neighbourhood of your town; and the adjacent places. You know too well, gentlemen, the sentiments of her royal highness the princess of Orange, to doubt that she would rather pass over many things, than

* See the State Papers for this year.

expose

expose your town to troublesome inconveniences.

CHARLES, reigning duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh." Leumuyden, Sept. 27, 1787.

After the Return of the four Commissaries, the Town Council sent two Magistrates to the Hague, to offer to give her Royal Highness a particular Satisfaction, such as the four Commissaries had proposed in a Plan to the Duke of Brunswick; but it appears by the following Note, sent to the Town Council, that the Duke only granted an Armistice of twenty-four Hours.

"I regard the truce as expired this evening between seven and eight o'clock, the time when messieurs the deputies will be returned to Amsterdam. I am firmly resolved to proceed in the execution of my orders, unless I receive a letter from her royal highness the princess of Orange, by which she denotes, that she desires no farther satisfaction, and intercedes to recal the troops.

CHARLES, reigning duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh." Sept. 30, 1787.

Articles of Capitulation. signed by the Duke of Brunswick on one Part, and Dedel, B. Elias Arnold, and Beiker, on the other, previous to his Serene Highness taking Possession of Amsterdam.

1. A Detachment of the king's troops, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, ten chasseurs, and four orderly hussars, shall occupy the Leyden gate; and two pieces of artillery shall be placed within cannon-shot of that gate,

2. Two battalions with chasseurs shall be posted at Overtoom.

3. In order to avoid giving occasion for any disturbances, none of the king's troops shall enter the city without the previous concurrence of the magistrate.

4. The burgomasters and city council shall take the most effectual measures for securing the sluices at the Haerlem and Muyden gates.

5. Legal information shall be given daily to his serene highness of the progress made in carrying into execution the resolutions of the states, to which the town of Amsterdam has already acceded.

6. Monf. de Haaren, the Prussian commissary, shall be informed of every thing relative to the disarming, in order to report an exact account of it.

Done at Overtoom, the 10th of October, 1787.

(Signed) DEDEL, B.

ELIAS ARNOLDE,
BEIKER.

CHARLES, W. F.

Duke of Brunswick.

Letter from her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange to his Serene Highness the Reigning Duke of Brunswick, dated Sept. 15, 1787.

"SIR, Nimeguen, Sept. 15.

"THE moment your highness enters the province of Holland at the head of the body of troops the king my brother has entrusted to you, permit me to recommend again to you the interests of that nation which is so dear to me, and to whose prosperity I shall always glory in contributing as much as in my power. I could not foresee that so simple an intention as that of my going to the Hague would have had such

such serious effects, and so entirely opposite to the salutary views which determined me to undertake that journey.

I expected great obstacles before I succeeded in my endeavours to restore peace and tranquillity; but the only difficulty for which I was unprepared, because it was the least probable, was unfortunately that which deprived me of every means of attaining my end, by stopping my journey by violent means.

But if the unheard-of proceeding used towards me in Holland, a proceeding, the impression of which has only been modified by my inward knowledge of not having merited it: if this proceeding, I say, has been disapproved by all the courts, and every man of honour and good breeding, what must be thought of those who compose the present plurality of the states of Holland, to see them misconstrue and sacrifice the interests of their country to little personal views, and oblige the king to take a satisfaction they have obstinately refused to his friendly exhortations.

The king, by declaring he considered the offence as against himself, penetrated my heart with gratitude; but after the manner they dared to answer him, and the injustice which this pretended majority did not cease committing, that declaration would have raised my greatest fears for that country, which for twenty years I have considered as my own, and whose interests are inseparable from those of my house, if I had not been made easy by the declaration of the states general, that of the principal members of the assembly of the states of Holland, and of the greatest part of the nation, as well as by the mag-

nanimous sentiments which characterize his majesty.

The king could not give a stronger proof of those sentiments than by charging your highness with the execution of his orders; and the sentiments, Sir, you have desired to shew towards me, and which your highness has manifested in your declaration to the states of Holland, do not permit me to doubt of the wisdom and equity of your intentions; but your highness must pardon me if I dare to implore your clemency towards that part of the inhabitants who are blinded and led astray by passion, and to assure you I shall consider your behaviour towards them, and the protection you shew to the wise part of the nation, as so many favours done to myself. In the mean time I do solemnly declare here, that, perfectly agreeable to the moderate principle shewn by the prince in his last declaration, I will never profit from any circumstances whatever to procure my family a greater authority than the constitution and true liberty of the provinces grant it; and that for myself I shall always be ready to employ my good offices for the welfare of this country, and those of my house, without fear of trouble or disputes. I have no ambition for any influence; and I will only accept that which I owe to the confidence and friendship I have merited. It is with these sentiments, and the warmest gratitude, I shall all my life remain, with the highest consideration, Sir, your serene highness's most devoted servant and cousin,

“WILHELMINA.”

From

From the Same to the Same; Nov. 3,
1787.

"SIR,
"THE states of Holland having desired me to request the king my brother to permit 3000 or 4000 of his troops to remain some time in this province, I hasten to inform your highness of this resolution of their noble and great mightinesses, a copy of which is annexed, beseeching your highness to support this demand with your good offices: the signal marks of kindness and protection of his majesty make me hope he will not refuse them.

"I leave it to your highness's consideration, if, after the arrangement taken to disarm the unconstitutional citizens of Amsterdam, you may not regard the conditions of the satisfaction required by the king as entirely fulfilled, and withdraw the troops, except the number the states of Holland have demanded, which will be both a relief to this country, and to the troops themselves, on account of the bad season. Your highness will at the same time permit me to intercede for the inhabitants of these provinces who are prisoners of war at Wezel: I request your highness to release them, and flatter myself you will not disapprove the share I take in their unfortunate situation. When you were on the point of entering Holland at the head of the Prussian troops, you deigned to receive the instances I addressed to you in favour of this nation, whose welfare and interests in general are the object of my constant wishes: accept then at present the expressions of my gratitude, and those of this nation, who have daily dis-

covered the eminent qualities which characterize your highness. The remembrance of our obligations to you will always remain deeply engraven in our hearts, and we shall never forget that your highness has not only gloriously fulfilled the object of your commission, but that the most happy revolution has likewise resulted from it, which has restored this country to its liberty and independence, by strengthening the constitution, and re-establishing the prince my consort in his just rights and privileges. I have the honour to remain, with sentiments of an inviolable attachment, and the most distinguished consideration,

(Signed) "WILHELMINA."

The Answer of his Serene Highness the Reigning Duke of Brunswick, dated Nov. 5, 1787, to the preceding Letter.

"MADAM,
"YOUR royal highness has notified to me the request which the states of Holland have made, at the same time desiring to obtain permission from the king for a body of 3000 or 4000 men to remain for some time in this province.

Persuaded as I am of the sincere desire the king has to oblige your royal highness, and to concur towards the welfare of the republic and the province of Holland, I think his majesty will not refuse that request. I will immediately make my most humble report to the king of the contents of your letter of the 3d inst. and I think, by leaving a body of 4000 men in this province, until the arrival of his majesty's orders,

orders, I shall only fulfil his desires. As the commission sent by his highness the prince of Orange to finish entirely the disarming of unconstitutional armed citizens, and the re-establishment of the council of war, accomplished all the objects which remained of the satisfaction, I think of successively recalling the troops of the king, except those who at the request of the states shall remain, if his majesty consents to it, for some time longer in this province.

What your royal highness deigns to mention concerning the inhabitants of this country kept prisoners of war at Wezel, is analogous with the generous sentiments you shewed at the entrance of the king's troops on the territory of this republic, and I will certainly represent to the king the interest you take in the fate of these unhappy men. I esteem myself too happy in having satisfied your royal highness in a commission which so nearly concerned the happiness of the republic, and which could only succeed by the concurrence of the major part of the inhabitants, who endeavoured to free themselves from a yoke which an oppressive cabal placed on them.

Deign, Madam, to grant me a continuance of your good opinion, and to believe that nothing can exceed the profound respect with which I am, Madam, your royal highness's, &c.

(Signed)

"CHARLES, G. F."

A Copy of Mr. Pitt's Letter to the Chairman of the Meeting of West India Planters and Merchants, in Answer to their Resolutions transmitted to him, stating the Necessity of reducing the Duty upon Rum 5d. per Gallon, in consequence of his Intention to fix the Duty on Brandy at 7s. per Gallon.*

"SIR, Downing-street, Feb. 13.
"H A V I N G been out of town, I did not receive till yesterday the favour of your letter, inclosing the Resolutions of the General Meeting of West India planters and merchants. Though I should be very desirous of shewing all the attention in my power to the sentiments and wishes of the meeting, I cannot see sufficient ground for thinking that a reduction of more than 3d. in the duty on rum would be necessary in case the duty on brandy should be fixed at 7s. It will be my duty to propose a resolution in the committee on the French treaty, that the duty on brandy should not be higher than that sum; at the same time, it is my intention to propose a separate consideration of the duties on imported spirits in an early period of the session, and some farther reduction of the duties both in brandy and rum, with a view to the prevention of smuggling; but I do not conceive the reduction ought to take place in such a proportion as the meeting appears to have had in view in their second resolution. I have entered into these particulars, from wishing to apprise you as fully as I can of the present state of this business, and of my sentiments upon it. Previously to making any more specific

* See State Papers, in the Annual Register for 1786, page 286.

propofals in parliament on the fubject, I fhall be happy in any opportunity of receiving any farther communication which the meeting may think proper.

" I have the honour to be,

" SIR,

" Your moft obedient,

" and humble fervant,

" W. PITT."

On the 14th of February it was unanimously agreed, That the foregoing letter contained a denial of the request which the committee had made, viz. that the duty upon rum be reduced 5d. per gallon.

OF ALL THE

From December 12, 1786, to December 11, 1787.

Christened	Males 8929	Females 8579	Buried	Males 9821	Females 9528	Increased in the Burials this Year 1105-
Died under Two Years	6119	Fifty and Sixty	1556	A Hundred and One		
Between Two and Five	1888	Sixty and Seventy	1346	A Hundred and Two		
—Five and Ten	874	Seventy and Eighty	897	A Hundred and Three		
—Ten and Twenty	863	Eighty and Ninety	374	A Hundred and Four		
—Twenty and Thirty	1587	Ninety and a Hundred	44	A Hundred and Five		
—Thirty and Forty	1840	A Hundred		A Hundred and Six		
—Forty and Fifty	1959					

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES.	
A Bortive and Still-born	527	Evil	10
Abcess	5	Fever, malignant	820
Aged	1176	ver, Scarlet Fever,	10
Ague	6	Spotted Fever, and	182
Apoplexy & Sudden	188	Purples	57
Asthma and Phthi-	358	Fistula	13
fic	358	Flux	5
Bedridden	4	French Pox	2887
Bleeding	8	Gout	5
Bloody Flux	1	Gravel, Strangury, and	3
Burthen and Rup-	5	Stone	1
ture	5	Grief	1
Cancer	76	Head-Ach	1
Canker	1	Head-mouldshot, horse-	1
Chicken Pox	1	thoe-head, and Wa-	1
Childbed	213	ter in the Head	45
Cholic, Gripes, twist-	6	Jaundice	62
ing of the Guts	6	Impoethume	2
Cold	1	Inflammation	168
Consumption	4579	Itch	1
Convulsions	4159	Leprosy	1
Cough and Hooping-	228	Lethargy	7
Cough	228	Livergrown	1
Diabetes	228	Lunatic	38
		Measles	84
		Misarrriage	2
		Mortification	182
		Palsy	57
		Pleurisy	13
		Quinly	5
		Rash	1
		Rheumatism	3
		Rickets	1
		Rising of the Lights	1
		Scall Head	1
		Scurvy	2
		Small Pox	2478
		Sore Throat	27
		Sores and Ulcers	7
		St. Anthony's Fire	1
		Stoppage in the Sto-	1
		mach	3
		Surfeit	3
		Swelling	3
		Teeth	400
		Thrush	32
		Typany	1
		Vomiting and Loose-	1
		ness	3
		Worms	9
		Bit by a mad dog	1
		Broken Limbs	3
		Bruised	1
		Burnt	15
		Choked.	1
		Drowned	106
		Excessive Drinking	8
		Executed *	24
		Found Dead	4
		Frighted	1
		Killed by Falls and	1
		several other Ac-	49
		cidents	49
		Killed themselves	23
		Murdered	2
		Overlaid	3
		Poisoned	3
		Scalded	2
		Shot	1
		Smothered	1
		Starved	3
		Suffocated	6
		Total	254

* There have been 105 executed, of which number (24 only) have been reported to be buried as such within the Bills of Mortality.

[K] 2

The

260] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1787.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 31st of January, 1788.

EXPORTED.

1787. ENGLAND,	BRITISH Quarters.	FOREIGN Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid. £. s. d.
Wheat - - -	75,360	335	
D ^o Flour - - -	43,946	95	
Rye - - -	12,683	1,323	55,882 17 5 Bo.
Barley - - -	19,885		
Malt - - -	111,016	2,113	9 5 11 Dr.
Oats - - -	11,152		
Oatmeal - - -	1,107	893	
Beans - - -	10,114		
Pease - - -	6,377	318	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - -	4		
D ^o Flour - - -	794		
Barley - - -	1,526	- - -	1,097 1 4 Bo.
D ^o hulled - - -	62		
Bear - - -	3,620		
Malt - - -	1,276		
Oats - - -	1,258		
Oatmeal - - -	1,469		
Pease and Beans - -	558		

IMPORTED.

1787. D. ENGLAND	Quarters.	Duties received. £. s. d.
Wheat - - -	46,973	
D ^o Flour - - -	2,435	
Rye - - -	2,702	5,061 12 2½
Barley - - -	17,783	
Oats - - -	394,186	
Oatmeal - - -	1,793	
Beans - - -	36,913	
Pease - - -	2,267	
Indian Corn - - -	28	

SCOT-

1787. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
Wheat —	9,876	} £. s. d. 1,564 7 7
D ^o Flour —	55	
Rye — —	4,352	
Barley —	25,461	
Oats —	73,241	
Oatmeal —	42,784	
Pease and Beans —	3,705	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Winchester Bushel, for the Year 1787.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
5 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 10	2 1	3 11 $\frac{3}{4}$

N. B. The price of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel, 6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1887.

N.B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 prCt Reduc Con.	3 prCt Con.	4 prCt Con.	Long Ann. 1778.	India Stock.	India Bon.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
January	152½	75½	75	94½	22½	13½	39	74½		2½	16	15 6
February	150½	74	73½	93½	22	13½	26	73½		2½	15	14 18
March	151½	75½	74½	95½	22½	14	75	74½	73½	2½	21	16 9
April	154½	74½	73½	93½	22½	13½	41	73½	73½	2½	16	15 4
May	152½	76½	75½	96½	23	14½	54	76½	75½	2½	21	
June	154½	75½	74½	95½	22½	14	39	74½	73½	2½	14	
July	156½	77½	76½	96½	23	13½	60	76½	75½	2½	11	
August	154½	77½	77	96½	22½	13½	38	77½	77½	2½	5	16 3 6
September	155½	76½	77½	95½	22½	13½	56	75½	76½	2½	19	15 16
October	147	72½	73½	91	21½	13	62	72½	76½	2½	16	15 18
November	150½	73½	74½	93½	22	13½	55	72½	70½	2½	4	15 16
December	145	70½	70½	91	21½	13½	80	69½	70½	2½	4	15 16
	153½	75½	74½	95½	22½	14	67	73	73½	2½	34	15 19
	147½	71½	70½	92½	21½	13½	83	71	70½	2½	22	15 16
	152½	73½	73½	94½	22½	14	78	73½	72½	2½	32	15 16
	145	73½	67	91	21	13½	64	70½	69	1½	23	15 11
	150	70½	72½	91½	21½	13½	78	70½	69½	1½	21	15 18
	145½	69½	69½	90½	20½	13½	91	69½	69½	1½	8	15 11
	160½	76½	77½	95½	22½	13½	80	75½	75½	2½	27	16 17
	152½	74½	75½	94½	22½	13½	88	74½	75½	2½	21	15 18
	158½	76½	77½	96½	22½	13½	76	76	76½	2½	31	16 16
	157	75½	76½	95½	22½	13½	76	75½		2	22	

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1787.

N A V Y.

MARCH 16.

	£.	s.	d.
F OR 18,000 men, including 3,860 marines, at 4l. per man per month, for 1787 —	936,000	0	0
For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay of marines, for 1787 —	700,000	0	0
For the extraordinaries of the navy for building and repairing vessels, over and above the allowance for wear and tear, for 1787 —	650,000	0	0
Total of the navy —	2,286,000	0	0

O R D N A N C E.

FEBRUARY 12.

For the charges of the office of the ordnance, for land service, for 1787 —	328,576	17	3
Total of ordnance —	328,576	17	3

A R M Y.

FEBRUARY 12.

For the army 17,638 effective men (including 2,030 invalids) for guards and garrisons in Great Britain	648,687	1	0½
For forces for plantations and Gibraltar, for 1787 —	334,628	18	5
For the difference between British and Irish pay for 6 regiments and 4 companies of foot in North America, for the year 1787 —	6,834	19	2
For the pay of general and staff officers in Great Britain in the same year —	6,409	8	0
For full pay to reduced or supernumerary officers of the army —	23,110	12	6
For one regiment light dragoons, and 5 battalions of foot, employed in the West Indies —	8,230	8	7½
[R] 4			For

For the paymaster general, secretary at war, commissary general of the musters, judge advocate general, comptrollers of the army accounts, the deputies, clerks, &c. and for the amount of the exchequer fees to be paid by the paymaster general, and on account of poundage to the infantry	—	—	—	£.	s.	d.
To reduced officers of land forces and marines, for the same year	—	—	—	59,253	12	1
To reduced officers of the horse guards, for the same year	—	—	—	172,776	12	6
To reduced officers of the British American forces, for the same year	—	—	—	223	7	6
More for the same purpose	—	—	—	55,092	10	0
To the officers late in the pay of the States General, for the same year	—	—	—	4,907	10	0
For Chelsea hospital, for the same year	—	—	—	3,422	11	8
For pensions to officers widows	—	—	—	172,525	15	10
For difference of British and Irish pay for several battalions and companies of foot, for several periods in 1787	—	—	—	11,812	8	6
For extra expences of land forces, from 25th December, 1785, to 24th of December, 1786	—	—	—	3,253	11	0½
				465,117	19	11
Total of the army	—	—	—	1,876,287	16	9½

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

For civil establishment of Nova Scotia, from 1st January, 1787, to 1st January, 1788	—	—	—	5,851	17	6
The like of St. John's island, for the same time	—	—	—	1,900	0	0
The like of New Brunswick, from June 24, 1787, to the same day in 1788	—	—	—	4,300	0	0
The like of Cape Breton, for the same	—	—	—	2,100	0	0
The like of Newfoundland, from 1st April, 1787, to the same day in 1788	—	—	—	1,182	10	0
For salaries, &c. in East Florida, from 24th June, 1785, to the same day in 1786	—	—	—	2,600	0	0
For salary of chief Justice of the Bermuda islands, from 24th June, 1787, to the same day in 1788	—	—	—	580	0	0
For the civil establishment of the Bahama islands, from 1st January, 1787, to the same day in 1788, in addition to the salaries paid out of the duty funds	—	—	—	4,380	0	0
For the civil establishment of New South Wales, from 10th October, 1786, to the same day in 1787	—	—	—	2,877	0	0
To the British Museum	—	—	—	3,000	0	0
To discharge exchequer bills granted the last session	—	—	—	3,000,000	0	0

To

To Thomas Cotton, to discharge bills drawn by the governors of the Bahama islands, St. John's, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick	—	—	£.	s.	d.
To the same, out of the civil list, for the commissioners, expences on going to America	—	—	5,139	4	1½
To James Mouat, chief clerk to the commissioners, for fees, &c. for salaries, and expences	—	—	2,111	0	6
To Richard Bradley, for goods brought by him to pay the purchase of the island Le Main, in the river Gambia, as a settlement for convicts, and fees, &c.	—	—	890	0	0
For roads and bridges in Scotland for 1787, by order of General Mackay	—	—	457	10	6
To David Jenkinson, as a compensation for the three first payments towards the loan in 1784, forfeited to the public through his neglect in illness	—	—	7,234	0	0
For the forts, &c. in Africa	—	—	522	0	0
To Charles Pole, agent for Mafahod de la Mar, for the ship Herfelder, Captain Kemp Janssen Kleyn, bound from Amsterdam to Sallee and Mogador, in December 1780, being seized and carried into Dover by the Sultana cutter, Lieutenant Fabian, and detained till February 1782, and then restored by the decree of the court of admiralty, and for goods belonging to the emperor, &c.	—	—	13,000	0	0
For buildings at Somerset House for the year 1787	—	—	2,307	9	4
For the American loyalists, for present relief	—	—	15,000	0	0
To the claimants of East Florida	—	—	112,000	0	0
For repairs of Catwater harbour	—	—	13,600	0	0
To the commissioners of public accounts	—	—	1,000	0	0
To the secretary of commissioners of East Florida claims	—	—	15,000	0	0
To the secretary of commissioners enquiring into claims of American loyalists	—	—	700	0	0
To the secretary of commissioners of crown lands	—	—	4,445	19	11
To make good money issued on addresses by the house of commons	—	—	2,200	0	0
To J. Hatfell, towards printing the Journals of this Session, and an index to the 40th vol.	—	—	12,138	16	4½
To commissioners of public accounts	—	—	1,000	0	0
To G. White, clerk of committees, for trouble and expences about the returns of the poor rates and charitable donations	—	—	7,500	0	0
			3000	0	0
Total of miscellaneous services	—	—	3,248,017	8	2½

DEFI.

DEFICIENCIES.

	£.	s.	d.
To pay off exchequer bills of last sessions	— 1,500,000	0	0
The like for a further sum of deficiencies	— 1,500,000	0	0
To make good to the sinking fund deficiencies of annuities, granted by 31 Geo. II. for 1758 to 5th July 1786	—	18,574	13 10½
The like by 18 Geo. III. for 1778 to 10th October 1786	—	127,796	19 3½
The like by 19 Geo. III. for 1779 to 5th July 1786	—	35,039	13 5½
The like by 20 Geo. III. for 1780 to 10th October 1786	—	184,234	3 2½
The like by 22 Geo. III. for 1782 to 5th July 1786	—	11,205	5 11½
The like by 23 Geo. III. for 1783 to 10th October 1786	—	292,448	14 7½
The like by 24 and 25 Geo. III. for 1784 and 1785 to 5th July 1786	—	532,662	18 4½
For deficiencies and loss by repeal of duties on tea, by 24 and 25 Geo. III. in 1784 and 1785, to 5th April 1786	—	233,410	6 7½
For deficiencies of grants for 1786	—	240,324	19 10½
Total of deficiencies	—	4,675,697	15 4½

Recapitulation of the Supplies.

Navy	—	—	—	—	2,286,000	0	0
Ordnance	—	—	—	—	328,576	17	3
Army	—	—	—	—	1,876,287	16	9½
Miscellaneous services	—	—	—	—	3,248,017	8	2½
Deficiencies	—	—	—	—	4,675,697	15	4½
Total of supplies	—	—	—	—	12,414,579	17	7½

Ways and Means for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty for the Year 1787.

FEBRUARY 8.

By land-tax, at 4s. in the pound	—	—	2,000,000	0	0
By malt duty, continued till 24th June, 1788	—	—	750,000	0	0

MAY 8.

By loans and exchequer bills, three acts	—	—	5,500,000	0	0
Out of the consolidated fund	—	—	2,400,000	0	0
Surplus of imprest money	—	—	74,102	9	10
					Savings

Savings from the army in 1785 and 1786	—	£.	s.	d.
Out of surplus in exchequer for land forces in 1785	—	44,806	2	7
Surplus of the sinking fund remaining in the exchequer, 5th April 1787	—	180,000	0	0
By lottery of 50,000 tickets, at 15l. 2s. 9d. each, 500,000l. in prizes, charged on the supplies for this year, to be paid at the Bank 1st December 1788	—	1,226,072	2	11½
		756,875	0	0
Total ways and means	—	12,931,855	15	4½
Total supplies	—	12,414,579	17	7½
Excess of ways and means	—	517,275	17	9

NEW TAXES in 1787.

Additional duty on geneva imported.
Ditto on licences to deal in spirituous liquors. And
A duty of excise on French glass imported.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the opening of the fourth Session of the sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, on Tuesday the 23d of January, 1787.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE particular satisfaction in acquainting you, that since I last met you in parliament, the tranquillity of Europe has remained uninterrupted, and that all foreign powers continue to express their friendly disposition to this country.

“ I have concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the Most Christian king, a copy of which shall be laid before you. I must recommend it to you to take such measures as you shall judge proper for carrying it into effect; and I trust you will find that the provisions contained in it are calculated for the encouragement of industry and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries, and by promoting a beneficial intercourse between our respective subjects, appear likely to give an additional permanence to the blessings of peace. I shall keep the same salutary objects in view in the commercial arrangements which I am negotiating with other powers.

“ I have also given directions for laying before you a copy of a con-

vention agreed upon between me and the Catholic king, for carrying into effect the sixth article of the last treaty of peace.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have ordered the estimates for the present year to be laid before you; and I have the fullest reliance on your readiness to make due provision for the several branches of the public service.

“ The state of the revenue will, I am persuaded, continue to engage your constant attention, as being essentially connected with the national credit, and the prosperity and safety of my dominions.”

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ A plan has been formed, by my direction, for transporting a number of convicts, in order to remove the inconvenience which arose from the crowded state of the gaols in different parts of the kingdom; and you will, I doubt not, take such farther measures as may be necessary for this purpose.

“ I trust you will be able this session to carry into effect regulations for the ease of the merchants, and for simplifying the public accounts in the various branches of the revenue; and rely upon the uniform continuance of your exertions in pursuit of such objects as
may

may tend still farther to improve the national resources, and to promote and confirm the welfare and happiness of my people."

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, to his Majesty, for the foregoing Speech from the Throne.

Die Martis 23^o Januarii 1787.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your gracious speech from the throne.

"Permit us to express to your majesty the eagerness with which we take the earliest opportunity offered to us of joining the unanimous voice of our fellow subjects, in congratulating your majesty on the late providential interposition of the Almighty in the preservation of a life so valuable to your people. We acknowledge, with reverence and gratitude, the divine goodness, in averting the calamity with which we were threatened. We join in the general admiration of those virtues which compose your majesty's character; and humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, that we are happy in testifying the share we take in the loyal and affectionate attachment to your sacred person, which pervades the breasts of your majesty's subjects in every part of your dominions.

"It is with most sincere concern that we condole with your majesty upon the loss which you have sus-

tained by the unfortunate death of that illustrious and excellent prince, your majesty's aunt, her royal highness the Princess Amelia.

"The present appearances of the preservation of the public tranquillity, as well as the assurances given to your majesty by foreign powers of their friendly disposition to this country, give us the greatest satisfaction.

"We return your majesty our hearty thanks for your goodness in directing the treaty of navigation and commerce with the Most Christian king, and the convention with his Catholic majesty, to be laid before us; and we beg leave to assure your majesty, that, in considering measures of so important and interesting a nature, we shall be happy to find in them a tendency to give an additional permanency to the blessings of peace, the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce between your majesty's subjects and those of the Most Christian king, and that we shall with pleasure concur in any regulations calculated to insure those salutary purposes.

"We learn, with great satisfaction, that your majesty has taken measures for the transportation of a number of convicts, and for removing the inconveniences which arise from the crowded state of the gaols; and we beg your majesty will be assured that we shall be ready to concur in such farther provisions as may be found necessary for this purpose.

"We shall with the same readiness co-operate in whatever regulations may appear to be proper for the ease of the merchants, and for the simplifying the public accounts, in the various branches of the

the revenue; and your majesty may depend upon our best and steadiest exertions in pursuit of such measures as may tend still farther to improve the national resources, and to promote and confirm what has ever been the first object of the parental care and attention of your majesty, the welfare and happiness of your people."

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

"Your expressions of affectionate attachment to my person and government, as well as your assurances of proceeding to the consideration of the important objects which I have recommended to you, give me the greatest satisfaction."

The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King, for the foregoing Speech from the Throne, January 25, 1787.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

"**W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and to take the earliest opportunity of offering to your majesty, in our own name, and in that of all the commons of Great Britain, our most hearty congratulations on the preservation of a life so justly dear to your people. We entertain a just sense of the peculiar favour of Providence, in averting the danger to which we were exposed, and rendering it only the occasion of manifesting, in the fullest manner, those sentiments of duty

and affectionate attachment to your sacred person, which are deeply rooted in the hearts of all your majesty's subjects.

"We condole with your majesty on the unfortunate death of that most illustrious and excellent prince, your majesty's aunt, the Princess Amelia.

"It is with great satisfaction we learn that the tranquillity of Europe remains uninterrupted; and that your majesty continues to receive assurances from all foreign powers of their friendly disposition towards this country.

"We are sensible of your majesty's goodness in having directed the treaty of commerce and navigation with the Most Christian king, and the convention agreed upon with the Catholic king, to be laid before us. Both these events, particularly a measure so important and extensive as a commercial arrangement between this country and France, must be highly interesting to us and our constituents; and it will afford us the truest satisfaction to concur in any measure calculated for the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce, and which, by promoting a beneficial intercourse between the two countries, shall appear likely to give additional permanence to the blessings of peace.

"Your majesty may at all times rely on our readiness to make due provision for the several branches of the public service; and the state of the revenue, so nearly connected with the national credit and the safety and prosperity of your majesty's dominions, will continue to engage our unremitting attention.

"We shall not fail to take such measures as may be necessary for the

the transportation of convicts, in order to remedy the inconvenience which has arisen from the crowded state of the gaols in different parts of the kingdom.

"We shall diligently apply ourselves to the consideration of any regulations which can be adopted for the ease of the merchants, and for simplifying the public accounts in the various branches of the revenue: and it will be equally our duty and inclination to use our utmost exertions in pursuit of such objects as may tend still farther to improve the national resources, and to second your majesty's gracious and parental wishes for the welfare and happiness of your people."

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

Gentlemen,

"I thank you for this very loyal and dutiful address.

"The warm expressions of your affectionate attachment to my person, and the assurances of your intention to apply with diligence to those interesting objects which I have recommended to your consideration, afford me peculiar satisfaction."

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King, signed at Versailles, the 15th of January, 1787.

THE king of Great Britain, and the Most Christian king, being willing, in conformity to the 6th and 43d articles of the * treaty of navigation and commerce, signed at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786, to explain and settle certain

points which had been reserved; their Britannick and Most Christian majesties, always disposed more particularly to confirm the good understanding in which they are happily united, have named, for that purpose, their respective plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of his Britannick majesty, William Eden, Esq. privy counsellor in Great Britain and Ireland, member of the British parliament, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Most Christian majesty; and on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, the Count de Vergennes, minister and secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, and chief of the royal council of finances; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

"Their majesties having stipulated in the 6th article of the said treaty, that the duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet-ware, and turnery, and on all works both heavy and light, of iron, steel, copper, and brass, shall be classed; and that the highest duty shall not exceed ten per cent. *ad valorem*," it is agreed, that cabinet ware and turnery, and every thing that is included under those denominations, as also musical instruments, shall pay ten per cent. *ad valorem*.

All articles made of iron or steel, pure or mixed, or worked and mounted with other substances, not exceeding in value sixty *Livres Tournois*, or fifty shillings per quintal, shall pay only five per cent. *ad valorem*; and all other wares, as buttons, buckles,

* See this treaty, page 266 of the State Papers, in the Annual Register for 1786.

knives, scissars, and all the different articles included under the description of hardware and cutlery, as also all the other works of iron, steel, copper, and brass, pure or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, shall pay ten per cent. *ad valorem*.

If either of the two sovereigns should think proper to admit the said articles, or only some of them, from any other nation, by reason of their utility, at a lower duty, the subjects of the other sovereign shall be allowed to participate in such diminution, in order that no foreign nation may enjoy, in this respect, any preference to their disadvantage.

The works of iron, steel, copper, and brass above mentioned, are not to be understood to extend to bar iron or pig iron, or in general to any kind of iron, steel, copper, or brass, in the state of the raw material.

ARTICLE II.

"Their majesties having also stipulated, in the 6th article, That for the better securing the due collection of the duties payable *ad valorem*, which are specified in the tariff, they will concert with each other the form of the declarations to be made, and the proper means of preventing fraud with respect to the real value of the goods and merchandizes," it is agreed, that each declaration shall be given in writing, signed by the merchant, owner, or factor, who answers for the merchandizes at their entry, which declaration shall contain an exact list of all the said merchandizes, and of their packages, of the marks, numbers, and cyphers, and of the contents of each bale or case, and shall certify that they are of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the

kingdom from whence they are imported, and shall also express the true and real value of the said merchandizes, in order that the duties may be paid in consequence thereof. That the officers of the custom-house where the declaration may be made shall be at liberty to make such examination as they shall think proper of the said merchandizes, upon their being landed, not only for the purpose of verifying the facts alledged in the said declaration that the merchandizes are of the produce of the country therein mentioned, and that the statement of their value and quantity is exact, but also, for that of preventing the clandestine introduction of other merchandizes in the same bales or cases; provided nevertheless, that such examinations shall be made with every possible attention to the convenience of the traders, and to the preservation of the said merchandizes.

In case the officers of the customs should not be satisfied with the valuation made of the merchandizes in the said declaration, they shall be at liberty, with the consent of the principal officers of the customs at the port, or of such other officer as shall be appointed for that purpose, to take the said merchandizes according to the valuation made by the declaration, allowing to the merchant or owner an overplus of 10 per cent. and refunding to him the duties he may have paid for the said merchandizes. In which case the whole amount shall be paid, without delay, by the custom-house of the port, if the value of the effects in question shall not exceed four hundred and eight *livres tournois*, or twenty pounds sterling; and within fifteen days at latest, if their value shall exceed that sum.

And

And if doubts should happen to arise respecting the value of the said merchandizes, or the country of which they are the produce, the officers of the customs at the port shall come to a determination thereupon with all possible dispatch, and no greater space of time shall be employed for that purpose, in any case, than eight days, in the ports where the officers who have the principal direction of the customs reside, and fifteen days in any other port whatsoever.

It is supposed, and understood, that the merchandizes admitted by the present treaty shall be respectively of the growth, produce, or manufactures of the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe.

To oblige the traders to be accurate in the declarations required by the present article, as also to prevent any doubt that might arise on that part of the 16th article of the said treaty, which provides that if any of the effects are omitted in the declaration delivered by the master of the ship, they shall not be liable to confiscation, unless there be a manifest appearance of fraud; it is understood, that in such case, the said effects shall be confiscated, unless satisfactory proof be given to the officers of the customs that there was not any intention of fraud.

ARTICLE III.

In order to prevent the introduction of calicoes manufactured in the East Indies, or in other countries, as if they had been manufactured in the respective dominions of the two sovereigns of Europe, it is agreed, that the calicoes manufactured in the said dominions, for exportation from one country to the other respectively, shall have at the two ends of each piece a particular mark, woven

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in the piece, to be settled in concert by the two governments, of which mark the respective government shall give nine months previous notice to the manufacturers; and the said mark shall be altered from time to time, as the case may require. It is further agreed, that until the said precaution can be put in execution the said calicoes mutually exported shall be accompanied by a certificate of the officers of the customs, or of such other officers as shall be appointed for that purpose, declaring that they were fabricated in the country from whence they were exported, and also that they are furnished with the marks already prescribed in the respective countries, to distinguish such calicoes from those which come from other countries.

ARTICLE IV.

In settling the duties upon cambrics and lawns, it is understood that the breadth should not exceed, for the cambrics, seven-eighths of a yard, English measure (about three quarters of an ell of France); and for the lawns, one yard and a quarter, English measure (one ell of France) and if any shall hereafter be made of a greater breadth than what is above-mentioned, they shall pay a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*.

ARTICLE V.

It is also agreed, that the stipulations in the eighteenth article of the treaty shall not be construed to derogate from the privileges, regulations, and usages already established in the cities or ports of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns; and further, that the twenty-fifth article of the said treaty shall be construed to relate only to ships suspected of carrying, in time of war, to the

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enemies

enemies of either of the high contracting parties any prohibited article, denominated contraband; and the said article is not to hinder the examinations of the officers of customs, for the purpose of preventing illicit trade in the respective dominions.

ARTICLE VI.

Their majesties having stipulated, by the forty-third article of the said treaty, that the nature and extent of the functions of the consuls should be determined, "and that a convention relative to this point should be concluded immediately after the signature of the present treaty, of which it should be deemed to constitute a part," it is agreed that the said ulterior convention shall be settled within the space of two months, and that, in the mean time, the consuls general, consuls, and vice-consuls, shall conform to the usages which are now observed, relative to the consulship, in the respective dominions of the two sovereigns; and that they shall enjoy all the privileges, rights, and immunities belonging to their office, and which are allowed to the consuls general, consuls, and vice-consuls, of the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE VII.

It shall be lawful for the subjects of his Britannic majesty to prosecute their debtors in France, for the recovery of debts contracted in the dominions of his said majesty, or elsewhere, in Europe, and there to bring actions against them, in conformity to the practice of law in use in the kingdom: provided that there shall be the like usage in favour of French subjects, in the

European dominions of his Britannic majesty.

ARTICLE VIII.

The articles of the present convention shall be ratified and confirmed by his Britannic majesty, and by his Most Christian majesty, in one month, or sooner, if it can be done, after the exchange of signatures between the plenipotentiaries.

In witness whereof, we the ministers plenipotentiary have signed the present convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be set thereto.

Done at Versailles, the Fifteenth of January, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-seven.

WM. EDEN, (L. S.)
GRAVIER de VERGENNES, (L. S.)

Letter from the King of Prussia to the States General of the United Provinces, on the Recall of the Comte de Goertz, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to their High Mightinesses.

HIGH and mighty lords, and particularly good friends and neighbours:

As I sent my minister of state, the Comte de Goertz, some time since, to assure your high mightinesses of my sincere friendship and consideration for the republic of the United Provinces, and in order to contribute all in my power towards the re-establishment of the interior tranquillity of their country, your high mightinesses must, by that, be fully convinced of my sentiments: but the principal purport of the mission

mission of the Comte de Goertz having, to my great regret, not answered the end proposed, I cannot neglect the recall of that minister any longer. I charged him to assure your high mightinesses again, that I desired nothing more warmly than the repose and prosperity of your republic. And I am, with consideration and friendship, the good friend and neighbour of your high mightinesses.

(Signed)

FREDERIC WILLIAM.
and underneath,

FINKENSTEIN HERTSBERG.
Berlin, Jan. 27, 1787.

The Speech of his Grace Charles Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 18, 1787.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAD hoped, that upon the present occasion of meeting you again in parliament, it would have been in my power to have announced to you the entire suppression of those commotions which in some parts of the kingdom have disturbed the general tranquillity. Under the present circumstances I am persuaded, by my confidence in the accustomed proofs of your wisdom and zeal, that I shall receive from you whatever assistance may be necessary for the more effectual vindication of the laws, and the protection of society. Your uniform regard for the rights of all your fellow-subjects, and your zealous attachment to the religious and civil constitutions of your country, will stimulate your attention to their inseparable interests, and will ensure

your especial support of the established church, and the respectable situation of its ministers.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you: and I trust you will make the necessary provisions for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

An act was passed in the last session of the British parliament for the further increase of shipping and navigation. You will, I doubt not, take proper measures to confirm to this country a full participation of its advantages.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, by the king's command, that his majesty has concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the Most Christian king. A copy of this treaty will be laid before you, in which you will not fail to observe the attention which is paid to the interests of this kingdom; and I trust that your adoption of it here, by such laws as may be requisite to give it effect, will be attended with real benefit to the country, by successfully encouraging the efforts of her industry and emulation.

The trade and manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of this kingdom; the protestant charter schools, and other public institutions for charitable purposes, will not fail to engage your constant care and encouragement: and I hope that some liberal and extensive plan for the general improvement

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of education will be matured for an early execution.

A longer acquaintance with this country strengthens my anxious wishes for its welfare; and I shall experience the most sensible gratification, if in my administration of the king's government, I can, with a success in any degree correspondent to those wishes, accomplish his majesty's earnest desire to promote and secure the happiness and prosperity of Ireland.

The Speech of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, on presenting the Money Bills at the Bar of the House of Lords, March 17, 1787.

May it please your Grace,
THE wisdom of the principle which the commons have established and persevered in, under your grace's auspices, of preventing the further accumulation of national debt, is now powerfully felt throughout the kingdom, in its many beneficial consequences—public credit has gradually risen to a height unknown for many years—agriculture has brought in new supplies of wealth—and the merchants and manufacturers are each encouraged to extend their efforts, by the security it has given them, that no new taxes will obstruct the progress of their works, or impede the success of their speculations.

Such is the happy situation of this kingdom from the support which your grace's constant and zealous care has given to the operation of that principle; and this situation is peculiarly fortunate at the present period, when his majesty's gracious

attention to the interests of his people has opened new objects of manufacture, and new channels of commerce to their industry.

Happy, however, as our situation is, we know that all its blessings will be a vain expectation, if a spirit of outrage and opposition to law shall prevent internal industry, and depreciate the national character; we have, therefore, applied ourselves to form such laws as must, under the firmness and justice of your grace's government, effectually and speedily suppress that lawless spirit.

His majesty's faithful commons do now cheerfully continue all the present taxes; and having constantly experienced how well founded their confidence has been in your grace's prudent administration of the public treasure, they do with the greater satisfaction declare, that they give and grant them in the most decided expectation, that, by your grace's frugal and just management of the public revenue, they will be rendered sufficient to answer the public expence, without the further accumulation of debt or increase of taxes.

The Speech of his Grace Charles Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, on their Prorogation, May 28, 1787.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IN relieving you from further attendance in the present session of parliament, I have the satisfaction of signifying to you his majesty's entire approbation of the wise and vigorous measures by which you have distinguished your zeal for the preservation of the public peace, and the

the tranquillity of the country. My strenuous exertions shall not be wanting to carry your salutary provisions into execution, to assert the just dominion of the laws, and to establish the security of property, as well as personal safety, to all descriptions of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom.

The decided tenor of your conduct assures me of your continued and cordial assistance, and that you will, with your utmost influence, impress upon the minds of the people a full conviction what dangerous effects to the general welfare, and to the growing prosperity of the nation, arise from the prevalence of even partial or temporary disturbance. Admonish them, that the benevolent but watchful spirit of the legislature, which induces it to encourage industry and exertion, will, at the same time, be awake to the correction of those excesses, which are the inseparable companions of idleness and licentious disorder.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you, in the king's name, for the supplies which you have so cheerfully provided for the support of his majesty's government. You may depend upon their being faithfully applied to the purposes for which they are granted.

The measures which you have taken for increasing public credit and diminishing the national debt, are consonant to that wisdom and affection to your country which have ever distinguished the parliament of Ireland.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

- A new and powerful incitement

to the national industry has been opened by the treaty of commerce with France, in which the utmost attention is manifested to the interests of Ireland. The claims of this kingdom to an equal participation in treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, have been acknowledged by the court of Lisbon. These are decided testimonies of his majesty's paternal regard, and fresh confirmations of his gracious resolution to consider the interest of Great Britain and Ireland as inseparable: a principle which, by uniting the faculties and affections of the empire, gives strength and security to every part of it; a principle which, with your accustomed wisdom, you have still further corroborated by the late arrangement of your laws of navigation.

The loyalty and attachment of his faithful people of Ireland are highly grateful to the king; and by his majesty's express command I am to assure you of his most gracious and affectionate protection.

To fulfil my sovereign's pleasure, which constantly directs me to study the true happiness of this kingdom, is the great and settled object of my ambition; and upon this basis I shall hope to have established a permanent claim to your good opinion, and to the confidence and regard of the people of Ireland.

Memorial presented to the States General of the United Provinces, by his Excellency the Baron de Thulemeyer, Envoy Extraordinary from his Majesty the King of Prussia.

THE orders of his Prussian majesty command his envoy extraordinary undersigned, to communicate

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nicate to your high mightinesses the memorial here annexed, which he has the honour of transmitting to their noble and grand powers the States of Holland, respecting the attack made upon the august person of the sister of his majesty, and the repeated demand of a proportionate satisfaction for that insult.

His majesty is anxious to give your high and powerful mightinesses this new mark of his confidence and friendship. He gratefully returns his approbation of the conduct which you have adopted and adhered to in the course of the whole of this disagreeable event, and the repeated exhortations you have made use of to bring about such disposition as his majesty has a right to expect, from the province chiefly interested in rendering satisfaction to the honour and just demands of a prince, the friend and neighbour of the republic.

His majesty does not in the least doubt that your high mightinesses will persevere in the same proceedings, and contribute to effect, without loss of time, such satisfaction as the king demands.

(Signed) DE THULEMEYER.
At the Hague,
Aug. 6, 1787.

Memorial presented to their noble and grand powers the States of Holland and West Friesland, by his Excellency the Baron de Thulemeyer, Envoy Extraordinary from his Prussian Majesty.

*Noble, grand, and powerful
Lords,*

THE undersigned envoy extraordinary from his Prussian

majesty has transmitted to the king his master the resolution which your noble and grand powers have ordered to be returned, in answer to his memorial of the 10th of July, respecting the attack made upon the person of the august sister of the monarch.

The king could not, without extreme surprize, learn, that instead of fulfilling his just expectations of an offer of satisfaction proportioned to the insult, an answer has been grounded on arguments evasive and insufficient. His majesty will not dissemble to your noble, great, and powerful lords, that the pretended ignorance of the motives which have conducted her royal highness to the Hague, and the apprehension of a popular tumult, will never give a colour of excuse to the proceedings of the commissioners sitting at Woerden. Such a suspection, ostentatiously published, is a new insult. The word of the princess, her solemn declaration that she did not undertake the journey to the Hague, but from motives the most pure,—namely, to quiet all minds, and to point out the means of a general reconciliation in the provinces, were sufficient to give the deputies of your noble and grand mightinesses the most perfect conviction of her intentions. If the people, overflowing with love and gratitude to the illustrious house of the founders of the liberty and independence of the Belgic states, should have forgot themselves, and become tumultuous; if the presence of the august consort of the stadtholder should have produced such demonstrations of joy as would have affected the public tranquillity, the means of making the residence of the sovereign

reign secure from any attack, and unproductive of any danger, which was probably exaggerated in expectation, were left then to the discretion of your noble and grand mightinesses.

The care besides with which her royal highness had prevented any public testimony from being made of improper and ill-timed zeal, by concealing from the public the knowledge of her approaching arrival, was a circumstance which gave her a new claim to the acknowledgements of government.

It is at the Hague, noble, grand, and powerful lords, it is in your own residence, where every citizen ought to enjoy full liberty, as established by the enlightened wisdom of your ancestors, that the resolution was taken, to deny an entrance into the province of Holland to the sister of a great monarch, to the consort of a prince invested with the first honours of your state.

The king will not trouble himself with enquiring into the legality of the right of refusal which the commission of Woerden assumed to itself upon this occasion.

His majesty will, however, consider more attentively the manner in which it was given and executed. A number of armed persons surrounding the carriage of her royal highness, and the retinue that followed her, was rather becoming a prisoner of state than a great princess, entitled to respect from her illustrious birth, her noble and eminent qualifications, her virtues, and her sentiments, which she has constantly and invariably consecrated to the service of the republic. Her royal highness is scarcely arrived at Schoonhoven, when guards are sta-

tioned in all the avenues of her house, and an officer even placed in her apartment, with a naked sword in his hand. Proceedings so outrageous and offensive have made a deep impression upon the mind of the king my master. His majesty considers this injury as offered to himself; and it is at the instance, and in conformity with the express orders of his majesty, that the undersigned again makes a demand from your noble and grand powers, of an immediate and suitable satisfaction for the insult which has been offered. His majesty farther enjoins me not to suffer you to remain ignorant that he will insist invariably upon this satisfaction; and that he will not content himself with a discussion of detached circumstances, vague excuses, or farther shifts and evasions. The king is by no means insensible of the respect due to the republic of the united provinces, and the illustrious assembly of the states general, which represent the sovereignty of the states with regard to foreign powers. His majesty has been pleased to approve, with the most grateful acknowledgements, of the declared disavowal and discountenance which their high mightinesses have manifested to the measures adopted in Holland, respecting the point which makes the subject of the present memorial.

The testimonies of friendship which the king and his august predecessors have at all times been eager to give to the republic of the united provinces, on many interesting and critical occasions, authorize his majesty to expect from your noble and grand powers a just return of respect, and a reparation of the grievance which the undersigned is

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charged

charged to repeat his complaint or. It is from your prudence, noble, grand, and powerful lords, and the result of your farther deliberations on this subject, that his majesty expects an answer, speedy and satisfactory.

(Signed) DE THULEMEYER.
At the Hague;
Aug. 6, 1787.

Memorial presented to their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, Aug. 14, 1787, by Sir James Harris, K. B. the British ambassador at the Hague.

High and mighty Lords,

THE king, animated with the truest and most sincere sentiments of friendship for your high mightinesses, cannot without extreme pain see the continuation of the unfortunate troubles which subsist in the republic of the United Provinces; and which, by their continuation, threaten the most grievous consequences.

The memorials which the undersigned envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary has presented to your high mightinesses, since he had the honour to reside here, have shewn, that the king his master, as a good friend and neighbour of the republic, has never ceased desiring to see peace re-established; and his majesty will be always disposed to co-operate on his part, in such a manner as your high mightinesses may judge proper.

His majesty having observed that the states of the provinces of Zealand and Friesland have declared their disposition to ask the mediation of some neighbouring powers,

(in case that your high mightinesses judge such intervention necessary) and that of Zealand, has called to mind, on this occasion, the repeated assurances which the king has given of his friendship for the United Provinces; the undersigned has expressed orders to assure your high mightinesses that his majesty has constantly strongly at heart the re-establishment of the tranquillity of the republic, the preservation of the true constitution, and the maintenance of the just rights and privileges of all its members. His majesty feels the greatest satisfaction, in having reason to think that the internal means furnished by the constitution itself have power sufficient to accomplish so salutary an object. But at the same time, if your high mightinesses are decided, that it is necessary to recur to a foreign mediation, and to invite his majesty; then, in natural consequence of his affection, and of his good will for the republic, the king will be eager to prove to your high mightinesses his sincere desire to employ all the care that may depend on his majesty to bring the negotiation to a happy, solid, and permanent issue.

JAMES HARRIS.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King.

Signed at Versailles, Aug. 31, 1787.

DIFFICULTIES have arisen in the East Indies, relative to the meaning and extent of the thirteenth article of the treaty of peace, signed at Versailles, Sept. 3, 1783; his Britannic majesty, and his most Christian majesty, with a view to remove

remove every cause of dispute between their respective subjects in that part of the world, have thought proper to make a particular convention, which may serve as an explanation of the thirteenth article above-mentioned. In this view, their said majesties have named for their respective plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of his Britannic majesty, William Eden, Esq. privy counsellor in Great Britain and Ireland, member of the British parliament, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; and, on the part of his most Christian majesty, the Sieur Armand Mark, Count de Montmorin de St. Herem, marshal of his camps and forces, counsellor in all his councils, knight of his order and of the golden fleece, minister and secretary of state, and of his commands and finances, having the department of foreign affairs; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. His Britannic majesty again engages "to take such measures as shall be in his power for securing to the subjects of France a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the French East India company," and as it is explained in the following articles, "whether they exercise it individually, or as a company;" as well in the Nabobship of Arcot, and the countries of Madura and Tanjore, as in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, in the northern circars, and in general in all the British possessions on the coasts of Orixá, Coromandel, and Malabar.

II. In order to prevent all abuses and disputes relative to the impor-

tation of salt, it is agreed that the French shall not import annually into Bengal more than two hundred thousand maunds of salt: the said salt shall be delivered at a place of deposit appointed for that purpose by the government of Bengal, and to officers of the said government, at the fixed price of one hundred and twenty rupees for every hundred maunds.

III. There shall be delivered annually for the French commerce, upon demand of the French agent in Bengal, eighteen thousand maunds of saltpetre, and three hundred chests of opium, at the price established before the late war.

IV. The six ancient factories, namely, Chandernagore, Cossimbuzar, Decca, Jugdea, Balasore, and Patna, with the territories belonging to the said factories, shall be under the protection of the French flag, and subject to the French jurisdiction.

V. France shall always have possession of the ancient houses of Soopore, Keerpoy, Cannicole, Mohunpore, Serampore, and Chittagong; as well as the dependencies on Soopore, viz. Gantjurat, Alsende, Chintzabad, Patorcha, Monepore, and Dolobody; and shall further have the faculty of establishing new houses of commerce; but none of the said houses shall have any jurisdiction, or any exemption from the ordinary justice of the country exercised over British subjects.

VI. His Britannic majesty engages to take measures to secure French subjects, without the limits of the ancient factories above-mentioned, an exact and impartial administration of justice in all matters concerning their persons or properties, or the carrying on their trade,
in

tually as to his own subjects.

VII. All Europeans as well as natives, against whom judicial proceedings shall be instituted, within the limits of the ancient factories above-mentioned, for offences committed, or debts contracted, within the said limits, and who shall take refuge out of the same, shall be delivered up to the chiefs of the said factories; and all Europeans, or others whatsoever, against whom judicial proceedings shall be instituted, within the said limits, and who shall take refuge within the same, shall be delivered up by the chiefs of the said factories, upon demand being made of them by the governor of the country.

VIII. All the subjects of either nation respectively, who shall take refuge within the factories of the other, shall be delivered up on each side, upon demand being made of them.

IX. The factory of Yanam, with its dependencies, having, in pursuance of the said treaty of peace, been delivered up by Mr. William Hamilton on the part of his Britannic majesty, to Mr. Peter Paul Martin, on the part of his most Christian majesty, the restitution thereof is confirmed by the present convention, in the terms of the instrument bearing date the seventh of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, and signed by Messieurs Hamilton and Martin.

X. The present convention shall be ratified and confirmed in the space of three months, or sooner if it can be done, after the exchange of signatures between the plenipotentiaries.

In witness whereof we, ministers plenipotentiary, have signed the

ed the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, Aug. 31, 1787.

WM. EDEN, (L. S.)

LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN, (L. S.)

Translation of the Declaration and Counter-Declaration which were respectively signed and exchanged at Versailles, on the 27th of October, by his Grace the Duke of Dorset, his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Right Honourable William Eden, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, on the Part of his Majesty; and by the Count de Montmorin, his most Christian Majesty's Minister and Secretary of State, having the Department of Foreign Affairs, on the part of his most Christian Majesty.

DECLARATION.

THE events which have taken place in the republic of the United Provinces, appearing no longer to leave any subject of discussion, and still less of contest, between the two courts, the undersigned are authorized to ask, whether it is the intention of his most Christian majesty to carry into effect the notification made on the 16th of September last, by his most Christian majesty's minister plenipotentiary, which, by announcing that succours would be given in Holland, has occasioned the naval armaments on the part of his majesty; which armaments have become reciprocal.

If the court of Versailles is disposed to explain itself upon this subject,

subject, and upon the conduct to be adopted towards the republic, in a manner conformable to the desire which has been expressed on both sides, to preserve the good understanding between the two courts; and it being also understood, at the same time, that there is no view of hostility towards any quarter, in consequence of what has passed; his majesty, always anxious to concur in the friendly sentiments of his most Christian majesty, would agree with him, that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, should be discontinued on each side, and that the natives of the two nations should be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the first of January of the present year.

Verfailles, 27th of Oct. 1787.

DORSET.

WM. EDEN.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

The intention of his majesty not being, and never having been, to interfere by force in the affairs of the republic of the United Provinces, the communication made to the court of London on the 16th of last month, by Monsieur Barthelemy, having had no other object than to announce to that court an intention, the motives of which no longer exist, especially since the king of Prussia has imparted his resolution; his majesty makes no difficulty to declare, that he will not give any effect to the declaration above-mentioned; and that he retains no hos-

tile view towards any quarter relative to what has passed in Holland. His majesty, therefore, being desirous to concur with the sentiments of his Britannic majesty for the preservation of the good harmony between the two courts, agrees with pleasure with his Britannic majesty, that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, shall be discontinued on each side; and that the navies of the two nations shall be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the first of January of the present year.

Verfailles, 27th Oct. 1787.

LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN.

In consequence of the declaration and counter-declaration exchanged this day, the undersigned, in the name of their respective sovereigns, agree, that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, shall be discontinued on each side, and that the navies of the two nations shall be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the first of January of the present year.

Verfailles, Oct. 27, 1787.

DORSET.

W. EDEN.

LE CTE DE MONTMORIN.

The Emperor's Declaration to the States of his Belgic Provinces, July 3, 1787, in Answer to their Remonstrance of the 22d of June.*

To the Right Reverend and Reve-

* This remonstrance contained the motives of their proceedings in opposition to the emperor's reforms; and which proceedings they declare "have no other foundation than the firmest persuasion that the *new system* is as destructive to "the interests of his imperial majesty, as to the welfare of his Belgic people."

rend

*rend Fathers in God, noble, dear,
and well-beloved; we the Emperor
and King.*

MY chancellor of state has presented me your remonstrance dated the 22d of June last; and I wish, in answer to its contents, to acquaint you, by these presents, that it never was my intention to overturn the constitution of my provinces in Flanders, and that all the instructions with which I have charged my governors-general have invariably tended, and without even the shadow of any personal interest, to the advantage of my faithful subjects in the Low Countries; at the same time that I would not deprive the body of the nation of any of their ancient rights, privileges, and liberties enjoyed by them. Every step I have taken ought to convince you of the truth of this assertion, if you yet remain willing to render them the justice which is their due.

I occupied myself on some reforms in the administration of justice, only at the instance of numerous and repeated requests that were made me, praying to obtain a shorter or less difficult mode of proceedings in law; and the superintendants appointed in consequence had no other aim than to see that the laws were put in force, and that those who were amenable to them should pay them proper regard.

In regard to many ancient privileges, I only wish to reform, at the desire of those concerned, the abuses that were become hurtful, and which had crept in by the lapse of time, contrary to the intent of their original purposes.

Far, then, from foreseeing any opposition, and especially one so criminal and bold, I expected that the states of my provinces in Flanders

would have entered on the new regulations with as much alacrity as gratitude: and I still am willing, as a kind guardian, and as a man who knows how to commiserate the ill-advised, and who wishes to forgive, to attribute what has yet been done, and what you have dared to do, to a misinterpretation of my intentions, made and spread abroad by persons more attached to their private interest than to the general good, and who have no estate to lose.

Be it as it may, it is my pleasure that the execution of the new ordinances in question should remain, for the present, suspended; and when their royal highnesses, my lieutenants and governors-general, agreeably to the intentions which I have lately communicated to them, shall be assembled at Vienna with the deputies of the different states, to represent before me their grievances aloud, and to learn my intentions, which they will always find calculated, on the principles of the strictest justice, and tending solely to the benefit of my subjects, we will then agree on some regulations to be made for the general good, according to the established law of the land.

But if, contrary to every intent, this last token of my goodness towards you should be disregarded, inasmuch that you should refuse to come and lay before me your complaints, your fears, your doubts, and to listen to me with confidence, and that you continue your shameful excesses and unpardonable proceedings, then you will draw on yourselves all the unhappy consequences which must result from them, and which I pray God may never come to pass.

(Signed) JOSEPH.

(Counter-signed)

A. G. DE LEDEROR.

The

“MY just displeasure at what has passed in my Belgic provinces, is not to be appeased by a flow of words only; it must be such that follow to prove to me the reality of those sentiments of fidelity and attachment, of which you have given me an assurance on the part of your constituents.

I have given orders to the prince de Kaunitz, to communicate to you in writing, and for the notice of your states, *the orders which I have sent to my government*; and the execution of which I expect to be effected before entering into any deliberation whatever.

The welfare of my subjects is the sole object of all my proceedings, of which you ought to be persuaded by my calling you together in the moment when you have been bold enough to merit my indignation; and with all the means in my power to punish, I have, nevertheless, repeated the assurance of preserving you.”

The Orders alluded to in the preceding Answer, and transmitted to the Comte de Murray, were as follows.

The Emperor and King.
Trusty and well-beloved Comte de Murray, my counsellor of state, lieutenant-general of my armies, general-commandant, and my lieutenant-general, and captain-

general, *ad interim*, of the Low Countries.

You will find, by the narrative annexed, in what terms I explained myself to the deputation from the states of my Belgic provinces in the audience which I gave them; and I send you this that you may know more particularly my intentions and pleasure on the subject of the indispensable preliminaries of which the narrative makes mention.

All the proceedings, more or less, of which the states and a part of the people have been guilty, are notorious. Consequently it is impossible for me to yield to the sentiments of clemency which I am inclined to cherish, nor to the favourable dispositions which I manifested to the deputation of the states, until there shall not remain the smallest vestige of any part of what they have dared to commit in contempt of the sovereign authority since the first of April of this year.

To this effect it is necessary,

1. That in all the provinces of the Low Countries every thing should be restored to the footing on which it stood before the first of April of this year.

2. The university and general seminary of Louvaine, with all the persons employed and belonging to each, must be re-established in the condition in which they stood, or ought to have stood, on the said first of April; and it must be the same with the seminary of Luxembourg.

3. The states of all the provinces

* They appeared before the emperor on the 3th of August 1787, in order to justify their conduct; and their remonstrance was made by the Abbé de Grimbergue, in the name of the rest.

must

must submit implicitly to the payment of the subsidies, both those that are in arrear, and those which are current.

4. The companies of burghesses, their military exercises, uniforms, cockades, and all other marks of party spirit, as well as all other illegal associations and meetings, shall be forthwith abolished; and in defect of troops, each magistrate shall take the most effectual measures for the support of the police and of good order.

5. The convents suppressed previous to the first of April last shall remain suppressed for ever, and the nominations that may have been made since that period to the vacant abbey shall be null, and produce no effect in favour of the religious persons so appointed.

6. All the persons in office, whom they have presumed to displace, must be restored; with the exception of the intendants and members of the new tribunals of justice: these two topics being of the number of those on which I am disposed to listen to my states, and to commune with them.

7. It is also indispensable, that all which regards the chapters of Chanonopes, the religious fraternities, and all which respects the clergy as citizens and subjects of the states; and generally, that all things shall be restored to the condition, and be made instantly conformable to the ordinances existing at the above period.

In a word, there must not remain the smallest vestige of any thing committed contrary to my orders and intentions, and since the first of April of this year.

My dignity renders all these preliminary re-establishments absolute-

ly indispensable. The assemblies of the states will perceive, I hope, the necessity; and I consequently flatter myself that every one of them will immediately and peaceably take place if possible.

But if it shall happen against all expectation, that any one shall dare to oppose this restitution, which must be complete and preliminary, I authorize you by these presents, to employ for this purpose all the means of authority which I have confided in you, and which, but with much regret, though I find it to be necessary, I am obliged to augment as far as the occasion shall require.

As soon as you shall inform me that all the above preliminaries are fulfilled, and that every thing is restored to order, I shall be ready to concert with the assemblies of the states, or their deputies duly authorized, what will be the best in the several branches of administration, without being contrary to the fundamental constitution of my Belgic provinces; or, on the contrary, I shall find myself under the necessity, for the general good, to employ all the means which are abundantly in my power, and of which I do not desire to make use, from the affection which I yet bear for my Belgic people, although they have in my eyes been highly criminal.

And in so far my trusty and well-beloved, may God have you in his holy keeping.

JOSEPH.

Vienna, 16th August.

Memorial of the Deputies of the Belgic Provinces to Prince Kaunitz, occasioned

occasioned by his communicating the foregoing Orders to them.

THE deputies of the states of the Austrian Belgic provinces who are prostrate at the foot of the throne of their august sovereign, have seen, with the most sensible grief, their endeavours and hopes frustrated in not being able to obtain the proofs of his paternal tenderness, and that sort of declaration, which, by terminating the evils and misfortunes of this nation, would have raised its gratitude to its highest pitch; instead of which, my lord, our concern is augmented, and our alarms are redoubled, at the knowledge of the orders which his majesty has resolved to send to the government general of our provinces, and which you have deigned to communicate to us.

The faithful inhabitants of those provinces, full of confidence in his majesty's paternal bounty, did not doubt but he would put the seal of approbation to the declarations which we were charged to solicit, and thereby renew the public confidence, without which commerce and industry must languish, if not become extinct, which will bring on a certain inactivity, the bane of wealth. They hoped that a simple and precise declaration, tending to preserve all our rights, usages, and privileges, which we had reason to expect from his majesty, would recover in the minds of foreigners that confidence they have a right to expect from an upright honest people, living peaceably under the protection of its wise and ancient constitution, which would have caused the national credit (greatly hurt by the fear of a new system) to resume its former vigour. They also

hoped, that the inhabitants of those countries, who were ready to forsake their native soil by reason of internal divisions, would seek and find an asylum with them, which they certainly will not do now, until the new tribunals of justice are irrevocably suppressed, and the fatal tendencies abolished by an express declaration.

In the orders sent to the government every one will see his majesty relaxes in nothing relating to the ecclesiastical affairs, which are so strongly linked with the rights and privileges of the other classes of citizens, that it seems as if it was all one interest. They will see that his majesty, previous to entering into any deliberation whatsoever, requires the subsidies to be granted and paid, whilst it has always been an invariable rule that the consenting to the subsidies was dependent upon the exact observance of the privileges and liberties of the country.

The penetration of your highness cannot fail to observe the cruel sensations which these orders will have on the minds of the Belgic people, as well as on those of foreigners, as they must appear to be only given to strengthen the new dispositions issued in the sacred name of his majesty, and which are the subject of our just complaints.

We are not ignorant, my lord, that his majesty can employ that force which the divine providence has put into his hands; but will the goodness of his heart permit him to use means so contrary to the welfare of his subjects? Will he deliver his children to the destructive effects of military executions, and that only because they remain

remain attached to a constitution, which, in supporting the lawful power of the sovereign, affects at the same time the happiness of the people? Will the paternal tenderness of his majesty suffer him to destroy his faithful subjects, instead of ruling them by their indigenous laws, which have caused their happiness and prosperity for so many ages? Can such destructive means be reconciled with the paternal dispositions which he has deigned to profess for them, and which their inviolable fidelity has rendered them so worthy of? Will what his majesty thinks due to his offended dignity be completed, if, to revenge it, he gives up his faithful subjects to so many horrors, those subjects who are always ready to spend their wealth and blood in his defence, and for the glory of the country?

We are, therefore, bold enough to implore your highness to deign to employ your good offices and great interest in our favour, and to inform his majesty of our just fears, that thereby we may obtain a repeal of those orders, or some abatement of them, or, at least, the suspension of the departure of the courier, that we may have time to give notice to our constituents, that they may, with the zeal that has always animated them, prepare the people for the sad news, and endeavour to avoid those evils which, from the knowledge we have of the state of things, we cannot but expect and dread.

Done at Vienna, Aug. 16, 1787.
Ita est, (Signed) DE COCK.

Declaration of the Emperor to the States of Brabant, delivered by his Excellency the Comte de Murray.

Joseph Comte de Murray, baron Melgum, knight of the military order of Maria-Theresa, chamberlain and privy-counsellor of state to his majesty the emperor and king, colonel-proprietor of a regiment of infantry in his said majesty's service, commander in chief in the Netherlands, his lieutenant-governor and captain-general, ad interim, &c.

Gentlemen,
THE solemn deputation from the provincial states appointed to lay at the foot of the throne the public testimony of the nation's attachment to his majesty's august person, and the vote of the said states in the last concentration of the troops, being an additional instance of that sincerity, finally, the declaration of the aforesaid states concerning the execution of the preliminary articles, prescribed by the royal dispatch of the 16th of August last, together with the explanatory act of the 1st instant, which was approved of as satisfactory to the dignity of the throne, empowers the emperor to follow the dictates of his paternal heart.

His majesty, in the first place, informed by our report of the satisfactory explanation given by the respective deputies of the provinces successively, was graciously pleased, in order to calm the alarms of his subjects, to send us his commands, that in case the declarations of the states should be agreeable to the execution of the preliminaries, his royal pleasure should be signified, which his dignity could not permit him before to make known.

We have the singular happiness to have it now in our power to obey his commands: wherefore we hereby

by declare, in the name of the emperor and king, and in consequence of his orders:

1st, That all the conditions, fundamental laws, privileges, and franchises, in fine, the *joyous entry*, are, and shall be maintained, and remain untouched, conformably to the acts of his majesty's inauguration, both as to the civil and ecclesiastical order.

2dly, That the new tribunal of justice, the intendancies and their committees, shall no longer be suspended, but be, and are entirely suppressed; his majesty, by his parental fondness, and his justice, being induced to give up this point, as well as those which had been regulated by two diplomas, issued out the first of January last, concerning the administrations, the provincial states, and the intermediate committee, or deputation from the said states.

3dly, This tribunal, superior and inferior jurisdictions of the towns, and of the flat country, in fine, the order and administrations of justice, the states and their deputies, as well as the respective administrations of the towns and of the flat country, shall henceforth remain on the former footing, so that there will be no further mention made of the new form which had been talked of to be introduced in the different branches of public administration, in regard to which the two diplomas of the 1st of January, 1787, are entirely at an end: wherefore the dignities of grand bailiffs and civil governors shall continue in full force; and the support of the states requires that the same should be understood of those abbeyes whose abbots are members of the said states, and the latter

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shall be provided with abbots according to the *joyous entry* and the constitutions.

Lastly, in regard to redressing any infraction of the *joyous entry*, conferences shall be held with the states according to their requisition; their proposals on that head shall consequently be attended to, and his majesty shall dispose thereof according to equity, justice, and the fundamental laws of the province. Whereupon, gentlemen, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Given at Brussels, September 21, 1787.

(Signed) MURRAY.

By command of }
his excellency } DE REUL.

Articles of the New Constitution of the United States of America, entered into by a Convention of all the States held at New York, and transmitted to Congress for their Approbation by General Washington, President of the Convention, on the 17th September 1787.

IN CONVENTION, Sept. 17, 1787.

SIR,

WE have now the honour to submit to the consideration of the United States, in congress assembled, that Constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general government

[2]

ment of the union: but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident. Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable, in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals, entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and, on the present occasion, this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states, as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state, is not perhaps to be expected; but

each will doubtless consider, that, had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; and that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country, so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect,
We have the honour to be,

SIR,
Your Excellency's most
obedient and humble servants,
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President.

By unanimous order of the convention.

*[To his Excellency the President
of Congress.]*

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECT. 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen, every second year, by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not when elected be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen to the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The house of representatives shall chuse their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sect. 3. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as nearly as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate; but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall chuse their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall

shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Sect. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof, but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sect. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the Yeas and

Nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sect. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emolument whereof shall have been encreased, during such time; and no person, holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sect. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States: if he approve, he shall sign it; but, if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house

house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-consider it. If, after such re-consideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be re-considered, and, if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States.

To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

To establish post-offices and post-roads.

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court.

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

To provide and maintain a navy.

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States; reserving to the

the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress.

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings. And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

Sect. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed

No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on

articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person, holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sect. 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such law shall be subject to the revision and controul of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops

of ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years; and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and, if there

be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president; and, if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by the states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the vice-president. But, if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose for them by ballot the vice-president.

The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability,

lity, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm, that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States."

SECT. 2. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States: he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other

officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they may think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECT. 3. He shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient: he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper: he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers: he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECT. 4. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

ARTICLE. III.

SECT. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices

offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECT. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but, when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

SECT. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in

adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt-act, or on confession in open court.

The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECT. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall fly from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into any other, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECT. 3. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state

state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECT. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on the application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President;
and Deputy from Virginia,
New

New. { John Langdon,
 Hampshire. { Nicholas Gilman.
 Massachusetts. { Nathaniel Gorham,
 { Rufus King.
 Connecticut { Wm. Sam. Johnson,
 { Roger Sherman.
 New York. { Alexander Hamilton.
 { William Livingston,
 New Jersey. { David Brearley,
 { William Paterson,
 { Jonathan Dayton.
 { Benjamin Franklin,
 { Thomas Mifflin,
 Pennsylvania. { Robert Morris,
 { George Clymer,
 { Thomas Fitzsimons,
 { Jared Ingersoll,
 { James Wilson,
 { Gouverneur Morris.
 { George Read,
 { Gunning Bedford, jun.
 Delaware. { John Dickinson,
 { Richard Bassett,
 { Jacob Broom.
 { James M'Henry,
 Maryland. { Daniel of St. Thomas
 { Daniel Carroll.
 { John Blair,
 Virginia. { James Madison, jun.
 { William Blount,
 North Carolina. { Richard Dobbs
 { Spaight,
 { Hugh Williamson.
 { John Rutledge,
 South Carolina. { Charles Cotesworth
 { Pinckney,
 { Charles Pinckney,
 { Pierce Butler
 { William Few,
 Georgia. { Abraham Baldwin.
 Attest. WILLIAM JACKSON,
 Sec.

sachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia :

Resolved,

THAT the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in congress assembled; and that it is the opinion of this convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention, that, as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States, in congress assembled, should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states, which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution: That, after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected: That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes, certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the secretary of the United States in congress assembled; that the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of

In CONVENTION, Monday,
 Sept. 17, 1787,

P R E S E N T,

The states of New Hampshire, Mass-

of

of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for president; and that, after he shall be chosen, the congress, together with the president, should, without delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.

By the unanimous order of the convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President.

William Jackson, Secretary.

Remonstrance of the Parliament of Paris, presented to his Most Christian Majesty, against the Declaration of a Stamp Duty, on July 24, 1787.

A Most respectful address, Sire, together with the just alarms of the nation, has been humbly laid at the foot of the throne, by your majesty's most dutiful and faithful parliament. The bare proposal of a duty on paper has alarmed every individual. After a glorious peace of five years, and a progressive increase of at least 130 millions of livres in thirteen years, it seems as if the name of impost were never to come out of a beneficent monarch's mouth, except in rendering it less onerous, or diminishing the number of those already existing. What was our surprise then, Sire, when we were told that new taxes were projecting by the notables; and that a new one, of a most distressing kind, was to be offered for the approbation of parliament!

The first reflection that naturally occurs at the very mention of a new duty, is to enquire into the actual state of the finances. What an administration must the last have been, if the evils that resulted from it require such a desperate remedy!

Your majesty must remember how we strove, in 1784 and 1785, to give you a faithful picture of the real situation of the state, which seemed then (or your ministry endeavoured to make it appear so) as if inclined to take a turn for the best; but the truth was, that the state was more involved in difficulties than ever. Your parliament then, Sire, did every thing in their power, but in vain, to set truth in its clearest light; some of your ministers had too great interest to conceal it from your majesty; all our humble remonstrances proved useless; and there were some of your council who went so far as to make you suspect the purity of our patriotic intentions: the terrible situation of affairs, however, required a speedy and efficacious remedy. The notables, assembled by your majesty's orders, have withdrawn the veil that covered that undermining administration: a dreadful spectacle presented itself to the eye of the astonished nation; an immense deficiency was very visible in the treasury; and every body hastened to propose the means of filling it up, and affording a speedy remedy. How grievous to your majesty's paternal heart must such a discovery have been! How must your astonishment and sorrow have increased, when you reflected on the fatal errors, in which your ministers had long and purposely kept you!

Such is the consequence, Sire, when the choice of ministers falls on persons that are obnoxious to the nation in general: such is the great, but sad example, that teaches monarchs how far they must respect the public opinion, seldom susceptible of error, because men united together

together rarely give or receive an impression contrary to truth. In point of administration, Sire, the purest hands are hardly pure enough. A first condescension, or rather a first wrong step, leads to a second: no bounds can circumscribe the imprudent minister when once he swerves from his duty; successive abuses produce an utter confusion, and a fatal disorder; the deep wounds fixed in the constitution demand a remedy; and this, even when certain, will effect but a slow cure.

O let your majesty deign to pause awhile on one of these salutary reflections, the importance of which has been acknowledged by all good monarchs. Evil may happen in a single instant, but whole years are scarce sufficient to repair the mischief it causes. The vices of an administration, or, which is the inevitable effect of them, the involuntary error of a just monarch, will sorely distress whole generations.

It is not your parliament's intention, Sire, to grieve your majesty's most sensible heart by expatiating at present on so affecting a subject, and recalling so unpleasant a thought; but they take the liberty of humbly intreating your majesty to weigh often these important reflections, in some of those moments when you are meditating in silence on the welfare and happiness of your subjects. It behoves now your parliament to enter, with a noble freedom, upon a subject proposed by your majesty yourself; we mean the projected retrenchments and æconomical schemes. We earnestly entreat you, Sire, to be on your guard against the emotions and propensities of your tender heart, in order that the æconomy already be-

gun may continue, and those reforms adopted and settled be of constant duration. When a pure and enlightened administration endeavours to establish certain principles of æconomy, it generally meets with some ancient customs that seem to have been long attached to the constitution, and to enjoy the right of prescription. If the minister acts with firmness, he is immediately blamed for his imprudence; if with precaution, the world will censure his weakness: what difficulties will not then in such a case surround the monarch, and be incessantly multiplying about him! Courtiers will publicly approve of, nay applaud, the projected reforms; but in secret they will try to weaken, and even prevent their effect; all means will be employed to deceive him; it is then that art, address, and finesse, appear in a thousand different forms, actuated by the most imperious of all motives, personal interest: the sovereign, thus beset, and attacked on every side by claims, suits, petitions, &c. is forced to listen to importunate clamours, and, through the goodness of his heart, often grants what could never be obtained through his justice.

The moment the word æconomy is mentioned, it echoes through the room; the cunning courtier apparently adopts the plan, and wishes to be numbered among the great characters of the nation, whose example he affects to imitate; but he calculates at the same time how long the æconomical reform may subsist, and how he may render abortive the retrenchments that diminish either his credit or his revenues: all expences but his own seem susceptible of diminution: in a vast administration, the weakest pretexts

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pretexts are easily tinged with the colouring of reason; and that œconomy which has been so often courted, and always expected, appears and disappears in an instant, leaving a black cloud over the beautiful countenance of truth, which some faint rays had begun to render conspicuous.

These reflections, Sire, written in the annals of every nation, are the faithful history of the human heart: never could the meditation on them be more interesting to your majesty than at present, for the application suits exactly to the urgent circumstances of the times. The more vigour and firmness your majesty will shew for the intended reforms, and salutary resolutions, the more difficulties and obstacles will certainly impede the way: and experience may perhaps have already proved, that the persons interested in these œconomical views begin to hint as if the proposed sums were equivocal and precarious, and the deductions agreed upon incompatible with old customs, and unlikely to last a long time.

It is in your majesty's power to enforce, with a laudable perseverance, the order that must establish with permanency this indispensable reform. Every thing should undergo the strictest enquiry. Your majesty's justice, which is to us the surest and most sacred pledge, emboldens your parliament to lay before you, without danger of incurring your royal displeasure, some of those remarks and observations that must naturally have occurred to you. Had you known, Sire, the real state of your finances, no doubt

you would not have undertaken those immense edifices that are now building, nor made so many acquisitions onerous to the state; you would not have permitted so many exchanges of the crown-lands, nor granted those excessive liberalities that the importunate and intriguing are always sure of obtaining: The facility of obtaining money from the treasury (the fatal bane of all administrations) would never have been suffered to increase, for it exposes every moment the sovereign to some dangerous surprise; it squanders secretly the public revenue, and can never overbalance, with its pretended utility, the great inconveniences always attending it. Your majesty would certainly never have consented to have Paris surrounded by such a magnificent wall; to see palaces * erected for your excise-officers at an exorbitant expence, in order to coincide with the views of the farmers-general, who, in expectation of a precarious and distant gain, expend annually those sums that should be appropriated to wants of more real necessity.

All these objects, Sire, and many others, the enumeration of which would astonish, are susceptible of amendment; some require a considerable diminution; others an entire suppression. But it is not the total only of each department that should be properly diminished; every part of it should be scrupulously examined, and divested of all its superfluous charges; it should be reduced to the simple and absolutely necessary expence: in so doing, your majesty might easily double

* At every *barriere* (turnpike) there are two beautiful mansions, in the form of lodges, adorned with pillars, pilasters, medallions, &c.

the intended reform of the forty millions of livres, and this might then prove a real relief to your suffering subjects.

There are honourable economies, Sire, that, far from diminishing the splendour of a throne, add lustre and dignity to it. Majesty itself may submit to privations. The sovereign is always great when his subjects are happy; and the sight of happiness spread over a whole people is so pompous and brilliant, that it commands public admiration and universal applause.

These diminutions, suppressions, reforms, and economies, so often solicited by your parliaments, demanded by the notables, and promised to their spirited and just perseverance, are wished for and expected every day by the unhappy husbandman, whose tears bedew the very field that contributes to so many useless expences before it has furnished the necessary subsistence to the person who sowed it, for the subsistence of himself and family, and who, deprived of the common necessities, is forced to take from his poverty itself, wherewith to furnish to the exigences of the state.

These unhappy beings, Sire, Frenchmen by birth, and Men, have a double right to enjoy their sacred property even in the bosom of indigence; but as they cannot claim it themselves at your majesty's feet, let their claims and their rights be ever present before you; let their complaints find their way to the throne, and reach your royal person; let them hear your gracious answer, and let them know that your majesty's goodness and justice are the surest supporters they can hope to find near the throne.

The French never consult any interest inseparable from the throne; they are always biassed by their sincere attachment to their monarch; in their fervent zeal and enthusiastic emotions for the royal cause, they have been capable of the greatest sacrifices; and they may fancy the ways and means of the nation as unbounded as their affection. These ways and means, therefore, must be carefully managed and used at proper times. It should be likewise considered, that the contributions proceeding from the imposts granted to the monarch are only intended as subsidies to the state, and that the sovereign is but the distributor of whatever is not employed for the public weal, which naturally belongs to those who co-operate in levying the contributions; and, if they are diverted from their chief and primitive intent, their fertile source will soon become insufficient, and, in a short time, exhausted; particularly if the expences increase in proportion to the receipt.

All kinds of imposts should be proportioned to the necessary wants of the nation, and end with them. Each citizen contributes part of his property, for the sake of maintaining public safety and private tranquillity. The people, on such principles, founded on the rights of mankind, and confirmed by reason, should never increase their contributions but when the expences of the state have undergone all the savings, alterations, and retrenchments, they are capable of. It is for this reason, therefore, that your parliament, Sire, look upon the duty on stamped paper as entirely opposite to these primitive notions. It would affect the private tranquillity,

lity, by necessarily opening a way to errors, and thereby would prove far more dangerous than the *gabelle* [duty on salt, a kind of excise], which was, as has been seen, liable to open frauds. The most exact and habitual attention could hardly be sufficient to distinguish the numberless stamped papers that are to serve for each respective act of justice or common transaction.

What mistakes will not the greatest part of your subjects be liable to, by interchanging these papers, and making use of the one for the other! Many writings, by such involuntary faults, may appear counterfeited in the eye of justice; and the unwary individual will find himself daily exposed to pay exorbitant fines, or to encounter disagreeable and heavy suits at law.

Such a duty, Sire, is likewise incompatible with public safety, as it would deeply wound mutual confidence, which is the sure foundation of it. Individuals would be afraid of producing unstamped bills or notes before a tribunal; and in this age, where there are such frequent instances of persons taking all sorts of advantages, and commencing or prolonging vexatious and never-ending suits, a wise legislator should be very careful not to introduce new systems of chicanery. But both our public trust, Sire, and our national dignity, absolutely forbid the introduction of such a dangerous duty.

The moment a declaration is issued, which is generally vicious in almost all its dispositions, a seducing facility of extending its meaning or duration offers itself, and pretences are not wanting for imposing plausibly on the public. Experience furnishes us with too many exam-

ples. The two sous and the eight sous per livre for instance, the second warrant for the poll-tax, and so many other inventions, which the fertile genius of financiers has imagined, and is never at a loss to find to overcharge the subjects, are but a continuation and extension of a duty, simple in its origin; and such an extension, Sire, is often divested of any legal authority, and only collected in virtue of the minister's mandate. Without mentioning, Sire, the multiplicity of marks, precautions, and fines, annexed to and attending the duty on stamped paper, it is certain that it would cause a delay in public and private business, and obstruct the common daily transactions. All delay is dangerous, and all obstruction must produce a delay. A bill of exchange, improperly stamped, would be liable to a fine; the fine must be paid immediately by the possessor of the bill; he therefore would be obliged to advance the sum for the fine, pay instead of receive, and be out of his money till the expiration of his unlucky bill. He would be a sufferer for other persons faults, and such faults might be renewed several times in one and the same day, in the very same hour; his payments must be affected by it, and his credit called in question. Thence mistrust and doubts will necessarily arise; and you know, Sire, that there subsists a kind of chain in the course of exchanges, that strongly binds all the commercial parts of mankind in the known world. Our trading towns would lose, in the eyes of a foreigner, that level or advantage they were wont to enjoy. In short, were not such a duty extremely onerous in itself, its unlimited duration

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tion must cause a general alarm. We have often seen taxes, limited till such a time, prolonged even after the intention of the supply had been amply fulfilled; but we did not expect to see one that is to last perpetually, at the very time when a certain period was mentioned for diminishing the national debt.

Lewis XIV. established the poll-tax in 1695, and the tenth in 1710. The misfortunes and heavy losses sustained towards the latter end of his reign, and the invasion of the kingdom, made him attempt a step, the success of which he very much doubted in his own mind. That great monarch, finding himself obliged to lay such a duty, seemed to have been doubtful whether he had a right to lay it; and if parliament then thought it their duty to have it registered, it was because the contribution was to last but a short time; it was chiefly because the exigencies of the state seemed to require a speedy redress; had it not been for these substantial reasons, Sir, Lewis XIV. would have owned, "that it was the nation alone, re-united in the three general states, that can give the necessary consent for establishing a perpetual tax—that parliament were never invested with such a power, and that, charged by the sovereign to announce his will to the people, they had never been charged by the people to represent them so implicitly."

This is what your respectful parliament takes now the liberty of mentioning to your majesty; and, penetrated with this truth, alarmed at the enormous deficiency, and struck with the deplorable disorders that have produced it, and might render it perpetual, they wish very

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much to see the whole nation assembled, before they register any new impost. The nation alone thus assembled, and instructed in the true state of the finances, may extirpate the great abuses that are existing at present, and offer great resources to obviate them in future.

'Tis for you, Sir, that the honour was reserved of renewing those national assemblies which render the reign of Charlemagne so great and illustrious; assemblies that repaired all king John's disastrous calamities, and concurred with parliament to re-establish Charles VII. on the throne. All the world is convinced now of the truth of this maxim—that *mystery generally accompanies mistrust and weakness—that the greater authority is, the more confidence and candour it should inspire—and that entrusting the provincial assemblies with part of the administration, instead of weakening it, would enlighten and render it more active.* Your notables, Sir, so wisely selected by your majesty, have assisted the throne with their counsels, and unveiled the long-hidden countenance of truth, which you were determined to see. How happy are now the members of this assembly in presenting you, Sir, with the effusions of that truth they so strongly feel in their hearts! *The monarch of France can never be so great as when surrounded by his happy subjects: he has nothing to fear but the excess of their attachment: he has no other precaution to take but to be upon his guard against issuing orders that may be beyond their power to accomplish.* By a perfect union between the sovereign and the people, each party will be the gainer; and a monarch can never err in following the steps of the hero of the second race, who

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forced from the unanimous lips of admiring Europe the name of Great, which he certainly deserved, by protecting justice and his people with the same arm that struck terror to his enemies; nor those of a Charles V. whom posterity, the impartial judge of kings, has dignified with the title of Wise; nor those of Lewis XII. who in one of those assemblies had the sweet satisfaction of hearing himself proclaimed the Father of his People; nor those in short of Henry IV. whose name, still so cherished by the French, is an honour to humanity, and daily receives from our grateful hearts a copious tribute of tears.

Your parliament, Sire, waiting with impatience for the happy and wished-for moment, when a just monarch will deign to spread his benign influence over a faithful nation, and grant their requests, most respectfully intreat your majesty to recall and annul the declaration of the stamp-duty, as altogether incompatible with the present situation of affairs; a duty that, were it to be enforced, would cause universal discontent and sorrow to all the nation, and the name only of which has already spread a general alarm through the kingdom.

*His Most Christian Majesty's Speech
to the Parliament of Paris, Nov.
19, 1787.*

Gentlemen,

I AM come to this assembly to recall to my parliament those principles from which it ought never to deviate; to hear what you have to say upon two great acts of administration and legislation, which to me have appeared necessary; finally, to

reply to you upon the representations made to me by the chamber of vacations, in favour of my parliament of Bourdeaux. The principles which I mean to recall to your recollection, are a part of the essence of the monarchy, and I will not suffer them to be unknown or changed. I had no need of solicitations to assemble the notables of my kingdom. I shall never be afraid of being among my subjects. A king of France is never more happy than when he enjoys their love and fidelity; but it is I only who am to judge of the use and necessity of those assemblies, and I will not suffer myself to be indirectly importuned for that which ought to be expected from my wisdom, and the love I have for my people, whose interests are inseparable from my own. The act of administration which I propose to myself is an edict, containing a creation of successive loans for five years. I wished to have no farther recourse to the resource of loans; but order and œconomy must have time to make them effectual. Limited and well calculated loans will retard the operations of the former, but they will not prevent them. No new imposts will be established, and my engagements will be fulfilled. I will ever maintain, by the most constant and undivided protection, the holy religion in which I have the happiness to be born, and I will not permit it to suffer the least diminution in my kingdom. But I am of opinion that this same religion commands me not to leave a part of my subjects deprived of their natural rights, and what the state of society promises them. You will see in my answer upon the subject of the parliament of Bourdeaux,

deaux, to what a degree its conduct is reprehensible. My parliament ought to reckon upon my confidence and affection; but they ought to merit them in confining themselves within the functions confided to their execution by the kings my predecessors; being careful not to depart from, nor refuse them, and more particularly never to fail in giving to my subjects an example of fidelity and submission. My keeper of the seals will more fully communicate to you my intentions.

The Address of the first President of the Parliament of Paris to his Most Christian Majesty at Versailles, on the Exile of the Duke of Orleans and two Counsellors of the Parliament.

Sire,
YOUR parliament is come, in obedience to your orders. It has this morning been informed, at the opening of the sitting, that a prince of your august blood has incurred your displeasure, and that two counsellors of your court are deprived of their liberty. Your parliament, in consternation, humbly supplicates your majesty, to restore to the prince of your blood, and to the two magistrates, the liberty which they have lost, having, in your presence, freely declared what their duty and consciences dictated, in a sitting wherein your majesty had announced that you came to take the sense of the assembly by a plurality of suffrages.

His Most Christian Majesty's
Answer.

When I put away from my person a prince of my blood, my par-

liament ought to believe, that I have very strong reasons for so doing. I have punished two magistrates, with whom I ought to be dissatisfied.

The Second Address of the Parliament of Paris to his Most Christian Majesty on the same subject, Nov. 23, 1787.

Sire,
THE public affection has preceded your parliament at the foot of the throne. The first prince of your blood is exiled; two magistrates of your parliament are imprisoned by your orders: the error of this august prince, the crime of these two magistrates, are unknown to us. It cannot have been a crime to speak the truth in the presence of your majesty. Your majesty came among us to demand our free suffrages: to give them on every occasion is the right and duty of your parliament, and the interest of your majesty to hear them. It is true, the keeper of the seals expressed the sentiments of your majesty; but our counsel to you would no longer come from the sanctuary of truth, if restrained by the terror of offending. If the duke of Orleans is guilty, we are also. It was worthy the first prince of your blood to represent to your majesty, that you were transforming a meeting of the parliament into a bed of justice. His declaration has but announced our sentiments; his feelings have judged of ours; and if by the effect of that concord, which nothing can destroy, between the wishes and the duty of your parliament, the duke of Orleans has shewn a courage worthy his birth

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and rank, he has no less manifested a heart zealous for your glory. In fact, Sire, foreigners cannot conceive, posterity will not believe, that we could be exposed to any danger in telling your majesty that truth, which you have demanded in person. Your presence has ever been accompanied with favour; must it henceforth produce fear and affliction? A bed of justice would be less terrible than a sitting of parliament; and our loyalty to your majesty would suppress our voices, were our confidence, encouraged by yourself, no other than the signal of our exile or imprisonment. And what imprisonment, Sir? Honour and humanity, as well as justice, tremble at it; the basest men have laid hands on the person of one of your magistrates; his house has been besieged; instruments of the police have driven away his family. It was by prayers and entreaties to those ungracious men, that he was permitted to see his wife, his children, and his sisters, on his departure. They have forced him away without a servant; and that magistrate, who, on Monday, thought himself under the personal protection of your majesty, is gone to a distant prison, unattended but by three men, the devotees of arbitrary power. The second of these magistrates seized by your orders, though treated in his own house less cruelly than the other, has nevertheless been constrained to depart with a fever, and threatened with an inflammatory disorder, to a place where life is a continual punishment. His dwelling is a rock; his prison beat by the waves of the sea; the air he breathes unwholesome; all assistance is remote, and your majesty, without wishing it, without knowing it,

in signing the order of imprisonment, has perhaps signed that of his death. If exile is the recompence of the fidelity of the princes of your blood; if outrages and captivity threaten the uprightness of, the first magistrates of the kingdom; we may ask ourselves with terror and grief, what will become of the laws, the public liberty, the national honour, and the manners of your majesty's subjects; those manners so mild, so necessary to be preserved for the common interest of the throne, and of the people. Such designs, Sire, are not in your heart; such examples are not the principles of your majesty. They arise from another source. Your parliament, Sire, most humbly beseeches your majesty, as you value your glory, your high renown, to remove those afflicting counsels, to consult and listen only to your own heart; and then, justice with humanity, encouraged by the return of the first prince of your blood, and by the release of your two magistrates, will begin to efface an example, which would end by the destruction of the laws, the degradation of the magistracy, universal discouragement, and the triumph of the enemies to the honour of the French.

*His Most Christian Majesty's Answer
to the foregoing Address, Nov. 26,
1787.*

WHEN I held a sitting among you, gentlemen, the keeper of the seals told you, by my order, that the more kindness I shewed when I followed the inclinations of my heart, the more firmness I discovered when I thought I perceived any attempts to abuse that kindness.

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This might be a sufficient answer to your second petition; but I will condescend to add, that if I do not blame the interest you express for the detention of your two magistrates, I disapprove, however, your exaggerating the circumstances and consequences of it. You seem to attribute the whole of this transaction to motives, which the free liberty I permitted you to express your opinions, does not warrant.

I am accountable to no person for the motives of my resolutions.

It is time you should separate the particular case of those I have punished from the interest of my other subjects, and that of the laws.

All my subjects are sensible that the goodness of my heart is ever watchful for their happiness, and must acknowledge the effects of it, even in my acts of justice.

Every individual is interested in the preservation of public order, and that order essentially depends on the support of my authority.

If those I have charged to execute my orders have behaved in a manner contrary to my intention, I will punish them; and if the place of confinement can any ways be detrimental to the health of the two magistrates, I will order them to be removed to more salutary spots; for the feelings of humanity are inseparable from my heart, even in the execution of my justice.

In regard to the duke of Orleans' absence from the capital, and from my court, I have nothing to add to what I have already said to my parliament.

Sire,
YOUR parliament, the princes and peers of your realms, being seated, have charged us with the commission of laying at the foot of your throne their most respectful representations on your majesty's answer to their supplication.

The magistracy of your kingdom, as well as every true citizen, are equally astonished at the reproaches it contains, and the principles which are manifested in it.

We are, however, far from attributing these reproaches to the personal sentiments which inspire your majesty.

Public decency received a severe wound in the choice of the executors of your orders. If their crime was not carried to the personal arrest of one of your magistrates, the exposition of other facts, far from being exaggerated, is yet incomplete; and your parliament may add, that this magistrate, whose house was invested by armed men, himself delivered up to the agents of the police, like a malefactor, saw himself reduced to the humiliation of being liable to the summons of an officer, from a submission to your majesty's order.

May we be allowed, Sire, to represent to you, that, in devoting ourselves to the public service, in promising to release your majesty of the first duty you owe your nation, namely, that of justice; in bringing up our children to be subject to the same sacrifices, we never could have supposed we were defining ourselves and our children to the misfortunes, still less to outrages of so heinous a nature.

But we do not come so much to claim your benignity, as the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone that we address

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The Third Remonstrance of the Parliament of Paris to his Most Christian Majesty, on the same Subject, presented Dec. 10, 1787.

dress ourselves; it is not a favour which your parliament solicits; it comes, Sire, to *demand justice*.

This justice is subject to regulations independent of the will of man—even kings themselves are subservient to them; that glorious prince, Henry the Fourth, acknowledged he had two sovereigns, God and the laws.

One of these regulations is, to condemn no one without a hearing; it is a duty in all times, and in all places; it is the duty of all men; and your majesty will allow us to represent to you, that it is as obligatory on you as on your subjects.

But your majesty has not to execute this function; and your parliament with pleasure brings to your recollection your glorious privileges, that of shewing mercy to condemned criminals. To condemn them yourself, is not a function belonging to majesty. This painful and dangerous task the king cannot exercise but through his judges. Those who find a pleasure in hearing your majesty pronounce the dreadful word of punishment, who advise you to punish without a trial, to punish of your own accord, to order exiles, arrests, and imprisonments; who suppose that acts of rigour are compatible with a benign disposition, equally force a wound to external justice—the laws of the realm, and the most consoling prerogative belonging to your majesty.

It does not allow, that opinions delivered in parliaments should be considered as motives for your rigour, and in some measure a consolation for us. But if strong reasons should actuate you to the exile of the duke of Orleans—if it can be called a kindness that you no longer leave two magistrates exposed to

perish in distant prisons, or unwholesome places—if it is considered as an act of humanity, which tempers justice, in releasing them from such a situation—they must indeed be guilty! But it is the duty of your parliament to judge them—and we demand only, that their crimes should be published.

The meanest of your subjects is not less interested in the success of our reclamations, than the first prince of your blood.—Yes, Sire, not only a prince of your blood, but every Frenchman punished by your majesty, and especially who is punished without a hearing, becomes necessarily the subject of public alarm. The union of these ideas is not the work of your parliament: it is that of nature, it is the voice of reason, it is the principle of the most wholesome laws, of those laws which are engraved in every man's heart, which is the principle of yours, and which assures us of your *personal* approbation. The cause of his royal highness the duke of Orleans, and of the two magistrates, is then without our consent, and, by forcing those principles, the act of the throne, whose only foundation is justice, and without which no nation can be happy.

It is, therefore, in the name of those laws which preserve empires, in the name of that liberty for which we are the respectful interpreters and the lawful mediators, in the name of your authority, of which we are the first and most confidential ministers, that we dare demand the trial or the liberty of the duke of Orleans and the two exiled magistrates, who are imprisoned by a sudden order, as contrary to the sentiments as the interests of your majesty.

Manifesto

Manifesto of the Sublime Porte against Russia, dated the 11th of Zileade, the Year 1201 (the 24th of August, 1787.)

THE peace concluded between the Sublime Porte and the court of Russia in 1187 (1774), was chiefly made for the repose and tranquillity of their respective subjects, yet the court of Russia has not ceased to raise and maintain pretensions capable of disturbing the good harmony which that peace ought to procure : it has even proceeded so far as to seize on the Crimea, a proceeding directly opposite to the conditions agreed on to serve as the foundation of the treaty of Dainardgik. It was stipulated in the instrument then given on both sides, that there should be no farther discussion between the two empires, and that they should enjoy a perfect peace. It was specified in the capitulations that they should avoid for the future all intrigue whatever, and all plots secret or public ; yet the court of Russia has raised up prince Heraclius, who was furnished with a diploma of investiture as vassal of the Sublime Porte. Russian troops have been placed in Tifflis : they have declared themselves supreme over the said prince, and from that moment the disorder in Georgia and our adjoining frontiers has been general. When we alledged that this proceeding was a formal infraction of the treaties, it was maintained to the contrary. It was expressly agreed on, that the Oczakowians should have the free and unlimited extraction of the salt pans which always belonged to the inhabitants of that frontier ; yet they have always met with a number of impediments, and experienced every sort

of ill treatment from the Russians ; and when they reclaimed the execution of the conventions, the court of Russia has constantly refused it. The consul of that court has seduced the waywode of Moldavia, who has the rank of a prince ; he favoured his flight, and when the Sublime Porte reclaimed him, the Russian envoy replied, his court would not deliver him up ; a refusal directly opposite to the treaties. The Russian court has shewn as bad designs by giving what turn it pleased to many similar things. It has corrupted the subjects of the Sublime Porte, by establishing consuls in Wallachia, Moldavia, in isles and places where the presence of those officers were useless, and even prejudicial to the true believers. It has invited to its estates the subjects of the Sublime Porte, and employed them in its marine and other services. It has especially entered into the interior disposition of our administration, by soliciting either the recall or punishment of governors, judges, vassals, and of all the officers not in their interest, and even of the pacha of Georgia and the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia. Every one knows how generously the Porte behaved to the Russian merchants :—They carried on their trade, in the Ottoman states with safety and liberty, and might go where they chose ; for which reason we expected the same indulgences for the subjects of the Sublime Porte. Such were our conventions when the Russian court wanted to monopolize all the commerce, and exacted a duty far greater from the subjects of the Sublime Porte than from other powers. When the subjects of the Sublime Porte wanted to recover their debts in the Russian

states, they met a thousand obstacles; not being able to go where they wanted, they were obliged to return without their due; many even have disappeared without our knowing what became of them.—When the merchant vessels of the Sublime Porte wanted, either through stress of weather or want of water, or any other urgent necessity, to go on board a Russian ship, the Russians kept them off with their guns. They have likewise sometimes fired on our vessels from Soghoudgiak. The court of Russia wanted to understand the article relating to prince Heraclius, amongst other articles of a great deal less importance, and gave notice in a ministerial manner, by its envoy to the Sublime Porte, to furnish a common instrument for all these objects; if not, it had ordered general Potemkin to march to our frontiers with 60 or 70,000 men, to exact the execution of all the articles, and that the empress was to come there herself. This notice was an open and formal declaration of war. The order given to general Potemkin to repair to our frontiers, at the head of so many troops, is analogous to the proceedings of the court of Russia, with regard to the usurpation of the Crimea. If the Russians remain masters of it, the Porte cannot hope to remain in security for the future, and they will always have some bad designs to fear. These considerations engaged the Porte to shew to the Russian envoy the desire they had for the Crimea to be established on its ancient footing, and to make a new treaty to cement friendship between the two empires. The envoy answered, he could not make these propositions to his court, and that if he was to do it,

he foresaw no good could result from it. He rejected or eluded the articles which contained our complaints, and formally answered, that his court would not renounce the Crimea. That for all these reasons, and others, either secret or public, which it is impossible to enumerate, the Sublime Porte is obliged to declare war, in consequence of which she has published this manifesto to the respectable court of France, to inform it of the resolution she has taken to go to war with Russia. The Sublime Porte submits the motives herein contained to the equity of her friends.

Manifesto of the Court of Russia against the Sublime Porte, dated Petersburg, Sept. 13th, 1787.

THE court having received the news of the imprisonment of M. de Bulgakow, minister at Constantinople, and the declaration of war made by the Porte, can no longer avoid a rupture, and in consequence has published a manifesto, the tenor of which is as follows:

“The troubles which have incessantly agitated the public repose and tranquillity established between the Russian empire and the Porte, by the peace of Kainardgi, are too recent to require recapitulation. Suffice it to say, that since the conclusion of that peace, unto the present moment, the Porte has shewn, in all her conduct, the most manifest want of faith, and a disposition to render the essential stipulations then made illusive.

“Though the court of Russia is furnished with a multitude of proofs of this truth, which she reserves for
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a more particular detail to be published hereafter, she will at present cite the facts, the most recent, which have brought on the unexpected development so contrary to the pacific system which she followed most willingly on all occasions. She flattered herself to have fixed an immoveable basis for peace by the declaratory convention of Aynaly Cavack, concluded in 1799, by the commerce, and in particular by the transaction respecting the Prescu' Isle of the Crimea, the end of which was, as then demonstrated, not to extend the frontiers of the empire, but rather to terminate the disorders and depredations continually made by the people of Prescu' Isle, by subjecting them to a police which would make them respect the laws, and keep up harmony and good intelligence with the frontiers of both states. Such were the sincere intention and views of the court of Russia, which she was at great pains and trouble to accomplish.

“ After having reconciled differences of so delicate and important a nature, every thing seemed to promise a durable peace; but affairs were hardly thus happily compromised and adjusted, on the faith of treaties and engagements the most solemn and sacred, when the next Turkish ministry, which succeeded to that under which all these negotiations had passed, shewed dispositions diametrically contrary to their spirit and tenor. Ill-founded pretensions soon arose respecting the exportation of salt, which had been granted by treaty to the inhabitants of Oczakow. Russian consuls were denied entrance into some places of their nomination; and as if it had been proved that objects of this nature could not

suffice to effect the rupture in view, protection was publicly permitted to the invasions of the Lefgis and Tartars of Cuban; the first of which hostilely attacked the states of czar Heraclius, the acknowledged vassal of the empress; and the last penetrated into the frontiers of Russia, where they robbed, pillaged, and carried off whatever was not defended by the troops stationed in those parts.

“ The empress, constant to her plan of moderation which her humanity and love of peace made her adopt, upon receiving the above advices, contented herself with calling upon the Turkish ministry to respect the treaties, and demanding in consequence satisfaction for such breaches of faith and peace: but all her remonstrances were fruitless, and answered with arrogance and disrespect. In the mean time, her principles remained unaltered. Being mistress of her choice of means, she still preferred once more the way of negotiations, and laid open to the emperor, her ally, the state of her affairs, and accepted the good offer of the king of France to mediate between herself and the Porte; she made her pretensions known to them both, and these monarchs declared the justice and equity of them. In short, to neglect nothing that might preserve so valuable a blessing as the peace of her people, she took occasion, when in the neighbourhood of the Turkish states, during the memorable journey which she had but lately finished, to call her minister at the Porte, and examine him touching the differences which had arisen, and the means most efficacious for an accommodation of them all. In this view, and in full confidence of the respect which the

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Turks would shew on their part for mutual and solemn engagements then subsisting, she returned her minister to Constantinople. Upon his return he was immediately summoned to a conference, at which, instead of the points being resumed which were in agitation before his departure, and acquiescing in the demands of Russia, a new turn to affairs was given, and pretensions started, the first of which was contrary to stipulations made by treaty, and the others derogatory to the dignity of the empress, or rather hurtful to the interests of the empire.

"After the Turkish ministry had thus broken through the limits expressly stipulated, they thought they might then at once take off the mask, and have discovered the design which, in all probability, was long harboured, since they declared to the Russian minister, that the Porte considered itself bound but by the treaty of Kainardgi; and as the acts which followed it were but the effect of complaisance, she did not think herself obliged to adhere to it longer than suited her convenience. A term was fixed for receiving a categorical answer from the Russian minister to the demands and pretensions communicated to him. The minister protested against the injustice, the indecency, and impossibility, in so short a time, of complying with such a requisition; he was not heard, not even on the subject of the complaints stated before this time, and for which he had demanded satisfaction. All that he could obtain was the promise of another conference, which also took place, but at which the same demands and pretensions were repeated, without adding any thing more except a vague promise of the satisfaction he had demanded.

"When the news of these two conferences came to the empress, she did not abandon herself to the discontent and resentment which were justifiable; she thought she might remain spectators of the attempt which a want of delicacy and circumspection, sufficiently common on the part of the Turkish ministry, had made them hazard; mean while the sequel has proved that it was a plan long formed, and going to be put immediately in execution. In these sentiments her imperial majesty was willing to crown all the former proofs given of her moderation and distance in thought from the consequences which such a critical situation of affairs presaged, by some condescendance on her part to some of the pretensions of the Porte, and for this purpose orders were dispatched to prince Potemkin, when suddenly she learned that the Porte, without waiting for the expiration of the term fixed by herself, had summoned M. de Bulgakow to a conference on the 6th (16th), and after proposing to him to sign an act by which the treaty of commerce and the transaction concerning Presqu' Isle of the Crimea were to be annulled, upon his refusal peace was declared to be broken, and himself sent to the castle of Seven Towers, where, in despite of the rights of nations, he remains a prisoner at this moment.

"Such a proceeding presents every reflection that can arise on the subject. The Porte has been willing to unite perfidy with the most insulting attack. She omits nothing to make manifest the strong desire that has been long felt to break a peace, which was granted in a manner that was generous and noble. Provoked by a conduct so offensive, the empress sees herself obliged

obliged unwillingly to take up arms, as the only means remaining of maintaining her rights, which she has acquired with so much loss of blood, and revenging her wounded dignity. Entirely innocent of all the evils attendant on the war ready to be kindled, she has a right to depend upon divine protection and the succours of her friends, as also upon the prayers of Christians, for her triumph in a cause of justice and self-defence."

Treaty between his Britannic Majesty and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, signed 28th of Sept. 1787.

BE it known to those whom it concerns, that the king of Great Britain and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in consideration of the strong ties by which the interests of their respective houses are united, and having judged it would contribute to the mutual advantage of both to cement and confirm, by a new treaty of alliance, the connection which subsists between them; his Britannic majesty, in order to settle the objects relative to such alliance, has thought proper to send to Cassel Sir William Fawcett, K. B. lieutenant-general of his forces, his minister plenipotentiary; and his serene highness has appointed on his part baron Martin Ernest de Schlieffen, and baron Frederick de Malmf-bourg, his ministers of state. These ministers being provided with the necessary full powers, have agreed to take, for the basis of the present treaty, the treaties formerly concluded between Great Britain and Hesse, to adopt such parts of them as shall be applicable to the present circumstances, or to adjust, by new

articles, those points which are necessary, in a different manner. Every thing not otherwise determined shall be deemed to subsist in full force; and as it is impossible to specify each particular case, every thing which shall not appear to have been clearly determined, either in the present or former treaties, must be settled with equity, upon the same principles as were agreed to be adopted on each side, for deciding upon matters, whether during or subsequent to the last war.

Art. I. There shall therefore be, between the king of Great Britain and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, their heirs and successors, a strict friendship and firm union, so that the one shall consider the interests of the other as his own, and shall exert himself with good faith to promote them as far as possible, and mutually to prevent all trouble and injury.

Art. II. To which end it is agreed, that all the preceding treaties, particularly that of guarantee, shall be deemed to be renewed and confirmed, and shall be of the same force as if they were herein inserted, as far as they are not derogatory to the present treaty.

Art. III. The king of Great Britain having desired, for his service in Europe, a body of the landgrave's troops, in case the welfare of his dominions should require such succour: and his highness having the strongest attachment to his majesty, engages by this article to hold in readiness for that purpose, during the space of four years, from the day of the signing of this treaty, a body of 12,000 men, composed of infantry and cavalry, or chasseurs, officers included; of which 8000 men shall form the first, and 4000 the

the second division. His highness reserves the liberty of putting himself at the head of these troops; but declares, at the same time, that if these troops should join a more numerous body of any other power, he should consider himself, on such an event, purely in a military light; and far from making any difficulty to serve under a senior general of established reputation, he would with pleasure embrace so favourable an opportunity of gaining farther knowledge, under such auspices, in a profession to which he is warmly attached.

The first division, consisting of 8000 men, shall be entirely composed of infantry, with its field pieces, and two companies of foot chasseurs; but his most serene highness may join to these, if he thinks fit, above the 8000 men, such a number of cavalry, not exceeding 100, as may be fit for immediate service. This corps of 12,000 shall be completely equipped, and provided with tents and all necessary camp equipage. In a word, it shall be put upon the best footing possible, and none admitted but men fit for actual service, and acknowledged as such by his Britannic majesty's commissary.

The first division shall be ready to march at the end of four weeks after the requisition for its march shall have been made, or sooner if possible, and the second division in six weeks, if practicable. This body of troops shall not be separated, unless the operations of war should require it, but shall remain under the direction of the Hessian chief, subject to the superior orders of the general having the supreme command of the whole army. And the second division shall serve only in

those places where the first may be stationed, provided the plan of operation will admit of it.

Art. IV. Each battalion of infantry shall be provided with two field pieces, together with the complement of officers, gunners, and other necessary attiral attached thereto.

Art. V. In order to defray the expences which shall be incurred in raising the same, the king of Great Britain engages to pay for each trooper or dragoon, completely armed, mounted, and equipped, 80 Banco crowns; and for each foot soldier, 30 Banco crowns, within thirteen days after the requisition to march shall have been made. As to the levy money for the second division, one moiety shall be paid on the requisition for marching, and the other on the day of marching. The levy money to be paid for the same description of men that were allowed in former treaties.

Art. VI. Besides what is stipulated in the preceding article, the king of Great Britain engages to pay, during the four years this treaty continues, an annual subsidy, in the manner following, viz. The subsidy shall commence on the day of signing the treaty, and be continued to the time when the requisition for putting the corps in readiness to march shall be made, at the rate of 150,000 Banco crowns per annum, the crown to be computed at four shillings and nine pence three farthings English money. From the time of making the said requisition, to the day when the whole corps, as well cavalry as infantry, shall be in the pay of Great Britain, the subsidy shall be augmented and paid at the rate of 450,000 Banco crowns; and during the whole time that the said corps shall be actually in his majesty's

majesty's pay, the landgrave shall receive an annual subsidy of 225,000 Banco crowns. When the said troops shall be sent back, the subsidy shall be again augmented and continued at the rate of 450,000 Banco crowns per annum, from the day of their return, being according to the same proportion and rule as were fixed by the sixth article of the treaty of 1755. And the payment of these respective subsidies shall be made regularly by the quarter, without deduction, into the military chest of the serene landgrave; and in case both parties agree that this body of troops should exceed 12,000, the subsidy shall be augmented in proportion, unless otherwise settled. His majesty will also continue to this corps the pay and other emoluments for the residue of the month they repass the frontiers of Hesse, and actually arrive within the dominions of his highness.

Art. VII. With respect to the pay and subsistence of the troops, whilst in the pay of Great Britain, it is agreed, that so long as they serve in Germany, they shall enjoy the same advantages as his majesty allows his German troops. During the time they may be employed in the Low Countries, they shall be treated on the footing of Dutch troops, provided, that in both cases their pay shall not be inferior to that allowed in former wars; and if they should be required to serve in Great Britain or Ireland, they shall not only be put upon the same footing with the British national troops, but his serene highness hopes, that in case British troops should be sent to the continent, and serve with Hessians, his majesty will be pleased to agree, that the latter may be treated as the former, with

regard to pay, as well as other matters; the more so, as his serene highness has consented to receive a more moderate subsidy than was paid on former occasions since the year 1726. These allowances, if granted, to be paid without deduction, in order that the distribution may be made to the troops.

Art. VIII. In case any of the regiments or companies should be ruined or destroyed, in the whole or part, or any pieces of artillery or other effects be taken by the enemy, his majesty will defray the expence of recruiting and remounting the same, as well as of making good the same, in order that they may again be completed and rendered fit for service. The recruits raised shall be regulated upon the footing of those furnished in 1702, to the end that the whole corps may always be kept up. The recruits annually required, shall be delivered to the English commissary, at such time and place as his majesty shall appoint.

Art. IX. It will depend on his Britannic majesty to retain this body of troops in his service the whole of this treaty, in order to employ them where he may think proper (provided it be not on board his fleet, or beyond sea) except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. And when the king of Great Britain shall be pleased to send back the said troops, he shall give three months previous notice thereof to his serene highness, and cause one month's pay to be remitted to him, providing them with the necessary means of transport, gratis.

Art. X. In case the landgrave should be attacked or disturbed in the possession of his dominions, his
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Britannic majesty promises and engages to send back to him, if required, the said troops, allowing them one month's pay, and furnishing them, gratis, with the means of transport; as likewise to give him all such succour in troops as the exigency of the case may require, which assistance shall be continued to him till he shall have obtained full security and due satisfaction; and the landgrave on his part also promises, that in case the king of Great Britain shall be attacked or disturbed in his dominions, he will afford him in like manner all the aid which may be in his power, which shall be continued until his majesty shall have obtained a good and advantageous peace. If it should happen, in consequence of the present troubles, that a war should be kindled in Germany, and become general, his Britannic majesty promises, as far as possible, to provide for the security of his dominions, and to direct the military operations of his armies, as far as circumstances may permit, in such a manner as to cover and spare the territories of his highness as far as may be. If, however, notwithstanding the precautions which may be taken for this effect, the territories of his most serene highness should suffer an invasion on account of this alliance, his Britannic majesty will endeavour to procure an indemnification proportionable to the loss occasioned thereby.

Art. XI. In order to render this alliance more perfect, and that no doubt may be entertained by the parties of the certainty of these succours, by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that it shall be deemed sufficient, that either of the parties be actually attacked by force of arms,

without having previously employed open force against the assailant.

Art. XII. The sick belonging to the Hessian corps shall remain under the care of their surgeons, subject to the orders of the general commanding the corps of that nation, and shall have the same allowances as his majesty grants to his own troops.

Art. XIII. All Hessian deserters shall be faithfully delivered up, wherever they may be found, in the places dependant on his Britannic majesty, and all possible care shall be taken that no person shall be permitted to establish himself in his majesty's dominions, without his sovereign's consent.

Art. XIV. The raising of recruits in Germany having become more expensive than formerly, and some difficulties having arisen relative to the vacant pay, which is to be regarded as the fund for defraying the expence of recruiting; it is agreed, that in the spring review of his majesty's commissary, the corps shall either be complete, or the pay for those wanting to be stopped:—on the other hand, the pay for those who may be wanting to complete between one review and another, shall not be stopped, but is to be advanced to the full establishment of the corps; and instead of the sum formerly allowed for each recruit, to replace one killed or three wounded, it is agreed, that 12 Banco crowns per head shall be allowed for every recruit that shall be raised to supply their places.

Art. XV. This treaty to be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratification exchanged as soon as possible.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, being furnished with full powers,

powers, have signed the present treaty, and have caused our seals to be set thereto.

Done at Cassel, the 28th of September, 1787.

WILLIAM FAWCETT, (L. S.)

MARTIN ERNEST DE SCHLIEFFEN, (L. S.)

FREDERICK, Baron de Malmesbourg, (L. S.)

Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament passed in the Year 1787.

AN act to render more effectual the laws now in being for the suppression of *unlawful lotteries*.

An act to enable his majesty to establish a court of *criminal judicature* on the eastern coast of *New South Wales*, and for the regulation of his majesty's marine forces while on shore there.

An act to continue the laws now in force for regulating the trade between the subjects of his majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants of the territories belonging to the *United States of America*, and to render the provisions thereof more effectual.

An act for repealing the several duties of customs and excise, and granting other duties in lieu thereof, and for applying the said duties, together with other duties composing the public revenue; for permitting the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, the produce or manufacture of the *European* dominions of the *French* king, into this kingdom; and for applying certain unclaimed monies, remaining in the exchequer, for the payment of annuities on lives, and to the reduction of the national debt.

An act to enable the lord high treasurer, or commissioners of the treasury, for the time being, to let to farm the duties granted by an act, made in the 25th year of the present reign, on horses let to hire for travelling post, and by time, to such persons as should be willing to contract for the same.

An act for allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, in the ports of *Kingston*, *Savannah la Mar*, *Montego Bay*, and *Santa Lucea*, in the island of *Jamaica*; in the port of *Saint George*, in the island of *Grenada*; in the port of *Roseau*, in the island of *Dominica*; and in the port of *Nassau*, in the island of *New Providence*, one of the *Bahama* islands, under certain regulations and restrictions.

An act for laying additional duties upon licences to be taken out by persons dealing by retail in spirituous liquors.

An act for making further provisions in regard to such vessels as are particularly described in an act, made in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his present majesty, for the more effectual prevention of smuggling in this kingdom, and for extending the said act to other vessels and boats not particularly described therein; for taking off the duties on flasks in which wine or oil is imported; for laying an additional duty on foreign geneva imported; for taking off the duty on ebony, the growth of *Africa*, imported into this kingdom; and for amending several laws relative to the revenue of customs.

An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are, or have been

public offices therein mentioned; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and to report such observations as shall occur to them, for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices.

An act for further regulating the trade and business of pawnbrokers.

An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty, and attachment to the British government.

An act for allowing further time for enrolment of deeds and wills made by papists, and for the relief of purchasers.

An act to prevent frivolous and vexatious suits in ecclesiastical courts.

Heads of the new Criminal Code of Tuscany.

IN the preamble of the edict it is set forth, that the legislature does not publish it without due experience; but that having, by his sovereign authority, mitigated all punishments for the twenty years he has reigned, he has found that crimes, instead of increasing, have remarkably diminished; the less very rarely happening, the greater being totally unheard of. It proceeds to abolish all capital punishments; branding, strappado, and all punish-

ment of goods, and forfeiture of estates; and, finally, treasons of every kind, equalling them to crimes against individuals. It then proportions the following punishments to the nature of the crimes: trifling fines, in no case exceeding 300 crowns; private whipping; imprisonment, never to exceed a twelve-month; banishment to a less or greater distance; pillory without banishment; pillory with banishment; public whipping; public whipping on an ass: for the women, confinement in the house of correction from one year upwards; if for life, the substitute for death, the criminal to have a different dress, on which are to be sewed the words *ultimo supplizio*: for the men, condemnation to the public works, as in the mines in the isle of Elbo, the scoop-boats of Leghorn, &c. from three years upwards; if for life, a different dress like that for the women, and, besides a ring to the leg, a double chain, naked feet, and the employment of the most fatiguing kind. Besides the trials are simplified; the prisoner has many advantages he had not before; the frequency of oaths is diminished, all evidence being to be given without, except on the prisoner's requiring an oath to be administered to any suspected witness, when it is to be performed in a solemn manner. And even the few fines that are to be levied are not to go to the treasury, but to make a fund for the indemnification of those who have suffered by insolvent or fugitive criminals.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Portrait of Frederic the Second, late King of Prussia, when Prince Royal; by M. De Suhm, April 2d, 1740. — From the Familiar Correspondence of Frederic the Second with that Gentleman.

THE honour I have had of frequently making my court to the prince royal of Prussia, and of having had reason to flatter myself with that of his good graces, may have given me some just ideas on this prince's manner of thinking: but I am very cautious in undertaking to draw his portrait, in which I have reason to think but few would succeed. Were he not born a great prince, his situation and misfortunes would have taught him to dissimulate; and it is by this that persons have been hitherto deceived, who upon a word have hazarded judgments on the character of a prince, who never speaks without reflection, and says nothing but what he means to say. To avoid this fault, I will speak but in general terms, of a character which at present may be looked on as impenetrable, and to proceed with certainty. I will content myself with speaking of the qualities I have remarked in him, and which are founded upon the sentiments I have constantly heard him profess.

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I believe his greatest passion is that of fame, which he makes to consist in always acting conformably to strict reason, in carefully divesting the mind of all prejudices, and as much as possible, in never suffering them to enter it.

He is not to be shaken in his resolutions, when he has taken them after mature reflection; and he has given proofs of his firmness and elevation of mind, on the melancholy occasions he has had to exercise them, and in which he never abandoned himself for a moment.

He is good, generous, and liberal; sensible and compassionate to the misfortunes of others, and holds injustice in horror.

In his early youth, I remarked that he was fond of exposing the defects and ridiculous manners of others. I have found him quite changed from this, and he is now the first to blame those of such a disposition; he detests calumny and calumniators above every thing.

I will not enter into a greater detail of the good qualities of this prince, who seriously endeavours to acquire them all; which induced me to say to him one day, that he proposed to himself an end to which he would never attain, viz. perfection; he answered me, that "it was like the philosopher's stone, and

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those who fought for it, were rewarded for their pains by finding many good things in the way ;" and as I took the liberty to add, that provided he preserved the half of the great sentiments which I knew he possessed, he would always be a great king ; he replied, " he should be very sorry ever to change his manner of thinking ; but that this did not yet prove what I had said," and modestly finished by quoting to me the following verse from Voltaire.

Tel brille au second range, qui s'eclipse
au premier.

This prince particularly prides himself on a great firmness in his friendships and attachments ; and I remember on taking final leave of him, having previously shewn some inquietude about what I had remarked, that a certain person of distinction was no longer in his good graces, he wished to tell me the reasons which had induced him to put him at a distance from his person, graciously adding, that he owed me this detail, in order to leave me no suspicion on the solidity of his friendship.

It has been remarked on the Rhine, that this prince has much valour. On one occasion among others, when he went to reconnoitre the lines of Philipsburgh, followed by a considerable number of troops ; passing on his return by a thin wood, the cannon of the lines incessantly accompanied him, and shattered several trees by his side, without his horse's going, on account of it, out of his pace, or the hand which held the bridle betraying in him the least extraordinary emotion. Those who observed this, remarked on the contrary,

that he continued to speak with great tranquillity to some general officers who accompanied him, and admired his countenance in a moment of danger, with which he had not yet had an opportunity of familiarising himself. I learned this anecdote from the prince de Litchenstein.

I will not speak of his mind ; it is well known he has adorned it by reading and continued reflection. This is what makes him love conversation, into which he never introduces public affairs, which he looks upon as matters which do not yet concern him. Those who have attributed to him dispositions of hatred or friendship for certain interests of princes, have certainly founded their conjectures upon vain appearances, from which they have drawn false conclusions. If he speaks in a friendly manner of a prince, they conclude from this, that he would arm for his interests, if he could do it. But this is an argument very subject to caution, with respect to a prince who never acts from caprice, but will be guided by reason. He told me even one day, " that being a king, he thought he could make war against a prince for whom he should have the greatest affection ; and that he could enter into the closest alliance with another whom he did not like at all."

As to the judgment of the prince royal, it is so much the more just, as he never concludes hastily, unless he can immediately give a reason for so doing. To give a slight instance of this, I remember being at supper with the field marshal *Grumkew*, where the prince *Eugene*, who died on the Rhine, was spoken of ; the question whether this prince would

would in time have possessed great qualities and have become a great man, was agitated? The prince royal decided to the contrary; because, said he, he would never have known how to make a friend, who would have dared to tell him the truth.

What I have said, will, I imagine, be sufficient to give such a knowledge of this prince, as I have of him; and although this portrait may resemble an eulogium, I can assure the public, that neither the affection which I have had for the prince from his infancy, nor the benevolence with which he has at all times honoured me, and of which he has not ceased to shew me marks during my residence here at *Petersburgh*, have been able to blind me, and that he will one day verify what I have attributed to him.

I therefore conclude, that great and good things may be done with him, if they be properly undertaken; and that as bad ones will be the result of an improper method of proceeding.

The following Anecdotes and Remarks on the Character of the late King of Prussia, when at an advanced period of his life, are extracted from Travels through Germany, by the Baron Riefbeck, and translated from the German by the Rev. Mr. Maty.

“ I Was three days at Potsdam. This city has still finer houses in it than those at Berlin; but, like these, they are inhabited only by persons of the lower and middling ranks. The situation of the town was much extolled to me, and for country with so much sameness in as Brandenburg has, it may pass for a fine one: neither, however,

the buildings nor the situation were the chief objects of my visit here; what I came for was to see the king, who has for so many years been the god of the Parisian idolatry, the wonder of all Europe, the master and terror of his foes, and, in short, who throughout all the neighbouring states is called *The King par excellence*. I was told that I might very easily be presented to him, but I have always thought 'it a great piece of impertinence to think so lightly of the leisure of a mighty monarch, as to introduce yourself to him without the smallest pretension. I had the good fortune to see him twice on horseback on the parade, where, however, he is not so regular an attendant as formerly.

All the prints I have hitherto seen of him are only half lengths; but there are many copies of a very good picture, in which he is drawn at full length. You may see one of these at *Madam S—'s*, at Paris, and they are so common here, that you meet with them in several inns. The original was painted by an Italian, who having been extremely fortunate in hitting off the likeness, the king suffered copies of the picture to be taken by many good masters here, and made presents of them to several German princes, and thus the copies have become common. Heavily as the hand of age now seems to lie on this immortal man, the very strong likeness of the face still remains. The king of Prussia is hardly of the middling size, but strong built and thick set. His body is now much bent, and his head shakes, but his eyes are still piercing, and roll about when he is observing. Peace, order, resolution, and earnestness are marked upon his face. There

is likewise that particular look about him, which is common to all great personages, and which I should call indifference to all that surrounds him, were it not that you see evidently, that he takes an uncommon interest in the things which he conceives specially to belong to his province. The editor of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*, Mr. Pilati, says, that every thing at Berlin and Potsdam is carried on in silence, and that nothing can be known either of the king's private life, or of his public affairs. There is an universal opinion of the kind gone out about this court: if you will believe some Englishmen, especially Mr. Wraxall, the genius which animates the Prussian monarchy, is a man-hating, light-shunning genius, who in imperceptible darkness strikes constantly at the estates of the subjects, and lays snares for them. It is impossible to form a falser judgment of the king. Mr. Pilati, who contradicts himself in more places than one, says in another part of his letters, that the king's hours are so regularly distributed, that at any time you may know what he is then doing. Indeed the true cause why so little is to be said of the king's private life, is the great simplicity and regularity of it. There is no minister to enter into intrigues with, to ruin a man of honour who stands in his way; no mistress whose humour a man must study to get the favourable minute to obtain a right, or have justice done him for an injury, or of whose adventures he must keep a register, to revenge himself on her by bon-mots, epigrams, and anecdotes;—no queen to puzzle and perplex the court every morning with the very great problem,

whether she has slept with her husband or not, whether she is breeding or not, and whether the fashion will not undergo some revolution, commanded by her majesty, in the course of the ensuing week. The princes and princesses of the blood have neither disputes for precedence to settle, nor cabals to contrive, nor large play debts to discharge, nor any of the mighty businesses which are the daily occupations of other courts to dispatch; the king neither hunts nor goes to balls or theatres (a few operas only excepted); he has no occasion to advise with a minister of finance, how, or from what funds the mistress's new dress, or her new house, or her new garden, or her journey to—shall be paid;—nothing is undertaken here for which the money is not ready. The king of Prussia has neither favourite, nor confessor, nor court fool, (who, *mutatis mutandis*, is still in good credit in the other courts of Germany, and whose part the confessor mostly plays).

Under these circumstances the court anecdotes of the day must necessarily be very few; but yet the king gives himself so little trouble to be concealed, that as the Englishman, Moore, observes, it is no difficult matter to arrive at his bed-chamber unperceived: he is surrounded neither by a guard or a swarm of footmen and *valets de chambre*; he often walks alone in the gardens of Sans-Soucy, and wherever he is, except at a review, no man is kept at a distance.

It is owing to the same simplicity and order which obtains in his private life, that the operations of the king of Prussia's government make so little noise. Whoever considers his administration as mysterious, or

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his dealings as established in intrigue, falls into the error so common to all us mortals, of thinking there is intrigue wherever there is simplicity ; hence it is that we do not see the truth that is under our noses."

"The most brilliant æra of the king's government, in his own eyes, is that which is distinguished by some useful improvement in agriculture. I was told an anecdote which does him more honour than the emperor of China derives from opening the ground with a golden plough. There is a privy-counsellor here of the name of Brenkenhoff, a man who, born without a penny, had made himself worth millions by his industry. This gentleman, some years since, distinguished himself by his improvements in agriculture. Amongst other things, he sent for rye from Archangel, which succeeded so well, that by degrees they begged his seeds all through Pomerania, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia ; and the country gained considerable sums, which before used to be paid to the Poles and Russians for this commodity. In consequence of this, whenever Mr. Brenkenhoff has any thing to ask of the king for himself or the province, he always couches his request in the following manner : ' Had not I brought rye from Archangel, your majesty and your subjects, would have been without so many thousands you now possess ; it is therefore fit and proper that you likewise grant me my request.' The king not only makes it a rule never to deny him any thing he asks, but has often said, ' Brenkenhoff is the most extraordinary man born in this

country under my administration, and I am proud of him."

"I cannot send away this letter without observing, that the very way in which the king exercises the functions of his government, is a plain proof of his not having any secret or mysterious views with respect to any of his subjects. A despot, who is not to be confined by any regard to rectitude and justice, who is always distinguishing betwixt his own advantage and the utility of the whole, and who wants to cheat his people without their observing it, must have either fools for his ministers, whom he may cheat as he does the people, or he must have a favourite, whom he can make use of for his mysterious purposes. Neither of these is the case with the king of Prussia. His ministers and counsellors are all of them the most enlightened patriots ; and many of them would make a figure as men of letters, if they had time, or would give themselves the trouble of writing. With regard to a favourite, the very name is unknown in this country. Voltaire, the marquis D'Argens, Algarotti, Quintus Icilius, and Bastiani, were only the companions of idle hours, and knew less of the government than any body, as Voltaire has often proved by his *bon mots*. These *beaux esprits* were obliged to keep within their proper sphere, and never could bring the king to be familiar with them, how little soever he made them feel the difference of rank in the ordinary affairs of life.

The king possesses the rare and great talent of letting himself down to every man, without forgetting himself in the least. His reader

and secretary also not being and either complaint or petition. The king appears to be exceedingly mistrustful of himself, and to fear lest his daily conversation and familiarity with all sorts of people should lead him into error. His secretary, who passes so many hours of every day with him in private, must lay all the business to be done before him in form. His ministers are the only persons he refers to; they are the executors of his will.

It has been frequently observed, that no king upon the face of the earth is so well served as the king of Prussia: though there is none who pays his servants so ill. But these good servants are not to be procured by mere severity; they must have observed, that the king far excels them in understanding, and that he himself strictly adheres to the rules of justice and equity, which he lays down for the conduct of others. Had they discovered a weak side, either in the head or heart of the monarch, there would have been an end of their good services. It is only to this extreme impartiality, his justice, and his superior understanding, that we must ascribe the activity and order in the Prussian courts of justice. No prince of the blood has the slightest advantage over a farmer in a law-suit. When a dispute happens with a subject upon any part of the domain or crown lands, there is no judge who dares have a leaning towards the king's side; on the contrary, in this case they are ordered to have a leaning against him. The same aversion to despotism leads him to make it no secret, that he does not think the kings of the earth placed here as gods of it,

He looks upon the royal dignity as a station, which, like that of a general, and many others, has been established through human dispositions, and to which, in consequence of these dispositions, birth alone gives a title. He makes as little use of religion as he does of politics, to blind his people, or keep up his authority by faith and opinion. The consciousness that he is capable of no injustice or act of power, can alone set him above this Machiavelian policy. To conclude my thesis, that the king is nothing less than a despot, I must observe, that he has no over-bearing passion; fame is by no means his pursuit; he despises all the applause of men from his heart. The great physiognomist, Lavater, must have observed in his countenance, that he despises man himself; at least I think I can affirm, with a degree of sufficient confidence, that the king appears less in no man's eyes than he does in his own. Flatterers have very little to expect from him; and those who have written against him with the greatest bitterness, may be assured that he has no gall against them. The Abbé Raynal, who is at present here is a sure proof of this. There is no place in the world in which there is less noise made about the king's actions than there is at Berlin. None of the newspapers of the country say a word about them; and there would not have been a word said about them at all, if some patriots of other countries had not taken it into their heads, of late, to blow the trumpet of fame, whenever their governors did any thing that was not palpably absurd or impertinent. These ful-
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some panegyrist turned up some Prussian patriots, who love their king, to shew the world, that Frederick, who is so unknown to most strangers, does more in silence than half a dozen other demi-gods of the earth put together. The world was astonished when it learned, that for years past the king had distributed several millions amongst his subjects, and the writers of newspapers took it very ill that he had done this without their knowledge. It was not till within these few years, that we knew that the land tax in the Prussian dominions is never altered, though this system is as old as the time of the king's coming to the crown. Long before the philosophers of the last twenty-five years, (for, till within these last five and twenty years, there has been no philosophy) began to declaim against capital punishments, the torture, and the duration of law-suits, all these things had been banished out of the Prussian dominions, without any scribbler taking the trouble to sing a *Te Deum* about it (Beccaria himself makes this observation). Avarice is as little the king's weak side as the love of fame. Nobody gives more willingly than he does, when he sees that the money is likely to be made good use of. He has money in his head, and not in his heart; and œconomy is one of the first virtues of a governor.— But I shall say more of this in my next."

"When you hear the king of Prussia mentioned in the southern parts of Germany, you think they are speaking of an angel of death, whose employment and amusement it is to kill the people by hundreds and thousands, to burn cities and villages, and to be the first general

of his day. This opinion commonly rests upon the same ground as another, which was very generally received by the common people during the last Silesian war, of the king of Prussia's having taken up arms against France and Austria for the extirpation of the Roman-catholic religion. Austria had often recourse to such little artifices; she was wont to appeal to the religious and passionate feelings of the people, whenever her troops were beaten, and probably found some consolation in it, not that only which arises from exciting compassion, but the more substantial one of the support derived from the riches and forces of some of the catholic princes of Germany. Such prejudices in the populace are easily produced; but when you read in the writings of some of the most famous Austrian statesmen and literati, that the king of Prussia's whole system is contrived for the purpose of making himself terrible to his neighbours, of plundering them, and of living by robbery, you do not know whether to laugh most at their ignorance, or be most ashamed at their impudence.

Out of Germany, they look upon the king of Prussia as a great general, but are not therefore blind to his other virtues. Our countrymen, whose impartiality and justice in judging of the merits of great men no body can controvert, read his civil ordinances, his *bon mots*, and the anecdotes of what passes in his family, with as much pleasure as they do the account of his expeditions. Even they however, impartial as they are, form quite a false opinion of the king, when they consider his military conduct as the greatest of his exertions, and think

his principal merit consists in being the greatest general of his day. It is natural enough for the love of splendid actions to make us more attentive to the bustle which has attended his services in the field, than to his still and benevolent occupations. But we should not therefore ascribe to him a love of this bustle, and a delight in the occupations of war, which no king upon earth likes less than he does.

Nourished in the arms of the muses, and attentive only to the progress of philosophy, scarce had he ascended the throne, when one of the most extraordinary events of this century happened, an event which must naturally call his attention very strongly to it. He was one of the many princes who had pretensions to the succession of Charles VI. What he claimed was some marquisates in Silesia. The point was how effectually to secure these rights. Most probably he would have taken the part of Maria Theresa, attacked as she was on all sides, had a proper attention been paid to his requisitions; but the Austrian ministry, ever blinded by its own consequence, only answered his manifestoes with insolence and contempt. The consequence was, that after having defeated the imperial troops in the field, he made free with all Silesia, which gave great offence. Then however he discovered the moderation of his nature, for it would have been easy for him, by supporting Charles VII. to have sunk a house, which was the most dangerous to him in all Europe. But his politics did not allow him to commit an injustice.

It was neither the king of Prus-

sia's love of plunder, nor any thing indeed, except the pride of the Austrian ministry, and the little knowledge it had of the strength of the Prussian dominions, that was the true cause of the loss of Silesia. The Austrians despised a court which had no princes and dukes in its pay, but only merchants and *knights à quarante ecus** for ministers and generals. They saw no further than the outside of the court of the present king's father, who, under the mask of a ridiculous singularity, had laid the foundation of the Prussian greatness; they laughed at his unpowdered hair, his dirty boots, his turnep dinners, and his tall men. People knew not that these tall men, whom they looked upon only as his particular amusement, were under the best of discipline; they knew not that his *un-betitled* and *unbestringed* ministers were the most enlightened patriots; that the most exact œconomy had made the small country of Prussia richer than the proud and mighty Austria. In fine, they knew not that Spartan œconomy, and Spartan subordination, which this *ridiculous* king was making the characteristic of the nation, must get the better of indolence, effeminacy, and profusion, even though the *tribe of gentlemen* had not been so numerous in Austria, as it was.

This ignorance was the true thing which some persons have affected to call the good fortune of the present king of Prussia.

The invasion of Bohemia, which took place some time after the conquest of Silesia, was undertaken in consequence of the most pressing and repeated instances of the em-

* Knights worth fifty crowns.

peror, the head of the German empire, of which the king was a member.

I have conversed with an old and respectable Dutch officer, who accompanied count Seckendorff, as adjutant, to Berlin, when he went to desire the king to help the emperor out of the distress which he must otherwise have sunk under. The king was for a long time deaf to all representations and entreaties. As count Seckendorff was pressing him one day upon the parade, he shewed him a regiment which had suffered considerably in the first Silesian war. 'Behold,' says he, 'what war costs me; this regiment has lost above half its men, and shall I expose my people to the danger of being so roughly handled again?'—This is the king whom people cry out upon as a robber and tyrant!—Seckendorff, who was a greater statesman than he was a general, in vain tried all his rhetoric to carry his point, nor would any thing have induced the king again to become the enemy of Austria, but the being informed in what an unmanly manner the Austrians had behaved in Bavaria, how they had plundered the archives, robbed the nobility, laid waste the country, and carried the peasants into captivity; that in short, their known pride, their spirit of revenge, and their cruelty, gave cause to apprehend every thing for the house of Bavaria.

The king undertook to free the emperor from his distress, without hurting Austria much, and he compassed it with a moderation, which the unprejudiced part of the world still admires. He obliged prince Charles to give the emperor breathing room, by forcing him to hasten

with his army from the Rhine to Bohemia. When he had done this he was quiet, and asking nothing for himself, was contented with having done what equity and the share he took in the emperor's calamity required of him. It is well known what little share his love of robbery and conquest had in the breaking out of that war in which he eclipsed all that had been done by ancient or modern heroes. In the very heat of this war, in which he himself gathered so many laurels, he wrote a letter to Voltaire, filled with wishes for philosophical quiet, and full of lamentations on the cruelties of war. Very far from being intoxicated with his fame, and untainted with any degree of the pride which filled the breast of that Roman governor, who returning from the government of a distant province, thought that all Italy must incessantly be filled with the praise of his administration; he asked Gellert, who sued to him for peace in the middle of the theatre of war, whether he had not heard or seen that there were three powers in arms against him; and whether he thought it depended upon him to make Germany a present of peace! So free was he from being elated with the *eclat* of his wonderful arms, and so far from thinking of higher things than how to defend himself.

In this wonderful letter to Voltaire, he promises, when he shall once be quiet, to cut off the most distant pretences for war, nor to take any concern in the politics of Europe; but to give up all his time to the improvement of his own country, amidst the blessings of peace. This promise he has hitherto most religiously adhered to. You think, perhaps, that he did not, in the
affair

affair of the division of Poland; but he took the least part possible in that affair. The world will be astonished, when the particulars of this business come to be known, as none has ever been so misrepresented and distorted by political motives. I collected at Vienna some very extraordinary documents relative to this matter, which I will communicate to you when we meet. Thus far is notorious to all mankind, that in this famous partition, the king had not a third of what fell to Russia, nor a quarter of what Austria had. A stronger proof of the king's moderation, and of his pacific disposition, it is impossible to give. Possibly the division would have been a little more equal if ever the parties had come to blows.

In the last Bavarian war, he again observed the same wonderful moderation. The cause of his taking up arms was, to restore the house of Wittelsbach to its inheritance, and to maintain the constitution of the empire; which, as a member of that body, he was bound to protect. He asked nothing for himself, and did not go a step farther than he was forced to, by the strongest necessity. No monarch ever went into the field with greater magnanimity, and greater disinterestedness, than the king of Prussia did on this occasion.—Since the twenty years he has given himself to philosophy, he has let several other occasions go by, which would not have been missed by another monarch who had had the same powers of war in hand as he had, and the warlike disposition commonly attributed to him.

No prince can manifest more regard for mankind, than what is shown by the king of Prussia every day. He interests himself as much

in the welfare of a common farmer, as in the flourishing of the greatest house of trade in his dominions. It is his greatest pride, and his greatest pleasure, to read in the yearly lists, that the population of his country has increased. He has not been seen so cheerful for many years, as he was upon finding, by the list given in last year, that the number of the new-born children within the year far surpassed the number of the dead. A king who has this way of thinking, is a warrior only when necessity compels him to it. His Lacedæmonian armies only serve the purpose of enabling him to cultivate his country in peace, and to bring his law-suits with his neighbours to a speedy conclusion. They are evidently not the end of his government, but the means; and it is only those who are contented with viewing the outside of things, and do not look into the springs of the Prussian government, who think them the great object."

Character of the late Empress Queen Maria Theresa.—From the same work.

"THE bright sides of this empress's character are so striking, that one can hardly observe the darker ones. In private life, indeed, such small spots would appear not only venial, but in some degree respectable; but it is the misfortune of greatness, that the smallest weakness of the governor has often a sensible influence on the happiness of the governed, so that the least personal vices are often the greatest political defects.

Whoever sees the empress now, discovers that she has been a beauty.

ly. Within these few years she has begun to be subject to some of the infirmities of advancing age; but the best judges still discern a strong constitution and lively temperament in her. I saw her for the first time in the church of the Augustine Friars, where she was attending a religious ceremony, and immediately recognised her, not so much by her likeness to her pictures (from the truth of which age has of course taken a great deal), as by the air of majesty which strikes everyone who has the honour to approach her. She has the strongest passions, but has never been subdued to the least unworthiness, by those to which nature in general the most inclines, and which her constitution the more particularly exposes her to. *Possibly* she is an only, *most* certainly a singular instance of a princess, over whom religion and honour have had more influence than the demands of an impetuous constitution, and the allurements of unlimited power. This probably arose from her having herself chosen her husband, who was the man of his day most likely to secure the affections of a woman. To him she was passionately devoted; but her affections never wandered a step beyond the bounds of the strictest decorum. Vainly has scandal endeavoured to find out anecdotes to feed on in her life. Ten well-made strong children yet living, are so many witnesses that her husband possessed all her love. At his death, she forbade herself all farther thoughts of the passion, and made a vow to lament him for ever; a vow to which she has religiously adhered. She is always dressed in black, and wears no ornament of any kind.

her husband pass many a weary hour. It was impossible for jealousy not to have great power over a heart, the violence of whose motions was only kept in by a sense of religion. It is not very certain whether she had ever real grounds for suspicion; but every body at Vienna remembers that a certain lady was obliged to leave it, because the emperor, who was very courteous towards every body, but particularly so to the ladies, had made her some common-place, unmeaning compliments.

The empress's benevolence, of which religion is the principle, approaches almost to profusion. She refuses relief to none of those who stand in need of her assistance; and the meanest of her subjects finds the way to make his distresses known to her. Her steward has hardly any thing to lay before her, but accounts of charities. Her liberality particularly shews itself towards widows, especially such as are of high birth. Many persons, amongst whom are widows of ministers of state, receive pensions of 6000 guilders (300l.) from her. Her partiality to high birth makes her desirous that every person should live up to his, or her rank. With respect to the public foundations of charity, she behaves as an empress should do. The library, schools, hospitals, and poor-houses, cost her immense sums. I am assured, that the debts she has contracted by this liberality amount to upwards of twenty millions of guilders; and one of my friends informed me, that she gives away three millions per annum in private charity.

Who now would imagine that, under so worthy a character, merit
often

often starves, whilst large sums are lavished upon the worthless? Who would imagine, that the prejudices of religion could have so far gotten the better of her natural disposition, as to make her refuse assisting an officer who had been crippled in her service, unless he embraced the Roman Catholic religion? After several conversations with the priest sent to him by the empress, this gentleman plainly perceived that he must turn scoundrel, to be relieved. He determined therefore to quit Vienna; which he did, and went to Holland, where he died a general officer. Since the present emperor has begun to have an influence in business, merit has no longer any such oppression to fear, but it must still make use of all its weight to break through this species of obstacles, which however at all times are more the work of the priests, than of the empress.

Her impetuous temper often breaks out into gross gusts of passion and anger; but as soon as the storm is past, she endeavours to make amends for the mischief or injury she may have done whilst it raged. I was told an anecdote, which if not entirely true, yet gives a great insight into this part of her character. An officer, who had a favour to ask, had his name written down in the list of those who wanted audiences. He waited a long time, till his turn (which is religiously observed) came to be introduced. At length he was called in, but he had hardly made his obedience to the empress, according to the Spanish etiquette, when she broke out into such a storm of opprobrious abuse, as almost made him sink to the ground. Her vivacity made her eyes roll with fire,

and the motion of her arms was rendered so quick by it, that the man was afraid she might do a *little* execution upon him, with her own *high* hand. Twice or thrice he attempted to put in a word, but the storm of the monarch's indignation was too strong to be controlled, and he was forced to wait till she was fairly out of breath. He then mustered up all his courage, and said, "Surely your majesty must have forgotten I am 'N. N.'" As soon as she found that she had been mistaken in the person, she made him a formal excuse, and her desire to set all things right again carried her so far another way, that she settled an handsome pension on him. She is by no means proof against pride, but is proud of the dignity, and the greatness of her house. She weeps tears of joy as often as she hears how her children, particularly the emperor and the queen of France are beloved by all the world. This family pride, joined to her quick feelings, are the cause why she considers all the princes who have been at war with her, at any time, as her personal enemies, and has never forgiven any of them. The emperor's last wife, who was a Bavarian princess, had cause to regret her father's having attempted to rob the empress of Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Imperial Crown. She made her *feel* the superiority of the house of Austria, over the house of Bavaria.—Thus far is true, but the fables which have been raised on this foundation are too wild even to deserve a serious refutation.

Fame has not reported falsely of this great princess. She is a true woman, and it is by the amiable passions

passions of her own sex that she is most distinguished. She was not at all offended at being told by the relation of another great sovereign, whom she was complimenting on the reputation of his friend, "May it please your majesty, my sister is still only a woman." All the tints in Theresa's character are the shades of a lively female character. She was the truest, but the most jealous of wives; the most affectionate, but at the same time the severest of mothers; the most friendly, but at the same time the most imperious mother-in-law.

Her character, however, has sometimes risen beyond the strength of a man. The resolution with which she defended her hereditary dominions against so many powers united to oppress her, excited the astonishment of all Europe. Her love of justice is so great, that she immediately desists from any pretensions she has formed, which are not reconcileable with it, when she is shewn that they are not so. Though the king of Prussia knows that she bears him a grudge (which she will carry with her to her grave), he is so satisfied of the general rectitude of her principles, that whenever they have a dispute, his only care is to have his reasons properly stated to the empress herself, by his ambassador. The nobility of Genoa, as I was informed by an officer who took a great part in the revolution of 1746, exclaimed with one voice, "O, if it were possible to bring our grievances before the empress herself, we should be sure of obtaining relief." The cry of these republicans, at the time when they were most sorely oppressed by Austrian armies, was the

finest praise that Theresa could have heard,—but she heard it not.

Amidst the various species of knowledge she possesses, there is one which unluckily fails her, the knowledge of mankind. According to the custom of her house, she was bred up in an elevation which has not allowed of her seeing with her own eyes the necessities of ordinary life, and the true interests of the people she reigns over. Her whole education was so conducted as to make her the dupe of flatterers, who made her believe that nobles and priests were a superior order of men to laymen and common people. Priests and flatterers have at times betrayed her into actions which her heart would shudder at, if she could see them in their right light. An instance of this was given some years ago, when, in an insurrection of the Bohemian peasants, the emperor endeavoured to obtain the abolition of the feudal tenures. This he did because he knew the true situation of these poor slaves, who did not themselves know what they desired, but were only driven to what they did by hunger. There was indeed little to lay to their charge besides having hunted some barons out of bed; but the wives of the Bohemian nobles so far prevailed upon the empress, with their tears, that soldiers were sent into the country, and many poor people were hanged as traitors, who were in fact only the victims of hunger. As this happened in the memorable year of scarcity over all Europe, when Bohemia, notwithstanding the natural riches of its agriculture, was reduced to the greatest necessity, and as the emperor well knew that the principal

principal cause of it was owing to the avarice of the great landlords, particularly of the priests, he endeavoured to take off the servitude of the lower orders; but his mother's attachment to the nobility prevented a measure, which would have made a country so favoured by nature as Bohemia is, one of the most flourishing in the world. The empress made it a matter of conscience to deprive a small part of her subjects of the least part of their income by such a measure, but never bethought herself, that the nobility and priests consumed in idleness the sweat and blood of so many thousand people.

A despotic prince, who has not a sufficient knowledge of the world, to see through the people who surround him, is the most dependant man in his country. Notwithstanding all her attention to so many various matters, and notwithstanding all her power, the good empress cannot prevent herself from being cheated by all who approach her. She imagines that she prevents every sin by her establishments of chastity, and does not know how many adulteresses she makes by them. She would indeed be astonished, if she could see only a part of the horns, which the men of this place carry about with them under their perukes. It is said, that the empress insists upon the young women, particularly those who are brought up in the *Theresianum*, tying their hair, &c. in a particular manner; but, notwithstanding these ribbands of chastity, I have been assured by a countess, who was brought up in this seminary, that grocer vices prevail-

ed there, than any against which the commission of chastity is directed. I know a woman, who in order to get herself and her handsome daughter a maintenance, procured the latter an engagement upon a small theatre, which hardly brings her in enough to buy pins for her hair. We know that at Paris the theatre is more a title to a maintenance than a maintenance of itself; but there is this difference betwixt the countries, here the mother carries her cheap daughter from a rehearsal to church, where both tell their beads with down-cast eyes, and the most pious looks, in order to bring themselves into a reputation of sanctity with the police. By this means, persons who love their pleasures, and yet wish to be well with the empress, know no better way of compassing both these objects, than by visiting the churches. Another instance of hypocrisy. There is a well known man of letters here, who translated a prayer-book from the French, and dedicated it to the empress as an original composition, with the view of obtaining a place, together with the present customary upon those occasions. The plan succeeded; the empress considered him as a pious man, and he had a reward; but he was so lost to shame, as to make sport of the good woman's credulity in the circle of his friends. The same thing takes place with regard to the prohibition of books. The queen would sink to the ground, if she could see one of the thousand private libraries in Vienna, which contain all the heretical, and all the scandalous writers which she conceives her college of censure, and her

her *Index Expurgatorius*, which is thicker than that of Rome, to have banished from the country for ever. So it is with several of her other institutions, the inefficacy of which shews they are fit for nothing but to make hypocrites.

A summary Account and History of the famous Ali Bey.—From Monsieu Volney's Travels through Syria and Egypt.

* THE birth of Ali Bey is subject to the same uncertainty

* Since this chapter was written, M. Savary has published two more volumes on Egypt, in one of which is the life of this same Ali Bey. I expected to have found in it particulars proper to verify or correct my own narrative; but what was my astonishment to perceive, we have hardly a single circumstance in common! This disagreement was so much the more unpleasant to me, since, as I have already differed from him on several other subjects, it may seem to many readers, as if I made a point of contradicting that traveller. But, besides that I am not personally acquainted with M. Savary, I protest, that such partiality is no part of my character. How then does it happen, that having been upon the same spot, having necessarily drawn our materials from like sources, our accounts should be so different? I confess, I cannot well discover the reason; all I can say is, that, during the six months I lived at Cairo, I carefully enquired of such of our merchants, and Christian traders, as, from long residence in the country, and being persons of understanding, appeared to me likely to give the most authentic testimony. I found them agreed on the principal facts, and I had the advantage of hearing the relations they gave me confirmed by a Venetian merchant (M. C. Rosetti) who was one of the confidential friends of Ali Bey, and the counsellor and promoter of his connections with the Russians, and his projects respecting the commerce of India. In Syria I have met with great numbers who had been eye-witnesses of the principal events in the history of Shaik-Daher and Ali Bey; and, from their testimony, have been able to ascertain the degree of credit due to the information I received in Egypt. During eight months I resided among the Druzes, I learnt from the bishop of Aleppo, formerly bishop of Acre, a thousand anecdotes, the more indubitable, as Ibrahim Sabbar, the minister of Daher, was frequently in his house. In Palestine I have lived with Christians and Mussulmen, who had been officers under Daher, were at the first siege of Yafa (Joppa) with Ali Bey, and defended that place in the second against Mohammad Bey. I have been on the spot, and examined all the necessary witnesses. I have received historical notes from the Venetian agent at Yafa, who had a considerable share in all these troubles. These are the materials from which I have compiled my narrative. Not but I have met with some circumstances which are differently related. But from such what history is free? Are there not ten different relations of the battle of Fontenoy? All we can hope is to collect what is most probable; for I cannot but confess I have myself been frequently convinced, on this occasion, how difficult it is to ascertain the real truth in any historical facts.

Not but I have heard before several of the stories related by M. Savary, who cannot be accused of having invented them himself, for his account is taken, word for word, from an English book, printed in 1783, and entitled, *A History of the Revolt of Ali Bey*, though there are only forty pages appropriated to that subject, the remainder being common-place remarks on the manners and geography of the country. I was at Cairo when the public papers gave an account of this work; and I well recollect that when our merchants heard of Maria, wife of Ali Bey; of the Greek Daoud, his father, and his losing his son, as Jacob found Joseph, they were strangely surprised, and laughed

tainty as that of the Mamlouks in general, who, sold by their parents, or carried off by their enemies, at a very early age, seldom remember much of their origin or their country; or if they do, conceal them. The opinion the most general respecting Ali is, that he was born among the Abazans, a people inhabiting Mount Caucasus, and which furnishes the slaves in greatest request*. The merchants, who carry on this traffic, brought him to one of their annual sales, at Cairo, where he was purchased by the brothers Isaac and Yousef, Jews, employed in the custom-house, who made a present of him to Ybrahim Kiaya. It is supposed he might then be about twelve or fourteen years old; but, in the East, neither Mahometans nor Christians keeping any registers of births, their precise age is never known.

Ali performed for his patron the usual services of the Mamlouks, which are nearly similar to those of the pages to our princes. He received the customary education, which consists in learning to manage a horse well, fire the carbine and pistol, throw the djerid, use the sabre, and even a little reading and

writing. In all these exercises he displayed an activity and fire which obtained him the surname of *djen-dali*, or madman. But the solicitude of ambition soon moderated this excessive warmth. About the age of eighteen or twenty, his patron suffered him to let his beard grow, that is to say, gave him his freedom; for, among the Turks, to want mustachios and beard, is thought fit only for slaves and women; and hence arises the unfavourable impression they receive on the first sight of an European. When he had made him free, Ibrahim gave him a wife and revenues, promoted him to the rank of Kachef, or governor of a district, and, at length, procured him to be elected one of the four-and-twenty beys.

These successive promotions, and the power and riches he acquired, awakened the ambition of Ali Bey. The death of his patron, which happened in 1757, opened a free course for his projects. He engaged in every intrigue for raising or displacing the chiefs, and was the principal author of the ruin of Rodoan Kiaya. After Rodoan various factions alternately advanced their leaders into his station. Hewho

laughed heartily at the tales trumped up in Europe. It is in vain, therefore, for the English factor, who was in Egypt in 1771, to appeal to the authority of the Kiaya of Ali Bey, and a number of Beys, whom he consulted, *without understanding Arabic*; he can never be looked upon as well informed. I suspect him the more since he sets out with an unpardonable error, in asserting that the country of Abaza is the same as that of Amasea; for one of these is a country of Caucasus, stretching towards the Cuban; and the other a city of ancient Cappadocia, or modern Natolia. To conclude, we may find at Paris *Memoirs of Ali Bey*, collected by a person of distinction, who has been in Egypt, as well as M. Savary and myself, and those Memoirs will satisfy all doubts which may remain on this subject.

* The Turks hold the Tcherkasses, or Circassian slaves, in the highest estimation; next to them the Abazans, next the Mingrelians, after them the Georgians, after them the Russians and the Poles, next the Hungarians and the Germans, then the Negroes, and, last of all, the Spaniards, Maltese, and other Franks, whom they despise as drunkards, debauchees, idle and mutinous.

occupied

occupied it in 1762, was Abd-el-Rahman, of little consequence himself, but supported by several confederate houses. Ali was then Shaik-el-beled, and seized the moment when Abd-el-Rahman was conducting the caravan of Mecca to get him exiled; but he himself had his turn, and was condemned to retire to Gaza. Gaza, dependent on a Turkish pacha, was neither so agreeable nor so secure a residence as to tempt him to make it his abode; he therefore only made a feint of taking that route, and, on the third day, turned towards the Said, where he was joined by his partizans.

He resided two years at Djirdja, where he matured his plans for obtaining and securing that power to which he so ardently aspired. The friends his money had gained him at Cairo having at length procured his recall, in 1766, he appeared suddenly in that city, and, in one night, slew four beys, who were his enemies, exiled four others, and became, from that time, the chief of the most numerous party. As he had now possessed himself of the whole authority, he resolved to employ it still further to promote his ambitious views. No longer contented with the trivial title of Bey, he could not submit to the supremacy of the Porte, and aimed at nothing less than the title of Sultan of Egypt. To this object all his measures tended; he expelled the pacha, who was only a shadow of representation; he refused the accustomed tribute; and, in 1768,

even proceeded to coin money in his own name*.

The Porte did not see without indignation these attacks on her authority; but open war alone could repel them, and circumstances were not favourable. Daher, established in Acre, kept Syria in awe; and the Divan of Constantinople, occupied with the affairs of Poland, and the pretensions of Russia, bestowed its whole attention on the transactions in the north. The usual method of *capitajis* was had recourse to; but poison, or the poniard, always anticipated the bow-string they bore. Ali Bey, availing himself of these circumstances, pushed forward his enterprizes with success. For several years a port of the Said had been occupied by Arab shaiks under little subjection. One of them, named Hammam, had formed there a power capable of giving disturbance. Ali began by delivering himself from this danger; and, under pretext that this shaik concealed a treasure entrusted to him by Ibrahim Kiaya, and that he harboured rebels, sent a corps of Mamlouks against him, in 1769, commanded by his favourite Mohammed Bey, who destroyed in one day both Hammam and his power.

The end of this year was productive of another expedition, which in its consequences must have affected Europe. Ali Bey fitted out some vessels at Suez, and, manning them with Mamlouks, ordered the Bey Hassan to sail with them to Djedda, (Gedda), the port of Mecca, which he was to seize on, while

* After the ruin of his affairs, his piasters fell 20 per cent, because it was pretended they were too much debased with alloy; but a merchant sent ten thousand of them to Marseilles, and made considerable profit by melting them down.

a body of cavalry, under the command of Mohammad Bey, marched by land to take possession of Mecca itself, which was given up to plunder. His project was to render Djedda the emporium of the Indian commerce; and this plan, which was suggested by a young Venetian merchant *, who possessed his confidence, was to make Europe abandon the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, by substituting the ancient route of the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea; but the event has proved that the attempt was too precipitate, and, that before gold is introduced into a country, laws should be established.

Ali, the vanquisher of a petty prince, of the Said, and conqueror of the huts of Mecca, from this time thought himself formed to command the whole world. His courtiers told him he was as powerful as the sultan of Constantinople, and he believed his courtiers. Had he exercised his reason, he would have perceived that Egypt, compared with the rest of the empire, constituted only a very inconsiderable state, and that the seven or eight thousand cavalry he commanded were nothing when opposed to a hundred thousand janisaries, whom the sultan had at his disposal: but the Mamlouks know nothing of geography; and Ali, who viewed Egypt near, found it much larger than Turkey at a distance. He determined therefore to commence his conquests: Syria, which was in his neighbourhood, naturally presented the first object, and every thing was favourable to his views. The war with the Russians, which

broke out in 1769, occupied all the Turkish forces in the north. Shaik Daher, in rebellion against the Porte, was a powerful and faithful ally; and the extortions of the pacha of Damascus, by disposing those he oppressed to revolt, afforded the most favourable opportunity of invading his government, and meriting the title of the deliverer of nations.

Ali saw perfectly well the advantage of this posture of affairs, and made no delay in putting his forces in motion. All his measures being at length taken, he detached, in 1770, under the command of five beys, a corps of about five hundred Mamlouks, all cavalry (for they never march on foot), and sent them to take possession of Gaza, in order to secure an entrance into Palestine. Osman, pacha of Damascus, no sooner heard of the invasion, than he flew to arms. The Mamlouks, terrified at his activity, and the number of his troops, held themselves in readiness to fly at the first attack; but Daher, the most indefatigable chief that Syria has seen for many centuries, hastened from Acre, and extricated them from their embarrassment. Osman, who was encamped near Yafa, fled without even offering battle; and Daher, making himself master of Yafa, Ramla, and all Palestine, opened a road for the grand army he expected.

This arrived about the end of February 1771: and the gazettes of that time, stating it at sixty thousand men, induced Europe to believe it was an army similar to those of Russia or Germany; but the

* M. C. Rosetti; his brother, Balthasar Rosetti, was to be made commissioner of the customs at Djedda.

Turks,

Turks, and more especially those of Asia, differ still more from the Europeans in their military than their civil customs. Sixty thousand men with them are very far from being synonymous with sixty thousand soldiers, as in our armies. That of which we are now speaking affords a proof of this: it might amount in fact to forty thousand men, which may be classed as follows. Five thousand Mamlouk cavalry, which was the whole effective army; about fifteen hundred Barbary Arabs on foot, and no other infantry, for the Turks are acquainted with none; with them, the cavalry is every thing. Besides these, each Mamlouk having in his suit two footmen, armed with staves, these would form a body of ten thousand valets; besides a number of servants and ferradjis, or attendants on horseback, for the beys and kachefs, which may be estimated at two thousand: all the rest were sutlers, and the usual train of followers.

Such was this army, as described to me in Palestine by persons who had seen and followed it. It was commanded by the friend of Ali, Mohammad Bey, surnamed *Aboudakab*, or father of gold, from the luxury of his tent and caparisons. As to order and discipline, these must not be mentioned. The armies of the Turks and Mamlouks are nothing but a confused multitude of horsemen, without uniforms, on horses of all sizes and colours, riding without either keep-

ing their ranks, or observing any regular order.

This rabble took the road to Acre, leaving, wherever they passed, sufficient marks of their want of discipline and rapacity. At Acre, a junction was formed with the troops of Shaik Daher, which consisted of fifteen hundred Safadians*, on horseback, and commanded by his son Ali; twelve hundred Motualis cavalry, having for their leader the Shaik Nafif, and about one thousand Mograbian infantry. This union effected, and their plan concerted, they proceeded towards Damascus some time in the month of April. Osman had employed this interval in preparations, and had, on his side, collected an army equally numerous and ill-regulated. The pachas of Said†, Tripoli, and Aleppo, had joined him with their forces, and were waiting for the enemy under the walls of Damascus.

The reader must not here figure to himself a number of complicated and artificial movements, such as those which, within the last century, have reduced war with us to a science of system and calculation. The Asiatics are unacquainted with the first elements of this conduct. Their armies are mobs, their marches ravages, their campaigns mere inroads, and their battles, bloody frays; the strongest, or the most adventurous party, goes in search of the other, which not unfrequently flies without offering resistance; if they stand their ground, they engage pell-mell, discharge their car-

* Daher's subjects were called by this name, because his seat of government was originally at Safad, a village of Galilee.

† Pronounced *Séle*, in French; in English Said, as above; it is the ancient Sidon.

bines, break their spears, and hack each other with their sabres, for they rarely have any cannon; and when they have, they are but of little service. A panic frequently diffuses itself without cause; one party flies, the other pursues, and shouts victory; the vanquished submit to the will of the conqueror, and the campaign often terminates without a battle.

Such, in a great measure, were the military operations in Syria, in 1771. The combined army of Ali Bey and Daher marched to Damascus. The pachas waited for them; they approached, and on the 6th of June a decisive action took place: the Mamlouks and Safadians rushed with so much fury on the Turks, that, terrified at the carnage, they immediately took to flight, and the pachas were not the last in endeavouring to make their escape. The allies became masters of the country, and took possession of the city without opposition, there being neither walls nor soldiers to defend it. The castle alone resisted. Its ruined fortifications had not a single cannon, much less gunners; but it was surrounded by a muddy ditch, and behind the ruins were posted a few musqueteers, and these alone were sufficient to check this army of cavalry. As the besieged, however, were already conquered by their fears, they capitulated the third day, and the place was to be surrendered the next morning, when at day-break a most extraordinary revolution took place.

At the moment that the signal of surrender was expected, Mohammad suddenly commanded a retreat,

and all his cavalry turned towards Egypt. In vain did the astonished Ali-Daher and Nasif fly to demand the cause of so strange a measure: the Mamlouk made no other reply to their reiterated questions, than a haughty menace; and the whole army decamped in confusion. Nor was this merely a retreat, but a positive flight; they seemed as if hotly pursued by a victorious enemy; the road from Damascus to Cairo was covered with men on foot, scattered horsemen, and stores and baggage they had abandoned. This singular occurrence was attributed, at the time, to a pretended report of the death of Ali Bey; but the real solution of the enigma was a secret conference which passed at night in the tent of Mohammad Bey. Osman, finding himself too weak to oppose these combined forces, had recourse to artifice. He contrived to introduce to the Egyptian general a crafty agent, who, under pretence of proposing terms of peace, endeavoured to disseminate discord and revolt. He insinuated to Mohammad that the part he was acting was equally ill besitting his honour, and contrary to his interest; that he was deceived in imagining the sultan would leave unpunished the offences of Ali Bey; that it was a sacrilege to violate so holy a city as Damascus, one of the two gates of the Caaba*; that he was astonished that Mohammad should prefer the favour of a slave of the sultan, to that of the sultan himself, and that he should set up a second master between him and his sovereign; besides, that it was evident this master,

* The two great caravans which make the pilgrimage to Mecca, set out from Cairo and Damascus.

by daily exposing him to fresh dangers, was sacrificing him both to his own personal ambition, and to the jealousy of his kiaya, the Copt Rezk.

These reasons, and especially the two latter, which were founded on indisputable facts, made a strong impression on Mohammad and his beys: they immediately held a council, and swore solemnly by the sabre and the Koran, to return without delay to Cairo. In consequence of this determination, they decamped so suddenly, and abandoned their conquests with such precipitation, that the report of their coming preceded their arrival at Cairo only by six hours. Ali Bey was struck with terror, and wished to have punished his general upon the spot; but Mohammad appeared so well supported, that it was impracticable to attempt any thing against his person; it was necessary to dissemble, and Ali Bey submitted to this with the less difficulty, as he owed his fortune to his dissimulation much more than to his courage.

Though thus deprived, at one stroke, of the fruits of so expensive a war, Ali Bey did not renounce his projects. He continued to send succours to his ally, Daher, and prepared a second army for the campaign of 1772; but fortune, weary of effecting more for him than his own abilities could have accomplished, ceased to favour him.

The first reverse he experienced was in the loss of several cayasses, or boats, loaded with rice, for Shaik Daher, which were taken by a Russian privateer, within sight of Damietta; but another, and still more serious accident, was the escape of Mohammad Bey. Ali Bey could

not easily forget the affair of Damascus; nevertheless, from the remains of that affection we retain for those whom we have served, he could not bring himself to resolve on having recourse to violence, when an expression made use of by the Venetian merchant who enjoyed his confidence fixed his wavering resolution.

"Have the sultans of the Franks," said Ali Bey, one day, to that European*, "children as rich as my son Mohammad?" "No, seignior," replied the courtier, "they are careful of that, for they think that when children become too great, they are often in haste to enjoy their inheritance." This insinuation went to the heart of Ali Bey. From that moment he beheld in Mohammad a dangerous rival, and resolved his ruin. To effect this, without risk, he first sent directions to all the gates of Cairo, that no Mamlouk should be suffered to pass in the evening, or at night; he then ordered Mohammad into immediate exile in the Said. By these opposite orders he imagined Mohammad would be stopped at the gates, and that, the keepers taking him into custody, he should easily free himself from his fears; but chance disconcerted these vague and timid measures. Mohammad, by some mistake, was supposed to be charged with private orders from Ali. He and his retinue were allowed to pass, and from this moment all was lost. Ali Bey, informed of his flight, gave orders to pursue him; but Mohammad appeared so well prepared and determined that none dared attack him. He retired into the Said, foaming with rage, and thirsting for vengeance. Even

* This anecdote I received from that merchant.

after his arrival there, he had another narrow escape. Ayoub Bey, an officer of Ali's, feigning great detestation of the injustice of his master, received Mohammad with transport, and swore upon his sabre and the Koran, to share his fortune; but, a few days after, letters were intercepted from this same Ayoub, to Ali, in which he promised him, without delay, the head of his enemy. Mohammad, having discovered the plot, seized the traitor, and, after cutting off his hands and tongue, sent him to Cairo to receive the recompense of his patron.

The Mamlouks, however, wearied with the insolence of Ali Bey, repaired in crowds to his rival; and, in about six weeks, Mohammad saw himself sufficiently strong to leave the Said, and marched towards Cairo. Ali Bey, on his side, sent his troops against him; but several of them likewise deserted to the enemy: at length, in the month of April, 1772, the armies had a rencontre in the plain of El-Mafateb, at the gates of Cairo, the issue of which was, that Mohammad and his party entered the city, sabre in hand. Ali Bey, having barely time to make his escape with eight hundred of his Mamlouks, repaired to Gaza, for the first time in his life, and endeavoured to get to Acre, to join his ally, Daher; but the inhabitants of Nablous and Yafa cut off his retreat; and Daher himself was obliged to open him a passage. The Arab received him with that simplicity and frankness which in all ages have characterized that people, and conducted him to Acre. It was necessary to succour Said (Sidon), then besieged by the troops of Osman, in conjunction with the Druzes. He accordingly marched

to that place, accompanied by Ali. Their combined troops formed a body of about seven thousand cavalry, and, at their approach, the Turks raised the siege, and retired to a place a league to the northward of the city, on the river Aonla. There, in July 1772, the most considerable and most methodical engagement of the whole war took place. The Turkish army, three times more numerous than that of the two allies, was entirely defeated. The seven pachas who commanded it took to flight, and Said remained in the possession of Daher, and his governor Degnizla.

Ali Bey and Daher, on their return to Acre, proceeded to chastise the inhabitants of Yafa, who had revolted that they might convert to their use the ammunition and clothing left there by one of Ali's fleets, before he was expelled from Cairo. The city, which was held by a shaik of Nablous, shut its gates, and resolved to stand the siege. This commenced in July, and lasted eight months, though Yafa had no other rampart than a mere garden-wall, without a ditch; but in Syria and Egypt they know still less of carrying on a siege than of engagements in the field; at length, however, the besieged capitulated in February 1773.

Ali, now feeling himself disengaged, thought of nothing but his return to Cairo. Daher offered to furnish him with succours; and the Russians, with whom Ali had contracted an alliance, while treating of the affair of the privateer, promised to second him: time however was necessary for collecting these scattered aids, and Ali became impatient. The promises of Rezk, his kiaya and his oracle, rendered him

him

him still more desirous to be gone. This Copt never ceased assuring him that the hour of his return was come; that the aspects of the stars were most propitious; and that the downfall of Mohammad was now most certain. Ali, who, like all the Turks, believed firmly in astrology, and who put the greater faith in Rezk, because he believed his predictions had been often verified, could no longer endure delay; and the news he received from Cairo completed his impatience.

In the beginning of April, letters were sent him by his friends, in which they informed him that the people were tired of his ungrateful slave, and that nothing but his presence was wanting to expel him. He determined, therefore, to set out immediately, and, without giving the Russians time to arrive, departed with his Mamlouks, and fifteen hundred Safadians; commanded by Osman, the son of Daher; but he was ignorant that the letters from Cairo were a stratagem of Mohammad's, and that this bey had extorted them by force, in order to deceive and lead him into the snare he was preparing. In fact, no sooner had Ali advanced into the desert which separates Gaza from Egypt, than he fell in, near Salakia, with a chosen body of a thousand Mamlouks, who were lying in ambush, waiting his arrival. This corps was commanded by the young bey, Mourad, who, being enamoured of the wife of Ali Bey, had obtained a promise of her from Mohammad, in case he could bring him the head of that illustrious unfortunate. Scarcely did Mourad perceive the dust which announced the approach of his enemies, before he rushed

upon them with his Mamlouks, and threw them into confusion. To crown his good fortune, he met with Ali in the crowd, attacked, and wounded him in the forehead with a sabre, made him prisoner, and conducted him to Mohammad. The latter, who was encamped two leagues in the rear, received his former master with all that exaggerated respect which is so customary with the Turks, and that sensibility which perfidy knows so well how to feign. He provided a magnificent tent for him, ordered him to be taken the greatest care of, styled himself a thousand times, "his slave, who licked the dust of his feet;" but the third day, this parade of politeness terminated by the death of Ali Bey, who died, according to some, of his wounds; or, as others report, by poison: the probability of both these accounts is so equal, that it is impossible to decide between them.

Thus terminated the enterprizes of this celebrated man, who for some time engaged the attention of Europe, and afforded many politicians hopes of a great revolution. That he was an extraordinary character, cannot be denied; but it is exaggeration to place him in the class of great men: the accounts given of him by witnesses highly worthy credit, prove that though he possessed the seeds of great qualities, the want of culture prevented them from coming to maturity. Let us pass over his credulity in astrology, which more frequently influenced his conduct than more substantial motives; let us not mention his treacheries, his perjuries, the murders even of his benefactors*, by which he acquired, or

* Such as Saleh Bey.

maintained his power, the morality of a rude society is doubtless less rigid than that of a well-regulated state; but, judging ambitious men on their own principles, we shall find that Ali Bey either ill understood, or erroneously pursued his plan of greatness; and that it was he himself who paved the way for his own ruin. We are certainly justified in charging him with three errors: First, that imprudent thirst after conquest, which fruitlessly exhausted his revenue, and his forces, and made him neglect the interior administration of his own country. Secondly, the premature indolence to which he resigned himself, executing nothing but by his lieutenants, which diminished the respect entertained for his person by the Mamlouks, and encouraged the spirit of revolt. Thirdly, the excessive riches he showered on his favourite, which procured him the influence he abused. Supposing Mohammad virtuous, ought not Ali to have dreaded the seduction of flatterers, who, in all countries, are the constant attendants on opulence? In Ali Bey, however, we must admire one quality, which distinguishes him from the multitude of tyrants who have governed Egypt: if a vicious education prevented him from knowing what true glory is, it is certain, at least, he was animated with the desire of obtaining it; and this was never the portion of vulgar minds. He wanted nothing but to be advised by those who knew the true road to it; and, among those who are born to command, how few are there who merit this eulogium?

I cannot proceed without a few remarks on an observation I remember to have frequently heard

made at Cairo. Those among our merchants who had witnessed the reign of Ali, and his downfall, after extolling his good government, his zeal for justice, and his beneficence to the Franks, never failed to express their astonishment at his not being regretted by the people; and thence took occasion to repeat those charges of inconstancy and ingratitude with which the Orientals are usually reproached; but, on maturely examining every circumstance, this does not appear to me so extraordinary as it may at first seem.

In Egypt, as in every other country, the judgment of the people is guided by the penury or plenty in which they live; their love or hatred, their censure or applause, are measured by the ease or difficulty with which they can procure the means of subsistence, in consequence of the administration of their rulers; nor can this be esteemed an improper criterion. In vain may we tell them that the honour of the empire, the glory of the nation, the encouragement of commerce, and the improvement of the fine arts, require such and such measures. Every thing is superseded by the necessities of life; and when the multitude want bread, they have at least a right to withhold their praise and admiration. Of what consequence was it to the people of Egypt, that Ali Bey had conquered the Said, Mecca, and Syria, if these conquests only augmented, instead of relieving their burthens? The expences incurred by these wars, increased the contributions they were obliged to raise. The expedition against Mecca alone cost twenty-six millions of French livres (above one million eighty-three thousand

thousand pounds), and the exportation of corn for the use of the armies, added to the monopoly of some merchants in favour, caused a famine, which desolated the country during the whole of the years 1770 and 1771. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Cairo, and the peasants in the villages, were dying with hunger, what wonder if they murmured against Ali Bey? Who can blame them for disapproving of the commerce with India, if all its advantages were to center in a few hands? When Ali Bey expended two hundred and twenty-five thousand livres (above nine thousand pounds), in the useless handle of a *kandjar**, though jewellers might applaud his magnificence, had not the people reason to detest his luxury? This liberality, which his courtiers called virtue, the people, at whose expence it was exercised, were justly entitled to stigmatize as vice. Had this man any merit in lavishing what cost him nothing? Was it an act of justice to gratify his favourite at the expence of the people, or repay with their money his private obligations, as in the case of his purveyor-general†? It must be confessed that the greatest part of the actions of Ali Bey were founded much less on general principles of justice and humanity, than personal motives of vanity and am-

bition. Egypt, in his eyes, was his private property, and the people a vile herd of worthless animals, of whom he might dispose at his pleasure. Ought we then to be astonished, if those whom he treated like an imperious master have vilified his fame like mercenary malecontents?

*Particulars relative to Ragonth Row, usually called Raghobah.—
From the Asiatic Miscellany.*

RAGONAETH Row (who is commonly called Raghobah) is a chieftain of great eminence, and the only survivor of note in the family of Baujee Row. He formerly signalized himself by very considerable military achievements; for it was he that wrested the half of Guzerat from the hand of Daumaujee Kayekvaur, and that afforded such important assistance to the Navaub Gauzy ud Deen Khan in the war with the Juats, in the time of Ahmed Shah. It was he, too, that marched at the head of 100,000 horse against the son of the Abdaulee Shaw, drove him from Lahore, and planted the Maratta standards as far as the shore of the Attock. The Abdaulee Shaw was then engaged in a war on the side of Khorasan; but the year following he entered Hindostan with a large

* A poniard carried in the belt.

† Ali Bey, setting out to go into exile, for he was exiled no less than three times, was encamped near Cairo, being allowed a delay of twenty-four hours, to pay his debts: a janifary, named Hassan, to whom he owed five hundred sequins (one hundred and fifty-six pounds), came to find him. Ali, thinking he wanted his money, began to make excuses. But Hassan, producing five hundred more sequins, said to him, "Thou art in misfortune, take these also." Ali, confounded with this generosity, swore by the head of the Prophet, that, if ever he returned, he would bestow on this man unexampled wealth; and on his return, created him purveyor-general: and though he was informed of the scandalous extortions of Hassan, never even reprimanded him.

army

army to chastise the Marrattas, at a time when the Navaub Gauzy ud Deen Khan was in the country of the Jauts, and under their protection. On receiving news of this event, the Paishwah, Baulajee Pundet, told his son *, Ragonauth Row, that he expected he would take upon him the charge of this expedition also against the Abdaukees; to which Ragonauth Row replied, that he was not averse to it, if he would grant him a supply of twenty lack † of rupees for the pay of his troops. But his cousin Sadashevali being present, observed that the Marrattas were a privileged people; that wherever they went, the country and its revenue might be considered as their own; and then asked Ragonauth Row what grounds he had for so extraordinary a demand? To this Ragonauth replied by making him an offer of the commission, which Sadashevali Row accepted; and having taken the command of an army of 90,000 horse, he first moved with this force against Salaubet Jeng, the brother of the present Navaub Nizam Ali Khau. But that prince having been reduced to great straits since the death of the late Navaub Nasir Jeng, had but a small body of horse to oppose them; and having been surrounded by the Marrattas on all sides, he was obliged to give up to them the forts of Burhaunpoor and Affair, with a country of sixty-five lack of rupees per annum, besides considerable sums of ready money. Thus enriched, Sadashevali Row took his

way towards Hindostan ‡; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Dehly, laid claim § to the empire and the throne: but his pride was offensive to the Most High, by whose providence it happened that he was, in a short time, hemmed in between two formidable armies, that of the Abdaulee Shaw attacking him in front, and that of the Navaub Shujaa ud Dowlah and the Rohillas falling at the same time upon his rear. Here ensued that famous battle, of which those who were eye-witnesses report that it was the greatest ever fought in Hindostan: for the Marrattas being beset with enemies in front and rear, saw no possibility of flight, and therefore resolved to sell their lives as dear as they could. Eighty Marratta chiefs that rode on elephants were killed on the spot: but concerning Sadashevali Row himself there are different accounts, some asserting that he was killed in the engagement, and others as confidently affirming that he escaped alone from the field of battle; and that having reached Poonah, disguised as a private soldier, he waited privately on Baulajee Row, who, in wrath for what had happened, ordered him secretly to prison in the fort of Poorendher; and there, say they, he lives to this day: and yet it is pretended that this is so carefully concealed, that Parabatty Bauhee, his wife, who is still living at Poonah, and even bears a part in the councils of the Marratta chiefs, knows nothing of the matter; which surely gives this story a great air of improbability;

* "His brother," it should be.

† Others say, "sixty lack."

‡ Meaning from the Decan to Hindostan proper.

§ He did not pretend to sit on the throne himself, but set up Javân-bacht.

for how can it be credited that so considerable a man should thus be shut up in prison, and the circumstances not transpire?

After these events Malhâr Row marched to the side of Hindostan, and fixed his quarters a long time at Kaulpee, whence he afterwards moved to Korajehanabad, to succour Shujaa ud Dowlah; but general Carnac engaged him there, and gave him a total defeat. Malhâr Row is since dead, and has been succeeded by his son Tukkojee Holker, and his wife Ahaleeah Bauee, in the possession of the Soobah of Endour, which was his jagheer. They have 50,000 horse at their command, and are of the Dhanker cast.

The next army the Marrattas sent into Hindostan was that commanded by Mehdejee Sendheeah and Beesaujee Pundit, who placed Shah Aulum upon the throne of Dehly; a great subject of boasting to the Marrattas, who say the emperor of Hindostan owes his kingdom entirely to them. But it is well known, that when colonel Champion marched to Mehendee Ghaut, after his success against the Rohillas, he engaged this very Sendheeah, and put him and the whole Marratta army to flight; so that having crossed the Ganges and Jumna with great precipitation, they have never from that time ventured over either of those rivers

again. At present, indeed, Ragonauth Row's revolution has produced such dispersion among the Marratta chiefs, and thrown their affairs into such confusion, that Rajah Himmutee Behauder, Rajah Dhataneeah, the Rajah of Gohud, and others, have united to take advantage of this crisis, and now collect the revenues of all the countries between Kaulpee and Narwer. The Marratta chiefs, however, meditate an invasion into those parts, whenever matters shall be perfectly settled in relation to Ragonauth Row.

Customs and Manners of the Marrattas.—From the same.

SOME of the Marratta customs appeared excellent to me. One was, the good understanding and union that has in general subsisted among their chiefs, in so much that no instance of treachery had ever occurred among them till Ragonauth Row made himself infamous on that account. Another was, the attention and respect paid by the paishwah, and all the great men, to people of the military profession; so that in the public derbar the paishwah is used to receive the compliments of every single jammatdar of horse, himself standing till nine o'clock in the morning, and embracing them by turns*. At taking

* According to the present custom distinctions are made in this matter, which were not formerly observed; for the paishwahs used to embrace all that came without discrimination, till advantage was taken of this custom by Bapujee Naik, who having a grudge at Sadosheevah Bhow (commonly called Bhow Saheb), at the time that he held the office of the first minister to the fourth paishwah Balaujee Row (called also Nanah Saheb), attempted to stab him with his cuttar, when he went to embrace him. From that time a regulation has taken place, according to which none but people of distinction, and they unarmed, are permitted to embrace the paishwah, or others of his family.

leave

leave, also, he gives them beetle standing: and whoever comes to wait upon him, whether men of rank or otherwise, he receives* their salams, or embraces them standing.

Another ordinance current among them is, that if an eminent chieftain who commands even an hundred thousand horse, be sent into some other country with his forces, and happens there to be guilty of some offence, in consequence of which he receives a summons from the paishwah, far from thinking of resistance, he instantly obeys, and repairs to the presence in person with all expedition. The paishwah then pardons him if the offense be small; if otherwise, he is imprisoned for some months, or kept in a state of disgrace, till it is thought proper to admit him again to favour,

A third is, that if an eminent chief goes upon an expedition which subjects him to great expences, such as his own jageer is not sufficient to supply, and he is obliged on that account to run in debt to the Mohajins, though the sum should amount to even ten or twelve lack, it is all freely allowed him;

and though the government have demands upon him to the amount of lacks of rupees, yet if, in such circumstances, he pleads the insufficiency of his means to discharge those arrears, he is excused without hesitation, nor has he any thing to apprehend from being called to account by the dewan, the khanfaman, or other state officers. The chiefs are all their own masters, and expend † what sums they please; so that a general satisfaction prevails among them, and they are always ready at a call with their quota of troops, and march with alacrity upon whatever service they are ordered to undertake. At present Sakharam Baboo causes great discontents among the chiefs, by canvassing their accounts, and making demands on the jageerdars, in a manner very different from the usage of former paishwabs; hence numbers are disaffected, and time must discover what it is that Providence designs to bring about by that means.

Another custom is, that when one of their chiefs that held employments or jageers, &c. dies, his son, though of inferior abilities, or an infant, succeeds ‡ immediately to

* This, it should seem, is too generally expressed; but the custom did, and does still subsist on one particular occasion, to wit, on the day on which the army marches on any expedition, the paishwah then stands at the door of his tent, and, after delivering the golden standard to the general who has been appointed to the command, receives in that posture the compliments of all the troops, of every rank and denomination.

† This must be understood with some limitation. They do, indeed, lavish often great sums when on service, and that not merely on the soldiery, but on feasts given to Brahmans, presents to singers, dancers, &c. and on their return these sums are generally allowed them under the head of *dberram*, or charitable disbursements. But they are so far from being without any check in their expences, that the officer named the *karkun* is sent with each chieftain expressly for that purpose.

‡ This is also liable to some exceptions; for though great attention is paid to the claims of representatives of great families, when those representatives are themselves

to the employment, the business of which is conducted by deputy till he becomes of age, and the monthly stipend, or jageer, &c. is given to his family and relations. Nor are the effects of deceased persons ever seized and appropriated by government, in the manner that has been practised under the emperors of Hindostan.

To the south-west of Poonah, at the distance of fifty cofs, is the fort of Sattarah.

Bombay is about fifty cofs distant due west.

Surat and Guzerat are to the north-west about 130 cofs distant.

Aurangabad stands east of Poonah about seventy cofs.

Bombay, Salfet, Bassen, &c. stand on the shore of the salt sea towards the west.

And the country of Kokun, which belongs to the Marattas, lies south-west of Poonah.

Kokun is a fine country, and produces rice and such things in abundance, with which it supplies Poonah. The paishwah and the other chiefs are mostly Kokun Brahmans. This province is called a Soobah.

The Brahmans of Poonah may be divided into two sorts; the Désy Brahmans, who are those of Aurungabad and those parts: the other those of Kokun.

To the south and east are also many countries under the government of the Marattas, extending from the parts adjacent to Poonah to the boundaries of the *Carnatic**, and Rameer (which is a place of worship of the Hindoos, as famous as that of Kasy, at 300 cofs distance from Poonah), and Panalah, a jageer of the Bhonsalahs, and to the boundary of Nellor, &c. the country of Heider Naig.

To the east and north are situated the serkar of Asair, Burhaunpoor, and the soobah of Khandaise, at the distance of eighty cofs from Poonah.

And to the north and west are the half of the country of Guzerat, the pergunnah of Broanch, &c. which are in the possession of the Maratta paishwah.

Besides all these countries, the pergunnah of Bhêlsa, the soobah of Endour†, the soobah of Udgein, the pergunnah of Seronje, the

themselves men of merit and ability, yet when it happens otherwise, the jageers and employments are at length usually taken from them, and given to persons from whom the state has better expectations.

* The Carnatic must by no means be understood here in the confined sense in which the English receive it. The country governed by Mohammed Aly Khan is only a part of the Carnatic properly so called, and should always be termed the *Carnatic Pauyeen Gbaut*, &c. "that Carnatic which is below the passes." In the name Carnatic standing singly, is to be comprehended all the countries lying south of Merch and Bidder, which composed the ancient kingdom of Viziapoor. In fact, the name of *Carnatic Pauyeen Gbaut* appears to have been given to Mohammed Aly Khan's country by the Moors; for the Marattas allow that appellation to a very small part of it, and denominate the whole soobah of Arcot *Draviddes*, while the Malabars, natives of the country, call it *Soromandelam*, from whence our Coromandel.

† What he says here with respect to the extent of the Maratta dominions southward, applies only to the possession they once had of the country of Tanjore, and the tribute they collected from the Tondemans.

† Endour is a pergunnah.

soobah

over to the Marrattas in jageer, by Gauzy ud Deen Khaun, in consideration of the support and assistance afforded him by the Marratta forces, and they still remain in their possession. The above Mahals are included in the jageers of Tukkojee Holker and Sendheeah; that is to say, there are about 50,000 or 60,000 horse appointed on the side of Hindostan, which these two chiefs pay out of the produce of these countries, and transmit the balance to the paishwah.

The actual revenue derived from all the countries dependent on the Marrattas is about twelve crore, from which when we deduct the jageers, and the expence of the troops stationed on the side of Hindostan proper, there will remain about five crore at the disposal of the paishwah; and out of this he has to pay all those troops who receive their allowances in ready money, and to defray the charges of the forts, which are, large and small, in number about seven hundred: so that there is never a balance of so much as one crore of rupees in ready money remaining

The full number of the troops is about two hundred thousand horse and foot; but including the garrisons of the forts and other places, we may reckon it four hundred thousand.

The Marrattas are always at war with Heider Naig, or the Navaub Nizam Ali Khan, or others. Their country is never in perfect tranquillity, and hence it is exceeding desolate and waste.

They are at present at peace with the Navaub Nizam Ali Khan Behauder, but their country is in much confusion on account of their discontents with Ragonauth Row; advantage of which has been taken by the zemindars of the hills on every side, and by Heider Naig. On the side of Hindostan the Gofayn Rajah Himmut Behauder, and the rajah of Gohud, &c. have seized the soobah of Kalpy †, &c. and the serkar of Gualier §; and Heider Naig has also possessed himself of some of their countries on his side; but as soon as they can promise themselves security with respect to Ragonauth Row, their armies will issue forth on every side.

* Kalpy is not a soobah, but a pergunnah. To these must be added the pergunnah of Dhar; the fort of which, bearing the same name, is very famous for its strength, and is said to have been built by the celebrated Rajah Bhoj, who made it his capital. It is situated at the distance of about twenty-four Bengal coos from the city of Udgein.

† This, it seems, is true at present: but Maudeverow, it is said, had two crore of rupees in his treasury at the time of his death, most of which fell afterwards into the hands of Ragonauth Row, and was dissipated by him on his accession to the government, and his expedition towards the Carnatic.

‡ It ought to be written "the pergunnah of Kalpy." Rajah Himmut Behauder did indeed take Kalpy, in the time and under the orders of Shujaa ud Dowlah, but was soon driven out of it again by the Marratta forces, under the command of Vitthel Sivadeo, Nauroo Sunker, Govind Pundet, &c.

§ The rajah of Gohud got possession of the open country, and a few mud forts in the serkar of Gualier, but was never able to get possession of the fort of that name, till the English took it for him.

Extract

the late Mr. Hanway.—From the
Remarkable Occurrences in his Life,
by Mr. Pugh.

“MR. Hanway in his person was of the middle size, of a thin spare habit, but well shaped; his limbs were fashioned with the nicest symmetry. In the latter years of his life he stooped very much, and when he walked, found it conduce to ease to let his head incline towards one side. When he went first to Russia, at the age of thirty, his face was full and comely, and his person altogether such as obtained for him the appellation of the “Handsome Englishman.” But the shock which his health received in Persia made him much thinner; and though he recovered his health so as to live in England twenty successive years without any material illness, he never recovered his plumpness.

“His features were small, but without the insignificance which commonly attends small features. His countenance was interesting, sensible, and calculated to inspire reverence. His blue eyes had never been brilliant, but they expressed the utmost humanity and benevolence; and when he spoke, the animation of his countenance and the tone of his voice were such as seemed to carry conviction with them even to the mind of a stranger. When he endeavoured to soothe distress, or point out to any wretch who had strayed the comforts of a virtuous life, he was peculiarly impressive; and every thing that he said had an air of consideration and sincerity.

“In his dress, as far as was con-

ceivable, he accommodated himself to the prevailing fashion. As it was frequently necessary for him to appear in polite circles, on unexpected occasions, he usually wore dress clothes, with a large French bag; his hat, ornamented with a gold button, was of a size and fashion to be worn as well under the arm as on the head. When it rained, a small *parapluie* defended his face and wig. Thus he was always prepared to enter into any company, without impropriety, or the appearance of negligence. His dress for set public occasions was a suit of rich dark brown; the coat and waistcoat lined throughout with ermine, which just appeared at the edges; and a small gold-hilted sword. As he was extremely susceptible of cold, he wore flannel under the linings of all his clothes, and usually three pair of stockings. He was the first man who ventured to walk the streets of London with an umbrella over his head: after carrying one near thirty years, he saw them come into general use.

“His mind was the most active that it is possible to conceive; always on the wing, and never appearing to be weary. To sit still, and endeavour to give rest to the thought, was a luxury to which he was a perfect stranger: he dreaded nothing so much as inactivity, and that modern disorder which the French, who feel it not so much as ourselves, distinguish by the name of *ennui*.

“He rose in the summer at four or five, and in the winter at seven; and having always business before him, he was every day employed till the time of retiring to rest; and when in health, I am told, was commonly

commonly asleep within two minutes after his lying down in bed.

" Writing was his favourite employment, or rather amusement; and when the number of his literary works is considered, and that they were the produce only of those hours, which he was able to snatch from public business, an idea may be formed of his application. He wrote a fine flowing hand to the last, when he pleased, without spectacles. And he had always one or two of the clerks belonging to his office, or to some of the charitable institutions in which he was engaged, to live in his house and assist him. When doctor Goldsmith, to relieve himself from the labour of writing, engaged an amanuensis, he found himself incapable of dictation; and after eying each other some time, unable to proceed, the doctor put a guinea in his hand, and sent him away: but it was not so with Mr. Hayway; he could compose faster than any person could write. His mode was to dictate for as many hours together as he could spare, and afterwards correct the copy, which was again wrote out and corrected, perhaps several times.

" By leaving his work to transact his ordinary business, and afterwards recurring to it with new ideas, all his literary labours are defective in the arrangement of the matter, and appear to have too much of the miscellaneous in their composition. The original idea is sometimes left for the pursuit of one newly started, and either taken up again, when the mind of the reader has almost lost it, or it is totally deserted. Yet those who are judges of literary composition, say that his language is well calcu-

lated to have the effect he desired on the reader, and impress him with the idea that the author was a man of inflexible integrity, and wrote from the pure dictates of the heart. It is plain and unornamented, without the appearance of art, or the affectation of singularity. Its greatest defect (say they) is a want of conciseness; its greatest beauty an unaffected and genuine simplicity. He spoke French and Portuguese, and understood the Rus and modern Persic imperfectly: Latin he had been taught at school; but had not much occasion to cultivate it after he entered into life.

In his natural disposition he was cheerful, but serene. He enjoyed his own joke, and applauded the wit of another; but never descended from a certain dignity, which he thought indispensably necessary. His experience furnished him with some anecdote or adventure, suitable to every turn the discourse could take; and he was always willing to communicate it. If in the hour of conviviality the discourse took a turn, not consistent with the most rigid chastity, he was not forward to reprove or take offence; but any attack on religion, especially in the company of young people, was sure to meet his most pointed disapprobation. In conversation he was easy of access, and gave readily to every one the best answer which occurred: but not fond of much speaking himself, he did not always bear with patience, though commonly with silence, the forward and importunate; them with whom every man, and every thing, is either the very best or the very worst possible; who exemplify, for the instruction of their auditors, those common ideas

ideas which it is not possible could escape them; and think loudness, and the gesticulation of unnecessary warmth, can supply the place of argument and politeness. If the mirth degenerated into boisterous laughter, he took his leave: "My companions," he would say, "were too merry to be happy, or or let me be happy, so I left them." He spoke better in public than was to be expected of one who wrote so much, and pointed to his subject; though he was sometimes seduced into an eulogium on the usefulness of the *merchant*, a character for which he entertained great reverence.

"Although he himself never drank wine undiluted with water, he partook willingly of the joys of the table, and that felicity of conversation, which a moderate application to the bottle excites among men of parts; but he knew how the love of company infatuates young people, and the danger to which it exposes them. The writer of these sheets is indebted to him beyond the power of expression, particularly for his advice, which he had the method of administering without giving disgust; and he never received so serious a caution as when at a public meeting, at the desire of Sir Joseph Andrews, he sung a song better than Mr. Hanway expected.

"In his transactions with the world, he was always open, candid and sincere: Whatever he said might be depended on with implicit confidence. He adhered to the strict truth, even in the *manner* of his relation, and no brilliancy of thought could induce him to vary from the fact; but although so frank in his own proceedings, he

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had seen too much of life to be easily deceived by others; and he did not often place a confidence that was betrayed. He did not, however, think the world so degenerate as is commonly imagined: "And if I did," he used to say, "I would not let it appear; for nothing can tend so effectually to make a man wicked, or to keep him so, as a marked suspicion. Confidence is the reward of truth and fidelity, and these should never be exerted in vain."

"His religion was pure, rational, fervent, and sincere; equally distant from a cold inanimate languor, and the phantasies of supernatural intelligence; it was his resource constantly in trouble, as was writing at the moment of imagination. He believed the truths revealed in the gospel, with the most unvaried confidence; but shewing no austerity to persons who set the dictates of nature and experience in opposition to them, if they appeared to doubt with a willingness to be convinced. He considered religion as the most effectual restraint on bad actions; and although he rejoiced at the light which has been thrown by Mr. Voltaire, and other modern writers, on the superstition of former ages; he preferred even that, with its attendant cruelty and selfishness, to a comfortless scepticism, and sometimes proceeded so far as to express his fears, that the generality might one day become too enlightened to be happy.

"He knew well how much the happiness of mankind is dependant on honest industry, and received a pleasure, but faintly described in words, when any of the objects of his charity cleanly apparelled, and with cheerful and contented coun-

D

tenances,

tenances, came to pay their respects to him. He treated them as his acquaintances, entered into their concerns with a paternal affection, and let them know that on any real emergency they might apply with confidence to him. It was this, rather than the largeness of his gifts, that endeared him so much to the common people: he never walked out but was followed by the good wishes, silent or expressed, of some to whom he had offered relief. To meet the eye of him whom he had obliged, was to him the highest luxury: and no man enjoyed it oftener.

"Of his charity, it is not easy to convey an adequate idea: it was of that prudent and considerate kind, which is of the most substantial benefit. It did not consist merely in giving; and though his heart was ever open to the complaint of the unfortunate, it required something more than mere supplication to obtain his assistance. He was particularly careful to discountenance the fashionable genteel way of begging by letter, in which talents capable of procuring support are held out as excuses for distress. To him that had once deceived him by fictitious distress he was inexorable; but when real misery, the effect of accident or inevitable misfortune, came in his way, he never failed to afford substantial relief, which he was always enabled to do; for he had the distribution every year of more than his whole income amounted to. It is not the love of money, so much as the love of ease, which keeps close the coffers of the wealthy.

"When once Mr. Hanway had engaged in a public charitable undertaking, he omitted nothing that

could possibly tend to its promotion; no department was beneath him; his eye pervaded the whole system, and, like that of Providence, never stopt whilst any thing remained to be done to further his benevolent designs. He thought every thing great which concerned the cause of humanity. The welfare of his fellow-creatures shewed itself in every action of his life."

Curious Account of a peculiar Race of People in Siberia, called Wodyacks; extracted from an original Letter, dated St. Petersburg, June 14, 1783. From the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1787.

"COUNT Alexander Strogoff arrived very lately from his copper and salt-mines in the government of Solikamsky, and related this day at table, that, in the neighbourhood of some of his estates in that part of Siberia, there dwells a peculiar race of people (called Wodyacks) who are neither Christians, Mahometans, nor yet Idolaters, as all around them are, but have preserved the worship of one God, without any apparent type or image of him, so universal in the East. They have no order of priesthood set apart, but live in families, the head of which officiates as such when they make an offering of their first fruits in harvest time, which is the only token of religious worship the Russians have ever discovered among them.

They call a man *Adam* in their language, and talk of themselves as the original *Stock* (the count's term in French was *La Souche*), from whence the other parts of the earth were peopled.

Their

Their funeral ceremony consists in setting the dead corpse before the relations, when they make a repast, out of which they present a portion to the deceased, and, after a short silence, they use these general words: "Since thou neither eat-
 "est nor drinkest more, we per-
 "ceive thou hast finished thine ex-
 "ile, therefore return to the coun-
 "try whence thou camest, and
 "leave thy virtues to thy family;" and then, depositing the corpse in the ground, they return to finish the repast: but with the utmost sobriety and regularity.

They live in the most perfect equality; giving no precedence but to the aged or heads of families."

Some Account and Character of the late Robert Lowth, D. D. Lord Bishop of London; extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1787.

"**H**IS family were originally from the county of Lincoln. His great grandfather was Mr. Simon Lowth, rector of Tylehurst, in the county of Berks; his grandfather William Lowth, an apothecary in the parish of St. Martin, Ludgate, and burnt out, with great loss, at the fire of London in 1666. His father was William Lowth, of St. John's College, Oxford, and chaplain to Dr. Mew, bishop of Winchester, in which church he had a prebend, and the living of Boniton, in the county of Hants, well known by his Commentaries on the prophetic writings, and other learned works. He died in 1732, leaving two sons, the late bishop of London, and Charles Lowth, an eminent hofier in Paternoster-row,

F. A. S. 1756, and his collection of prints was sold after his death, 1770.—His Lordship was born in 1711. Winchester was the school which has the boast of breeding this very learned and virtuous man. From thence he was removed, on the same foundation, to New College, Oxford, where he proceeded M. A. 1737, and was created D. D. by diploma in 1754. His fame for classical accomplishments and Oriental literature was there soon and greatly established, and was never unaccompanied with credit, yet more enviable, of private worth, and manners at once delicate and brave. These were such recommendations as were sure to force their way with those who were themselves most commendable. The hereditary virtue of the Cavendishes is not more certain than their lineal readiness to distinguish the virtue of others. Mr. Lowth was chosen as the tutor of the Duke of Devonshire. He went abroad with him, and brought home such a return as was to be expected from kindred honour and well reciprocated use. When the duke became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Dr. Lowth went with him, and, as first chaplain, had the first preferment which government there got in their disposal. That was no less than the bishoprick of Kilmore. But Lowth's mind at that time being set on objects even higher than mitres, many family and friendly charms, and some pursuits in literature, which particularly endeared the preference of his native country, an exchange was sought for, and what very rarely happens, was no sooner sought for than found. There was at that time a Mr. Leslie, with the same eagerness to get into Ire-

land as Lowth had to get out of it. He agreed to accept Kilmore, Lowth succeeding to what he relinquished, a prebend of Durham and the rectory of Sedgfield. Butler was then Bishop of Durham; and when he collated Lowth to these preferments, he expressed a well-natured exultation on this double gratification of mutual wishes; and perhaps allowably, with a secret preference to superior talents. To this resistless plea who can help being partial? And how is the jurisdiction of a bishop to get more favourably distinguished than by all his ostensible favours being possessed by distinguished men? Such was the good effect of the first kindness from the Duke of Devonshire; but it was not the last. Merit, when to be rewarded by the meritorious, is sure of no penurious reward. In the administration formed by the late Duke of Cumberland, Lowth's friends participating largely, he was the first bishop that they made. On the bench of bishops, as every where else, the first step is the hardest. From thence each other advance follows with comparative ease, tho' his first bishoprick was St. David's, to which he was appointed in May, 1776, on the death of Bishop Squire. He went to Oxford on the September following, on the translation of Bishop Hume from thence to the see of Salisbury; and in April 1777, when London lost Bishop Terrick, he was succeeded by Dr. Lowth. He entered on this high office with expectations singularly splendid. He brought with him a literary character of the first order, to decorate the diocese; and he promised to serve it as Terrick had done, with temper and discretion, both most exemplary; with the same

amiable manners, with the same useful zeal. These expectations he did not disappoint. He was as good as his word. He could not be better. Not one of his predecessors ever had claim to more desert, and was more spontaneously devoted to the claims of deserving men. His patronage need have no more said about it, than that it provided for two such men as Dr. Horsley and Mr. Eaton. His literary character is better known from its own efforts than by any thing now to be said about it. Few men attempted so much, and with more success. A victory, and on the right side, over such an adversary as Warburton, is no small distinction. His triumphs in Hebrew learning were yet more gratifying. Witness his learned *Prælections* on its poetry, while he held the poetry professorship, from 1738 to 1748, at Oxford. They were published in 1763, and translated into English by Mr. Gregory in 1787. But perhaps the most enviable, as the most useful achievements, are what refer to his own language; which owes to him what nothing said in it can ever pay, the *First Institutes of Grammar*, printed in 17..; and, in his *Translation of Isaiah*, the sublimest poetry in the world.—His obligations to the colleges where he received his education are admirably expressed in his judicious, complete, and learned *Life of their Founder*, 1758; reprinted, with additions, 1759. His gratitude to the university at large was not more finely worded in that elegant vindication of her in his letter to Bishop Warburton, p. 64.—His personal manners and opinions had in them nothing particular. That his morality was religious, and that

his

his religion was Christian, need not be doubted. He conversed with lettered elegance, with very courtly suavity and ease.—His taste in the arts was highly refined, and of the objects in which the imagination loves to revel, landscape scenery appeared to interest him most.—His temper was quickly sympathetic, but more susceptible to sorrow than joy. On provocations that led to anger, his emotions were rather hasty; and it was to the praise of his discipline, rather than his nature, that they never held him too fast, nor hurried him too far. Through various struggles of duty and trial, no evidence of manhood could be finer, whether disaster was to be suffered or subdued. His lamentations on his daughter's tomb will be cherished every where, till pathetic elegance shall be no more. When his other daughter dropped in sudden death at his tea-table, and his eldest son, with all that scholarship and honour could do for him, was given prematurely to the grave, he exemplified the resources which God has given to man, when reason is invigorated by faith, and the spirit of man is "to sorrow not without hope." To glory in infirmity is, if not vain, boastful pre-eminence. Yet, if ever infirmity had such mitigation in their cause, they were those of the excellent person we now lament. His mental visitations arose, chiefly, from the extreme tenderness of his heart. His bodily ailments, Tiffot can prove, were those which follow from being studious over-much. Such seems to be, on a summary view, the leading points of this very conspicuous object. Where an

object brightens with such unusual lustre, it is not useless to admire. To imitate, would be very useful indeed.—Learning and benevolence equally characterised his lordship; nor was he less distinguished for a fruitful and happy genius. The ardour of his mind never abated in his literary pursuits. He wrote in the purest Hebrew. Dr. Sharpe and his lordship were both of opinion, that this was the language spoken in Paradise. We find, by this excellent and learned prelate, that the true ancient Hebrew character is that which is found on the medals of Simon, commonly called the Samaritan medals; but which were really Hebrew medals, struck by the Jews, and not the Samaritans. His lordship's "Observations on the Antiquity of the Hebrew Points" are deduced from grammar, testimony, and history.—Amongst his many elegant productions, there is one not yet mentioned, which affords an early specimen of his taste for poetry and divinity. It is a poem "On the Genealogy of Christ," as it is represented on the east window of Winchester college chapel, and was written when he was a boy at Winchester school.—Eight of his sermons, preached on public occasions, have been published, and it is hoped will now be collected into a volume.—Having been much afflicted with the stone, his body was opened, and eight stones were taken away, one of very considerable magnitude.—On Monday, the 12th of November, at noon, his lordship's remains were privately, but solemnly, interred in a vault at Fulham church, near those of his predecessor."

NATURAL HISTORY.

Observations tending to shew that the Wolf, Jackal, and Dog, are all of the same Species. By John Hunter, Esq. F. R. S.

THE true distinction between different species of animals must ultimately, as appears to me, be gathered from their incapacity of propagating with each other an offspring capable again of continuing itself by subsequent propagations: thus the horse and ass beget a mule capable of copulation, but incapable of begetting or producing offspring. If it be true, that the mule has been known to breed, which must be allowed to be an extraordinary fact, it will by no means be sufficient to determine the horse and ass to be of the same species; indeed, from the copulation of mules being very frequent, and the circumstance of their breeding very rare, I should rather attribute it to a degree of monstrosity in the organs of the mule which conceived, not being those of a mixed animal, but those of the mare, or female ass. This is not so far-fetched an idea, when we consider that some true species produce monsters, which are a mixture of both sexes, and that many animals of distinct sex are incapable of breeding at all.

If then we find nature in its greatest perfection deviating from general principles, why may not it happen likewise in the production of mules, so that sometimes a mule shall breed from the circumstance of its being a monster respecting mules?

The times of uterine gestation being the same in all the varieties of every species of animals, this circumstance becomes necessary to determine a species.

The affinity between the fox, wolf, jackal, and several varieties of the dog, in their external form and several of their properties, is so striking, that they appear to be only varieties of the same species. The fox would seem to be a greater remove from the dog than either the jackal or wolf, at least in disposition, not being either so sociable respecting its own species or man, but naturally a solitary animal, from all which I should suspect it is only allied to the dog by being of the same genus. It is confidently asserted by many, that the fox breeds with the dog, but this has not been accurately ascertained; but, if it had, it would probably have been carried further, and once breeding, according to what we have said, does not constitute a species; this, however, is
a part

a part I mean to investigate. Wolves and jackals are found in herds; and the jackal is so little afraid of the human species, that like a dog, it comes into houses in search of food, more like a variety of the dog in consequence of cultivation than chance. It is by much the most familiar of the two; for we shall find hereafter, that in its readiness to copulate with the dog, and its familiarity with the dog afterwards, it is somewhat different from the wolf. The wolf then being an animal better known in Europe, where inquiries of this kind are made, some pains has been taken to ascertain, whether or not it was of the same species with the dog; but, I believe, it has been hitherto considered as only belonging to the same genus.

Accident often does as much for natural history as premeditated plans, especially when nature is left to itself. The first instance of the dog and wolf breeding in this country seems to have been about the year 1766. A Pomeranian bitch of Mr. Brookes's in the New Road, was lined only once by a wolf, and brought forth a litter of nine healthy puppies. The veracity of Mr. Brookes is not to be doubted respecting the bitch being lined by a wolf; yet, as it was possible she might have been lined by some common dog without his knowledge, the fact was not clearly made out; but it has been since ascertained, that the dog and wolf will breed. Several noblemen and gentlemen bought some of the puppies, as I was informed by Mr. Brookes. My Lord Clanbrassil purchased a bitch-puppy; and Mr. Brookes presented one to me, which I kept for observations and experiment. Its

actions were not truly those of a dog; it had more quickness in attending to things, was more easily startled, as if particularly apprehensive of danger, quicker in transitions from one action to another, not so ready to the call, being less docile; and from these peculiarities it lost its life, being stoned to death in the streets for a mad dog.

Hearing that Lord Clanbrassil's bitch had bred, Sir Joseph Banks was so obliging as, at my request, to write to his lordship, who sent the following account.

Sir,

About seventeen or eighteen years ago, the late Lord Monthermer and I happened to see a dog-wolf at Mr. Brookes's, who deals in animals, and lives in the New Road. The animal was remarkably tame; and it struck us, for that reason, that a breed might be procured between him and a bitch.

We promised Mr. Brookes a good price for puppies, if he succeeded. In about a year a bitch produced nine, and Lord Monthermer bought one; and I had another, which was a bitch. Lord Monthermer's died of fits in about two years: mine lived longer, and had puppies only once. One I gave to Lord Pembroke; but became of it I do not remember. It was grand-daughter of the wolf by the dam, and got by a large pointer of mine.

It might be considered, that Mr. Brookes's word was not sufficient proof that the puppies were really got by the wolf; but the appearance of the animals, so totally different from all others of the canine species, did not leave a doubt upon our minds; and I remember Hans Stanley, who had adopted Buffon's
opinion,

opinion, was thoroughly convinced upon seeing mine. The animals had the shape of the wolf refined: the fur long, but almost as fine as that of the black fox.

I am afraid I have trespassed too much upon your time, and will only beg you will be assured nothing can give me more pleasure than any opportunity of assuring you how truly

I am, Sir, &c.

CLANBRASSIL.

Jan. 7, 1787.

Upon the supposition that Mr. Brookes's bitch was lined by no dog but the wolf, which I think we have no reason to doubt, the species of the wolf is ascertained; but I chose to trace this breed still farther; and hearing that Lord Pembroke's bitch had likewise bred, I was anxious to know the truth of it; and, finding his lordship was in France, I took the liberty of writing to Lord Herbert, and received in answer the following letter.

Wilton-house, Dec. 20, 1786.

Sir,

The half-bred wolf-bitch you al-

lude to was given, as I always understood, to Lord Pembroke by Lord Clanbrassil. She might, perhaps, have been bought at Brookes's by him. She had four litters, one of ten puppies, by a dog between a mastiff and a bull-dog. One of these was given to Dr. Eyre, at Wells, in Somersetshire, and one to Mr. Buckett, at Stockbridge. The second litter was of nine puppies, some of which were sent to Ireland, but to whom I know not. This litter was by a different dog, but of the same breed as the first. The third litter was of eight puppies, by a large mastiff. Two of these were, I believe, sent to the present Duke of Queensberry. The fourth litter consisted of seven puppies; two of which were sent to M. Cérjat, a gentleman who now resides at Lausanne in Switzerland, and is famous for breaking dogs remarkably well. These two puppies were, however, naturally so wild and unruly, that he found it impossible to break them. She died four years ago, and the following inscription was put over the place where she is buried in this garden, by Lord Pembroke's orders.

Here lies Lupa,
whose grandmother was a wolf,
whose father and grandfather were dogs, and whose
mother was half wolf and half dog. She died
on the 16th of October, 1782, aged 12 years.

I am sorry it is not in my power to give you any better account; but if you think proper to write to Lord Pembroke, who is at Paris, I am convinced he will be very happy to give you any further information.

I am, &c.

HERBERT.

Buffon, whose remarks in natural history are well known, made experiments to ascertain how far the wolf and dog were of the same species, but without success. He says, "A she-wolf, which I kept three years, although shut up very young, and along with a greyhound

hound of the same age, in a spacious yard, could not be brought to agree with it, nor endure it, even when she was in heat. She was the weakest, yet the most mischievous; provoking, attacking, and biting the dog, which at first only defended itself, but at last killed her." And in another part of his work, he makes the following observation: "The dog, the wolf, the fox, and the jackal, form a genus, of which the different species are really so nearly allied to each other, and of which the individuals resemble each other so much, particularly by the internal structure and parts of generation, that it is difficult to conceive why they do not breed together*."

This part of natural history lay dormant till Mr. Gough, who sells

birds, and has a collection of animals on Holborn-hill, repeated the experiment on a wolf-bitch, which was very tame, and had all the actions of a dog under confinement. A dog is the most proper subject for comparison, as we have opportunities of being acquainted with its dispositions and modes of expressing its sensations, which are most distinguishable in the motion of the ears and tail; such as pricking up the ears when anxious, wishing, or in expectation; depressing them when supplicant, or in fear; raising the tail in anger or love, depressing it in fear, and moving it laterally in friendship; and likewise in raising the hair on the back from many affections of the mind. This animal became in heat in the month of December 1785; and as Mr. Gough had some idea of breeding

* In the Supplement to his works, he gives the following account which had been sent to him. "A very young she-wolf, brought up at the Marquis of Spontin's, at Namur, had a dog, of nearly the same age, kept with it as a companion. For two years they were at liberty, coming and going about the apartments, the kitchen, the stables, &c. lying under the table, and upon the feet of those who sat round it. They lived in the greatest familiarity.

"The dog was a strong greyhound. The wolf was fed on milk for six months; after that, raw meat was given her, which she preferred to that which was dressed. When she ate no one durst approach her; but at other times people might do as they pleased, provided they did not use her ill. At first she made much of all the dogs that were brought to her; but afterwards she gave the preference to her old companion, and from that time she became very fierce if any strange dog approached her. She was lined for the first time on the 25th of March; this was frequently repeated while her heat continued, which was sixteen days; and she littered the 6th of June, at eight o'clock in the morning; the period of gestation was therefore seventy-three days at the most*. She brought forth four young ones of a blackish colour, some of whose feet, and a part of the breast, were white; in this respect taking after the dog, who was black and white. From the time she littered she became surly, and set up her back at those who came near her; did not know her masters, and would even have killed the dog, if it had been in her power."

* This is a longer period than in the bitch by at least ten days; but as the account was made from the first time of her being lined, and she was in heat for a fortnight, and lined in that time, it is very probable, if the time was known when she conceived, that it would prove to be the same period as in the dog.

from

leopards, &c. he was anxious to have the wolf lined by some dog; but she would not allow any dog to come near her, probably from her not being accustomed to be with dogs, and being always chained. She was held, however, while a greyhound dog lined her, and they were fastened together exactly as the dog and bitch. While in conjunction she was pretty quiet; but when at liberty, she endeavoured to fly at the dog. In this way she was twice lined. She conceived, and brought forth young ones. The time she went with young was not exactly known; but it was believed to be the same as in the bitch. Two of the puppies were like the dog in colour, who had large black spots on a white ground; one was of a black colour, and the fourth of a kind of dun, and would probably have been like the mother. She took great care of them, yet did not seem very anxious when one was taken from her by the keeper; nor did she seem afraid when strangers came into the room. Unfortunately these experiments were carried no further; one being sold to a gentleman, who carried it to the East-Indies; and the other three were killed by a leopard, one of which I was to have had. The same wolf was in heat in December 1786, and was lined several times by a dog. She pupped on the 24th of February 1787, and had six puppies, which may afford opportunities, if they are thought necessary, of repeating experiments on this subject.

While pursuing this subject, I was informed, that Captain Meats, of the Royal Bishop East-Indiaman, had brought home a bitch jackal

and young, which had been brought forth soon after his arrival; and that he had given the bitch jackal and one puppy to Mr. Bailey, bird-merchant, in Piccadilly. I went to see them, and purchased the puppy, the subject of the following experiment, which had dispositions very similar to the half-bred wolf which I had from Mr. Brookes before mentioned.

To have a true history of this animal, I took the liberty of writing to Mr. Mears, who politely called upon me, and, at my request, put down the particulars in the form of a letter to me, of which the following is a copy.

Sir,

I had the honour of yours the 15th instant; and with regard to the female jackal, I can assure you, that she took a small spaniel dog of mine on board my ship, the Royal Bishop. I had her, when a cub, at Bombay; and a very short time before I arrived in England she got to heat, and enticed this small dog into the long-boat, where I saw them repeatedly fast together. I brought her to my house in the country, where she pupped six puppies, one of which you have seen. Mr. Plaw, at N° 90, Tottenham-Court-Road, has a dog-puppy, which will be at your service at any time you chuse to send for him, to make any further experiments: I called on Mr. Plaw, and got his promise to let you have the dog.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

WM MEARS.

No. 107, Hatton-street.
16th Jan. 1786.

P. S. I had the bitch on board fourteen months.

I took

I took this puppy into the country, and chained it up near a mastiff dog, and they were very familiar, and seemingly fond of each other. When the bitch became first in heat, I could not get a proper dog for her; but the latter end of September being again in the same situation, several dogs were procured, and left with her. They appeared indifferent about her, probably from being in a strange place; and she did not seem inclined to be familiar with them; whether the great dog might be able to line her I do not know; she was, however, twice tied by a tarrier on the 3d of October. In a few weeks she was evidently become bigger; and on the 30th of November, in all fifty-nine days, she brought forth five puppies. Some days before this period she dug a hole under ground, by the side of her kennel, in which she brought forth, and it was some time before she would allow the puppies to stay in the kennel when put there. In about eight days some, and nine days others of them began to open their eyelids.

Here then is an absolute proof of the jackal being a dog; and it appears to me, that the wolf is equally made out to be of the same species. It now then becomes a question, whether the wolf is from the jackal, or the jackal from the wolf, supposing they had but one origin? From the supposition, that varieties become more tame in their nature, we should be led to believe the wolf to be the original, and that the jackal was a step towards civilisation in that species of animal. There are wolves of various kinds, each country having a wolf peculiar to itself; but the jackals that

I have seen have been more uniformly the same, both those from Africa, and those from the East-Indies. I am informed, however, that they vary in size. Whether all the wolves of different countries are of one species, or some of them only of the same genus, I do not know; but I should rather suppose them to be all of one species. What is with me an argument in favour of this supposition is, that, if there were wolves of distinct species, we should have had by this time a great variety of that species of wolves, with the various dispositions arising from variation in other respects; and those varieties now turned to very useful purposes, as has been the case with the dog; for all the wolves we are yet acquainted with, have naturally the principle of cultivation in them, as much probably as any animal, or as much at least as those wolves we now know to be dogs. The not having a civilised species of wolf is, indeed, with me a proof that they are all of the same species with the dog. If they are all of the same species with the dog, then the first variety that took place was still in the character of a wolf, differing only in colour, or some trivial circumstance which could only take place from a difference in climate; civilisation or cultivation in a state of nature being the same in them all. Where they became jackal, or what we now call dog, is difficult to say; or what dog we can call the first remove, as many dogs differ very much from one another; or whether the jackal is the intermediate link between the wolf and the dog. In either case we have three great varieties in this species, wolf, jackal, and dog, with

with the varieties in each. If the dog is proved to be the wolf tamed, the jackal may probably be the dog returned to his wild state.

To ascertain the original animal of a species, it is proper to examine all the varieties of that species, and see how far they have the character of the genus, and what resemblance they bear to the other species of the genus; for it is natural to suppose, that the original, or the animal which is nearest to it, will have more of the true character of the genus, and will have a stronger resemblance to the species nearest allied to it, than any of the other varieties of its own species.

If we apply this to the dog, and consider the fox as a distinct species, which there is great reason to believe it is, that variety which has the strongest resemblance to the fox, is to be looked upon as the original of all the others; which will prove to be the wolf.

Another mode of considering this subject, which is however secondary to the above, is, supposing that all animals were at first wild; and, therefore, that those animals which remain wild, are the original stock; and that the further we find animals removed from their originals in appearance, they are really further removed in consequence of variation taking place from cultivation, so that we may still be able to trace the gradation. What gives some force to this idea is, that where the dogs have been least cultivated, there they still retain most of their original character, or similarity to the wolf or the jackal, both in shape and disposition. Thus the shepherd's dog, all over the world, has strongly the character of the wolf or jackal; so that but

little difference is to be observed except in size and hair. Size is, perhaps, a variety taking place under a variety of circumstances; but difference in hair is, in general, influenced by climate, although perhaps not always so. Thus the wolf has longer and softer hair than the jackal, because he is a more northern animal; and the jackal and shepherd's dog in Portugal and Spain have shorter and stronger hair than those of Germany or Kamchatka, from inhabiting warmer climates. But when we consider their general shape, the character of countenance, the quick manner with the pricked and erect ears, we must suppose them varieties of the same species. The smelling at the tail has been described as characteristic of the dog; but, I believe, it is common to most animals, and only marks the male; for it is the most certain way the male has of knowing the female, and also discloses another scent, which is the final intention, whether the female is disposed to receive the male.

The Esquimaux dog, and that found among the Indians as far south as the Cherokees; the shepherd's dog in Germany, called Pomeranian; the shepherd's dog in Portugal and Spain; have all a strong similarity to the wolf and jackal.

Buffon, on the origin of dogs, seems to have possessed nearly the same idea; for he says the shepherd's dog is the original stock from which the different races of dogs have sprung.

As the wolf turns out to be a dog, it seems astonishing, that there was no account of dogs being found in America. But this I consider as a defect in the first history of that country.

country, for there are wolves; and I think, in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, the Esquimaux and Indian dog is only a variety from a wolf in that country, which had been tamed. Mr. Cameron, of Titchfield-street, who was many years among the Cherokees, and considerably to the westward of that country, observes, that the dog found there is very similar to the wolf; and that the natives consider it to be a species of tame wolf; but as we come more among the Europeans who have settled there, the dogs are more of a mixed breed; for why they should only have had this kind of dog transported among them, while every other part of America has the varieties of Europe, is not easily solved.

The voice of animals is commonly characteristic of the species; but I should suppose, it is only characteristic of the original species, and not always of the variety, and this supposition holds good in the dog-species. It would appear, that the voice of the wolf and the jackal is very similar, and is principally conveyed through the nose, and exactly resembles that noise in dogs, which is a mark of longing or melancholy, and also of fondness; but has no resemblance to the bark of the dog, which they do not perform. Barking is peculiar to certain varieties of the dog kind, and even some that do bark, do it less than others. The dogs in the South-sea islands do not bark: our greyhound barks but little; while the mastiff, and many of the smaller tribe, as spaniels, are particularly noisy in this way. It would appear as if the frequency of this noise arose from imitation; for the dogs in the South-seas learn to

bark; and others, as the hound, have a peculiar howl, which, by huntsmen, is called the tongue. This noise, as also the bark, is made by opening the mouth. A variety in the voice, or some parts of the voice, in the varieties of the same species, is not peculiar to the dog.

A remarkable Case of numerous Births, with Observations. By Maxwell Garthshore, M. D. F. R. S. and A. S. in a Letter to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S.

To Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S.
St. Martin's Lane, May 28, 1787.

Sir,

THE following very extraordinary case, communicated to me by Dr. Blanc, F. R. S. I take the liberty, at his desire, to transmit to you, with his letter to me, containing the proofs of its authenticity; hoping that it will appear to you, as it did to us, worthy of being read at one of the meetings of the Royal Society, as a fact in natural history, which is equally uncommon, curious, and well vouched. In order, however, to make its singularity more apparent, I have taken the liberty to subjoin some observations on births of this kind, with such well authenticated accounts of similar events as I have been able to procure, confining myself chiefly to those which have happened in our own country, where we are least likely to be deceived.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MAXWELL GARTHSHORE.

P. S. As one proof of its singularity, I, many months ago, employed

ployed various friends at Peterburgh, Berlin, Vienna, Lyons, Paris, and Ghent, to collect for me well authenticated cases of this kind, and I have not as yet been able to procure any.

Copy of a letter from Dr. Blane, Physician to his Majesty's Navy and to St. Thomas's Hospital, F. R. S. to Dr. Garthshore, Physician to the British Lying-in Hospital.

Sackville Street, June 22, 1786.

Dear Sir,

A few days ago, I received from the country an account of a woman who was delivered of five children at a birth in April last. As your extensive experience and reading in this line of practice enable you to judge, how far this fact is rare or interesting, I submit it to you, whether it deserves to be communicated to the Royal Society. Mr. Hull, the gentleman who sent me the case, is a very sensible and ingenious practitioner of physic at Blackburn, in Lancashire. He attended the labour himself from beginning to end, and his character for fidelity and accuracy is well known to me, as he was formerly a pupil at the hospital to which I am physician; so that no fact can be better authenticated. He mentions also, that he has preserved all those five children in spirits; and, if desired, he will send them for the inspection of the Society*.

I am, with great regard, &c.

GILBERT BLANE.

Margaret Waddington, aged twenty-one, a poor woman of the township of Lower Darwin, near Blackburn in Lancashire, formerly delivered of one child at the full term of pregnancy, conceived a second time about the beginning of December 1785, and from that period became affected with the usual symptoms that attend breeding. At the end of the first month she became lame, complained of considerable pains in her loins, and the enlargement of her body was so remarkably rapid, that she was then judged by her neighbours to be almost half gone with child. At the end of the second month she found herself somewhat larger, and her breeding complaints continued to increase. When the third month was completed, she thought herself fully as large as she had formerly been in her ninth month, and to her former symptoms of nausea, vomiting, lameness, and pain of the loins, she had now added a distressing shortness of breath. She continued to increase so rapidly in size, that she thought she could perceive herself growing larger every day, and she was under the frequent necessity of widening her cloaths. When she reckoned herself eighteen weeks gone, she first perceived somewhat indistinctly the motion of a child. By the 20th of April, 1786, all her complaints were become much more distressing; she had much tension and pain over all the abdomen, her vomiting was incessant, and she now could not make water but with the utmost difficulty. The symptoms

* They were accordingly sent; and having been exhibited to the Society when this paper was read, are now deposited in the Museum of Mr. John Hunter.

being

being palliated by Mr. Lancaster, she advanced in her pregnancy to Monday the 24th of April, when being supposed to have arrived at the twentieth week, she was seized with labour pains. These continued gradually to increase till the next day, about two in the afternoon; at which time I was sent for, Mr. Lancaster being absent, and she was soon delivered of a small, dead, but not putrid, female child. The pains continuing, this was soon followed by a second less child; to this very soon succeeded a third, larger than the first, which was alive; to these a fourth soon followed, somewhat larger than the first, and very putrid; last of all, there soon succeeded a fifth child, larger than any of the former, and born alive. These five children were all females; two were born alive; and the whole operation was performed in the space of fifty minutes. The first made its appearance at two in the afternoon, and the last at ten minutes before three. Each child presented naturally was preceded by a separate burst of water, and was delivered by the natural pains only. In a short time after the birth of the last, the placenta was expelled by nature without any hæmorrhage, was uncommonly large, and in some places

beginning to be putrid. It consisted of one uniform continued cake, and was not divided into distinct placentalæ, the lobated appearance being nearly equal all over. Each funis was contained in a separate cell, within which each child had been lodged; and it was easy to perceive, by the state of the funis, and that part of the placenta to which it adhered, in which fact the dead, and in which the living children had been contained. I examined the septa of the cells very carefully, but could not divide them as usual into distinct laminæ, nor determine which was chorion or which amnios. I could not prevail on the good women to allow me to carry it home, to be more narrowly inspected; and I submitted more readily to their prejudice for its being burned, as its very soft texture seemed to me to render it hardly capable to bear injection. The two living children having survived their birth but a short time, I was allowed to carry them home; and I have preserved the whole five in spirits, and have since weighed and measured them, and find their proportions to be as follows in avoirdupois weight, inches and parts.

			Oz.	Dr.	Inches.
The 1st born dead	-	-	6	12	Length 9
The 2d — putrid	-	-	4	6	8½
The 3d — alive	-	-	8	12	9½
The 4th — putrid	-	-	6	12	9½
The 5th — alive	-	-	9	—	9½

The mother, in spite of the crowds with which her chamber was continually filled, continued to recover, and was able to be out of bed the 27th and 28th, her third

and fourth days; but finding herself then weak, by my advice, kept her bed till the 11th of May, when she went out of doors, and on the 21st walked to Blackburn, two miles distant.

distant. This was the 27th day from her delivery, she having entirely recovered her strength without any accident. It may not be improper to add, that the husband of this woman has been in an infirm state of health for three years past, and is now labouring under a confirmed phthisis.

I am, &c.

Signed, JOHN HULL.

Blackburn, Lancashire,
June 9, 1786.

Observations on numerous Births.

Though the females of the human species produce most commonly but one child at a birth; and though their formation with only two breasts, and one nipple to each, renders it probable they were not originally intended to produce in general more than two; yet, from what we know of the womb and its appendages, and what from the latest experiments we are led to conjecture as to the mode of conception, we cannot presume *à priori* to set limits to the fertility of nature, nor determine decisively what number of foetuses may be conceived and nourished to a certain period in the human uterus at the same time.

The present singular and well-attested case assures us, that five have certainly been born at once, and we have no title absolutely to reject all the testimonies of even more numerous births, or to say that, in some rare instances, this number has never been exceeded.

What has tended to render relations of this sort ridiculous, and to throw a degree of discredit on the whole, is the many marvellous, and evidently absurd and incredible his-

stories, which not only the retailers of prodigies, but even the credulous writers of medical observations, have collected.

I need only refer those who wish to amuse themselves with surprising relations of this kind, to the curious collections of Schenkiius, Schurigius, Ambrose Parey, and others.

But, in order to shew how very uncommon births of this kind are, and how truly singular the case communicated by Mr. Hull to Dr. Blane is, I take the liberty to subjoin a short view of the usual course of nature in this matter among our own country-women, where we are least likely to be deceived.

Though female fertility certainly varies according to the climate, situation, and manner of life; yet, I believe, it may be taken for a general rule, that where people live in the most simple and natural state, if they are the best nourished, and if they enjoy the firmest health and strength, they will there be the most fertile in healthy children; but we have no *data* to determine that they will there have the greatest number at one birth.

At the British Lying-in Hospital, where we have had 18,300 delivered, the proportion of twins born has been only one in 91 births. In the Westminster Dispensary, of 1797 women delivered, the proportion of twins has been once in 80 births; but in the Dublin Lying-in Hospital, where above 21,000 have been delivered, they have had twins born once every sixty-second time. The average of which is once in 78 births nearly, in these kingdoms.

The calculations made in Germany from great numbers, in various situations, state twins as happening in a varied proportion from
once

once every sixty-fifth to once every seventieth time.

But in a more accurate and later calculation made at Paris, by M. Tenon, surgeon to the Salpêtrière we learn, that in 104,591 births, the proportion of twins was only one in 96, which is only a small degree less than we have calculated at the British Lying-in Hospital.

It would be easy to add other calculations, all differing from these and from one another, more or less; but I hope these are sufficient to shew that nature observes no certain rule in this matter; and that even twins, the most usual variation, is not a very common occurrence.

When we advance to triplets, or three born at once, we find comparatively very few instances in this or any other country; and though every one has heard of such events as now and then happening, yet very few have seen them.

In all those 18,300 women delivered at the British Lying-in Hospital, there has not been one such case. In the London Lying-in Hospital, where, being instituted later, much fewer have been delivered, they have two such recorded as prodigies. In the Westminster Dispensary, in 1897 women delivered, there has been but one such event.

In the Dublin Hospital, in 21,000 births, they have had triplets born thrice, or once in 7000 times, but have never exceeded that proportion or number, born at one time.

In a pretty extensive practice of above thirty years, both in the county of Rutland and in London, I have attended but one labour where three children were born; am personally acquainted but with

one lady who, at Dumfries, in Scotland, after bearing twins twice, was delivered of three children at once; and I was never acquainted with any one who produced a greater number.

Yet to much does this matter vary at Edinburgh, that Dr. Hamilton, professor of midwifery, writes, he had seen triplets born there, five or six times in less than twenty-five years.

Mauriceau, in a long life of very extensive practice at Paris, with opportunities of knowing most things extraordinary that happened in his time in France, tells us, he had seen triplets born but a few times; had heard of four in that city but once, and mentions no greater number.

One circumstance which he relates is so far worthy of attention, as it accords with one somewhat similar subjoined to Mr. Hull's case now read, *viz.* "That the husband of one of those women who bore three children was by trade a painter, and had been, for two years preceding this birth, paralytic over one-half of his body, and yet had no reason to doubt the fidelity of his wife."

These facts, as far as they are to be depended on, may shew us, that the capacity of procreation in the male may remain under very infirm health; and that we ought to judge with candour of such wives as are fruitful when living with very ailing husbands, and who produce healthy children in the eighth, or even ninth, month after their death; as we can never say determinately under what degree of disease the male is totally incapable of procreation: more especially as we

are very certain, that the female is not, when labouring under very desperate, and certainly fatal, diseases, provided the principal organs of generation be sound. Nay, in cases of pulmonary phthisis, the life of the female seems to be protracted by pregnancy; and I have attended a lady, who, after being pronounced irrecoverably hectic, lived long enough to be twice delivered naturally of healthy children at the full time.

But what particular circumstances of constitution, or state of health, can capacitate the male to become the father of more than one child at a birth, or how this could be effected, should it be wished, remains among those secrets of nature which our want of facts and observations renders us utterly incapable to speculate upon.

It seems probable, and these two observations, as well as Spallanzani's, and other late experiments, would rather incline us to suppose, that these numerous births do depend most on the structure and state of the female organs; but nothing, that I know of, has ever been discovered in this obscure matter.

The occurrence of four born at once we find to be much more uncommon; and, I think, Haller's conjecture rather than calculation of its happening once in 20,000 births, very much under-rated, as it appears that once in 100,000 would be much nearer the truth. Of this, however, we have several well authenticated cases which have happened in this island. In the year 1674, there was published in London a quarto pamphlet, intitled, "The fruitful Wonder, of a strange Relation, from Kingston upon Thames, of a woman who,

" on Thursday and Friday, the fifth and sixth days of this instant March 1673-4, was delivered of four children at one birth, viz. three sons and one daughter, all born alive, lusty children, and perfect in every part, which lived twenty-four hours, and then died, all much about the same time, with several other examples of numerous births, from credible historians, with the physical and astrological reasons for the same. By J. P. Student in Physic."

Dr. Plott, in his History of Staffordshire, p. 194, mentions Eleanor, the wife of Henry Diven, of Watlington, who was delivered of four children at a birth in the year 1675.

Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *Scotia Illustrata*, after mentioning a case of three born at once, adds, "Imo in variis regni locis repertæ sunt mulieres quæ quatuor fœtus uno partu ediderunt;" but makes no mention of more..

In the Gentleman's Magazine, which is reckoned a pretty authentic record of the times, we have the following accounts of numerous births.

Ann Boynton, of Hensbridge, in Somersetshire, was this day, June 1, 1736, delivered of three daughters and one son; one of the daughters died, the rest are likely to live. The mother has been married but four years, and has had twice twins before, which completes the number of eight children at three births.

October 3, 1743, at Rute, in Berkshire, Joan Galloway was delivered of two boys and two girls, three of whom were alive.

In January, 1746, the wife of Plumer,

Plumer, a labouring man, at Mill-Wimley, near Hitchin, Hertfordshire, was delivered of three living boys and one dead.

August 22, 1746, the wife of Williams, of Coventry-street, Piccadilly, was delivered of two boys and two girls, all likely to live.

June, 1752, a woman in the parish of Tillicultrie, near Stirling, in Scotland, was delivered of four children, which were all immediately baptized, and all died at the same time next morning.

In September, 1757, a poor woman, of Burton Ferry, Glamorgan-shire, was delivered of three boys and a girl.

Dr. Hamilton before mentioned writes, that, not many years ago, a woman was delivered of four children, at Pennycuick, the seat of Sir John Clark, Bart. near Edinburgh, when she was advanced to the middle of her last month of pregnancy, and that some of these children lived two or three years. He further says, that, five years ago, he attended a woman at Edinburgh, who, in the seventh month of her pregnancy, after a journey of thirty miles, was suddenly delivered of four children, all perfect and well grown for the time, of which one was born dead, and three alive; but these three died next day. He further adds, that these are the only cases of quadruplets, or any larger number, he had ever heard of, as born in Scotland, in his memory.

Though cases similar to the present, of five children born at once, are still much more uncommon; and though Haller's assertion of their not happening above once in a million of births, may be reckoned a very moderate calculation, yet we

are not altogether without such instances in this country.

From the Gentleman's Magazine we learn, that on the 5th of October, 1736, a woman at a milk-cellar, in the Strand, was delivered of three boys and two girls at one birth; and that in March, 1739, at Wells, in Somersetshire, a woman was delivered of four sons and a daughter, all alive, all christened, and all then seeming likely to live.

In the *Commercium Literarium Norimbergense*, for the year 1731, we have two such cases; one happening in Upper Saxony, the other near Prague, in Bohemia; in each of which five children were born and christened, all of whom were arrived to that equal degree of maturity, which rendered it probable, they were all conceived about the same time.

I learned from two foreign professors, when in London last winter, that they had each heard of a case of five children born near Paris, and near Ghent in Flanders; but the particulars not being sent as promised, I presume they may have been misinformed.

When we advance farther we get into the region of tradition and improbability; and it would ill become me to trouble a Society, whose professed object is truth and science, with the numerous and wonderful relations which many grave and learned authors have recorded as facts they themselves believed; yet I still think we have no authority to reject absolutely every relation of this kind, when Ambrose Parey, a very honest though credulous man, tells, that in his time, in the parish of Sceaux, near Chambellay between Sarte and Maine, the mother of the

then living lord of the noble house of Maldemeure had, in the first year of her marriage, brought forth twins, in the second triplets, in the third four, in the fourth five, and in the fifth year six children, at one birth, of which labour she died; and when he adds, that of these *last six* one is yet alive, and is now Lord of Maldemeure, how can we disbelieve this circumstance? This story may very possibly be inaccurately stated, yet the whole cannot be a fiction, as it was published among the very people, and in the age when it happened, and never has been since contradicted so far as we know. Though the wonderful regularity of the progress gives an appearance of fable to the whole, yet we must believe the thing to be possible: and that this then existing lord might be the only one of the six who lived long enough to be born at the full time, in a mature state; the whole, or most of the other five, as we have sometimes seen in cases of twins, having been born as dead abortions, which had never arrived to a bulk sufficient to interfere with his growth.

I leave the learned to pay what degree of credit they please to the wonderful relations we read of the extreme fertility of the women of Egypt, Arabia, and other warm countries, as recorded by Aristotle, by Pliny, and by Albucasis, where three, four, five, and six children are said to have been frequently born at once, and the greatest part of these reared to maturity; and will only say, that though a late traveller, M. Savary, gives ample testimony of the extreme general fertility of Egypt in all vegetable and animal productions, and particularly of its abundant population, he

mentions nothing of the numerous births recorded by the ancient naturalists and historians.

Of still more fruitful births I will pass over a number of instances which I could adduce from Johannes Rhodius, Lucas Schroeckius, Caspar Bauhin, Johannes Helvigi-us, Bianchi, and others, and finish with one case more, recorded by Petrus Borelli in his Second Century of Observations, published at Paris in the year 1656; a collection indeed filled with many wonderful stories, though by a man of equal integrity and ingenuity: he tells us, that in the year 1650, just five years before, the lady of the then present Lord Darre produced at one birth eight perfect children, which he owns was a very unusual event in that country.

I think it totally unnecessary to pursue this inquiry farther; but must observe that the present is the only case I have found, where the children were all females; that the males have in all the other cases been at least equal, and generally the most numerous; that in many of them, at least a part was dead born; and that most commonly the rest died in a short time. It is thence clear, that those numerous births are certainly unfavourable to population, as very few indeed of those children can be carried to near the full term of pregnancy, and fewer still to that degree of strength that admits of their being reared, where more than two are born at one time.

As from Mr. John Hunter's very curious Experiments and Observations, read lately to this Society, on the Procreation of Swine, we are led to believe, that a certain determined number of ova, capable

ble of receiving male impregnation, are originally formed in each ovarium; and which number, when exhausted, the female constitution has no power to renew; if this be the true account of the œconomy of nature in this particular, which has every appearance of probability, those numerous births must occasion a very fruitless profusion and waste of the human race, and become every way detrimental to its increase.

From the united testimony of all the foregoing cases, it is undeniably clear, that the females of the human species, though most commonly uniparous, are, in certain circumstances to us unknown, every now and then capable of very far exceeding their usual number; and I must again repeat, that it does not appear that we can set any bounds to the powers of nature in that respect; or pretend, as some have done, with certainty to say, what may be the utmost limits of human fertility.

From Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.

Some Account of a motley-coloured, or pye Negro Girl and Mulatto Boy exhibited before the Society, in the Month of May, 1784, for their Examination, by Dr. John Morgan, from the History given of them by their Owner Mons. Le Vallois, Dentist of the King of France, at Guadaloupe, in the West Indies, as follows.

ADELAIDE, the little girl now before the society, is aged two years and little more than one month, is of a clear black colour, verging to brown, except that she has a white spot bearing some re-

semblance to an aigrette; the point of which is at the root of the nose, and it rises into the hair, above the forehead, of which it occupies above an inch in width, from the margin to the fontenelle. In this part the colour of the hair is white, and it is curly like the hair of negroes in general, and thicker in that part than on any other part of its head. In the middle of its forehead and on the aigrette, is a large black spot; on the external side next to the temples, about one half of each eye-lid, both upper and under, is black, and the remaining half next to the nose is white.

The eyes are black and lively; a little to the left and towards the middle of the chin a white spot begins, which is long in proportion to its breadth, but of less magnitude than that of the forehead: it stretches under the chin to the upper part of the throat. The neck, the upper and under part of the chest, the shoulders, the back, loins and buttocks to the junction with the thighs, and the pudendum, are of the colour of her face, but the loins and the thicker part of the buttocks are of a deeper black.

The arms from the upper and middle part are white, and interspersed with black spots. There are some smaller and more numerous about her knees than elsewhere.

Upon the large black spots there are also many smaller and blacker, which are very glaring. Many of these spots divide into four, five, and six rays, resembling a star, which are not observed but by a close inspection, and then they are very visible. In several parts those spots, being of different shades, give an exact picture of lunar eclipses, as they are commonly represented in the books of astronomy.

my. The hands, the middle part of the fore arms, the inferior and middle parts of the legs and feet are black, which have a pretty, striking resemblance to gloves and to buskins.

The white that prevails over the breast, and over the belly, arms, and thighs, has a lively appearance. The skin is soft, smooth, and sleek.

Adelaide has fine features; we meet with few negroes of so beautiful a form. In her temper she is cheerful, gay, and sportful, and as tall as children of her age generally are, and hath evidently a very delicate temperament, yet enjoys pretty good health, neither hath she eyes nor ears, nor any particularity in her features, or external conformation, like what may be seen at the first inspection in those who are called white negroes, whose skin is altogether of a dead white colour, and whose woolly white hair and features resemble those of their negro parents.

From this detail we may remark, that the alteration of the natural colour of Adelaide takes place over the same parts of the body, for the most part, as over the body of Maria Sabina, of whom *Monf. Buffon* gives an account; and considering it as a well authenticated fact, from all the information that has been received of Adelaide, that she had a negro father and negro mother, we are led to believe, that the English account under the portrait of Maria Sabina is exact, and not asserted merely for the sake of covering the honour of the mother, and of the society in which she was a slave.

The pyed mulatto boy is named Jean Pierre. He is a month younger

than Adelaide; but from his figure, which is robust, he appears to be six months older. He as well as Adelaide both belong to *Monf. le Vallois*. He was born at Grandterre, Guadaloupe, of a negro wench named Carolina, and of a white man, an European, whose name I did not learn.

A certificate which *Monf. le Vallois* has with him, legally authenticated by *Monf. Blin*, lieutenant judge, given from under the hand of *Monf. des Effart*, king's physician, and of *Monf. Cumin*, king's surgeon, at Grandterre, Guadaloupe, attests that Adelaide was born at Gros-Islet in St. Lucia, that Bridget her mother is a negro of the Ibo nation, and now reckoned to be about twenty-five years old, and that her father, whose name is Raphael, is a negro of the Mina nation. In this certificate it is farther declared, that the father of Jean Pierre has white spots (that is of a deeper white than his natural skin) of the same shape and in the same parts of the body as the son, and that the mother and one of the brothers of this boy's European father have like white spots, and in the same parts of the body.

However it may be in respect to those observations concerning the supposed resemblance of the white spots they may bear about them, to those which mark Jean Pierre, it suffices to take notice here, that his body is entirely of the colour of a mulatto, except that he has from nature a white aigrette in his forehead like that of Adelaide. The hair in that part is white mixed with black, which is not so in Adelaide. The stomach and the legs, from two inches above the ancles

to the middle of the calf of the legs, are entirely of a beautiful lively white; there is also a white spot in the upper part of the penis. Over the white parts of the legs there is a light white down, longer and thicker than children commonly have at this age.

Such is the natural history of those two extraordinary children; but what causes have produced those surprising phenomena and alteration of the natural colour of their skin, are left for others to investigate and explain.

Mons. le Vallois relates that the mother of Adelaide, whilst pregnant with her, was delighted in laying out all night in the open air, and contemplating the stars and planets, and that the great-grandmother of Jean Pierre (a white lady) during the time of her being with child of her daughter, his grandmother, by the father's side, was frightened on having some milk spilled upon her. Whether this will account for her daughter and grandchildren being marked in the manner related, and for the spots observed on the mulatto boy descending to him; or whether the strong impression made upon the mother of Adelaide, by the nightly view of the stars and planetary system, may be considered as the cause of the very extraordinary appearances in that girl, every one will determine for themselves; there being many who dispute children's being ever marked by the fears, longings, or impressions made by mothers on the bodies of their children, at a certain time of pregnancy; for which they endeavour to account in different ways; whilst others, who have known a variety of children born with different

marks on them, (which have fallen under their particular notice) are equally confident of those marks proceeding from the causes alleged.

Description of a remarkable Rock and Cascade, near the Western Side of the Youghiogeny River, a Quarter of a Mile from Crawford's Ferry, and about Twelve Miles from Union-Town, in Fayette County, in the State of Pennsylvania. From the same Work. By Thomas Hutchins.

THIS cascade is occasioned by a rock of a semicircular form, the chord of which, from one extreme end of the arch to the other, is nearly one hundred yards; the arch or circular part is extensive, and upwards of twenty feet in height, exhibiting a grand and romantic appearance. This very curious production is composed of stone of variegated colours, and a species of marble beautifully chequered with veins running in different directions, presenting on a close inspection a faint resemblance of a variety of mathematical figures of different angles and magnitudes. The operations of nature in this structure seems to be exceedingly uniform and majestic; the layers or rows of stone of which it is composed are of various lengths and thicknesses, more resembling the effects of art than nature. A flat thin stone from eight to ten inches thick, about twenty feet wide, forms the upper part of this amphitheatre, over which the stream precipitates. The whole front of this rock is made up from top to bottom, as well

well as from one extremity of the arch to the other, of a regular succession, principally, of limestone, strata over strata, and each stratum or row projecting in an horizontal direction a little further out than its base, until it terminates into one entire flat, thin, extensive piece, as already mentioned; and which jets out at right angles or in a parallel line with the bottom, over which it impends fifteen or twenty feet, and that without columns or even a single pillar for its support. This circumstance, together with the grand circular walk between the front of the rock and the sheet of water falling from the summit, exhibits so noble and singular an appearance, that a spectator cannot behold it without admiration and delight.

An Account of the Winds in Egypt and their Phenomena—Of the Kamfin, or hot Wind of the Desert. from Travels in Egypt and Syria, by Monsieur Volney.

“THE northerly winds, which blow at stated periods every year, answer a more certain and effectual purpose; that of carrying into Abyssinia a prodigious quantity of clouds. From the month of April to July we see these incessantly ascending towards the south, and might be sometimes tempted to expect rain from them; but this parched country requests in vain from them a benefaction which is to return upon it under a different form. Never does it rain in the

Delta in summer, and but rarely, and in small quantities, during the whole course of the year. The year 1761, observed by M. Niebuhr, was an extraordinary case, which is still frequently mentioned. The accidents occasioned by the rains in Lower Egypt, in which a number of villages, built with earth, crumbled to pieces, afford a sufficient proof that this abundance of water is there looked upon as very rare. It must be observed, likewise, that it rains still less as you ascend towards the Said. Thus, rain is more frequent at Alexandria and Rosetta than at Cairo, and at Cairo than at Miniah, and is almost a prodigy at Djirdja. As for us, the inhabitants of humid countries, we cannot conceive how it is possible for a country to subsist without rain*; but in Egypt, besides the quantity of water which the earth imbibes at the inundation, the dews which fall in the summer might suffice for vegetation. The melons, called pastekes, afford a remarkable proof of this; for though they have frequently nothing under them but a dry dust, yet their leaves are always fresh. These dews, as well as the rains, are more copious towards the sea, and less considerable in proportion to their distance from it; but differ from them by being more abundant in summer than in winter. At Alexandria, after sunset, in the month of April, the clothes exposed to the air, and the terraces, are soaked with them, as if it had rained. Like the rains, again, these dews are more or less heavy, according to the prevailing

* When rain falls in Egypt and in Palestine, there is a general joy among the people: they assemble together in the streets, they sing, are all in motion, and shout, *ya allah! ya moharrik!* that is to say, O God! O Blessed! &c. wind.

wind. The southerly and the south-easterly produce none; the north wind a great deal, and the westerly still more. These varieties are easily explained, by observing that the two former proceed from the deserts of Africa and Arabia, which afford not a drop of water; that the northerly and westerly winds, on the contrary, convey over Egypt the vapours from the Mediterranean, which the first crosses, and the other traverses lengthways. I find, even, on comparing my observations on this subject in Provence, in Syria, and in Egypt, with those of M. Niebuhr in Arabia and at Bombay, that this relative position of the seas and continents is the cause of the various qualities of one and the same wind, which produces rain in one country, while it is invariably dry in another; a remark which deranges not a little the systems of both ancient and modern astrologers respecting the influence of the planets.

Another phenomenon, no less remarkable, is the periodical return of each wind, and its appropriation, so to speak, to certain seasons of the year. Egypt and Syria present, in this respect, a regularity worthy of attention.

In Egypt, when the sun approaches the tropic of Cancer, the winds, which before blew from the east, change to the north, and become constant in that point. In June they always blow from the north and north-west; this, therefore, is the proper season for going up the Levant, and a vessel may expect to anchor in Cyprus, or at Alexandria, the fourteenth, nay sometimes the eleventh day, after her departure from Marseilles. The

winds continue northerly in July, but vary sometimes toward the west, and sometimes toward the east. About the end of July, during all the month of August, and half of September, they remain constantly in the north, and are moderate; brisker in the day, however, and weaker at night. At this period an universal calm reigns on the Mediterranean, so that ships would be seventy or eighty days in returning to France.

Towards the end of September, when the sun repasses the line, the winds return to the east; and, tho' not fixed, blow more regularly from that than any other point, except the north. Vessels avail themselves of this season, which lasts all October and part of November, to return to Europe; and the run to Marseilles is from thirty to five and thirty days. As the sun approaches the other tropic, the winds become more variable and more tempestuous; they most usually blow from the north, the north-west, and west, in which points they continue during the months of December, January, and February, which is the winter season in Egypt, as well as with us. The vapours of the Mediterranean, condensed by the coldness of the atmosphere, descend in mists and rains. Towards the end of February and in March, when the sun returns towards the equator, the winds are more frequently southerly than at any other season. During this last month and that of April, the south-easterly, south, and south-westerly winds prevail; and at times the west, north, and east; the latter of which becomes the most prevalent about the end of April; and during May it divides
with

with the north the empire of the sea, and renders the passage to France still more expeditious than at the other equinox.

Of the hot Wind, or Kamfin,

The southerly winds, of which I have been speaking, are known in Egypt by the general name of *winds of fifty (days)* *; not that they last fifty days without intermission, but because they prevail more frequently in the fifty days preceding and following the equinox. Travellers have mentioned them under the denomination of *poisonous winds* †; or, more correctly, *hot winds of the desert*. Such, in fact, is their quality; and their heat is sometimes so excessive, that it is difficult to form any idea of its violence, without having experienced it; but it may be compared to the heat of a large oven at the moment of drawing out the bread. When these winds begin to blow, the atmosphere assumes an alarming aspect. The sky, at other times so clear, in this climate, becomes dark and heavy; the sun loses his splendour, and appears of a violet colour. The air is not cloudy, but grey and thick, and is, in fact, filled with an extremely subtle dust, which penetrates every where. This wind, always light and rapid, is not at first remarkably hot, but it increases in heat in proportion as it continues. All animated bodies soon discover it, by the change it pro-

duces in them. The lungs, which a too rarefied air no longer expands, are contracted and become painful. Respiration is short and difficult, the skin parched and dry, and the body consumed by an internal heat. In vain is recourse had to large draughts of water; nothing can restore perspiration. In vain is coolness sought for; all bodies in which it is usual to find it, deceive the hand that touches them. Marble, iron, water, notwithstanding the sun no longer appears, are hot. The streets are deserted, and the dead silence of night reigns every where. The inhabitants of towns and villages shut themselves up in their houses, and those of the desert in their tents, or in wells dug in the earth, where they wait the termination of this destructive heat. It usually lasts three days, but if it exceeds that time it becomes insupportable. Woe to the traveller whom this wind surprises remote from shelter; he must suffer all its horrible effects, which sometimes are mortal. The danger is most imminent when it blows in squalls; for then the rapidity of the wind increases the heat, to such a degree, as to cause sudden death. This death is a real suffocation; the lungs being empty, are convulsed, the circulation disordered, and the whole mass of blood driven by the heart towards the head and breast; whence that hæmorrhage at the nose and mouth which happens after death. This

* In Arabic, *kamfin*; but the *k* represents the Spanish *jota*, or the German *ch*.

† The Arabs of the desert call them *semoum*, or poison; and the Turks *shamyl*, or wind of Syria, from which is formed the *Samiel* wind. Baron de Tot translates this word the *wind of Damascus*, which is the capital of Syria.

wind

wind is especially destructive to persons of a plethoric habit, and those in whom fatigue has destroyed the tone of the muscles and the vessels. The corpse remains a long time warm, swells, turns blue, and is easily separated; all which are signs of that putrid fermentation which takes place in animal bodies when the humours become stagnant. These accidents are to be avoided, by stopping the nose and mouth with handkerchiefs; an efficacious method likewise is that practised by the camels, which bury their noses in the sand, and keep them there till the squall is over.

Another quality of this wind is its extreme aridity; which is such, that water sprinkled on the floor evaporates in a few minutes; by this extreme dryness, it withers and strips all the plants, and, by exhaling too suddenly the emanations from animal bodies, crisps the skin, closes the pores, and causes that feverish heat which is the invariable effect of suppressed perspiration.

These hot winds are not peculiar to Egypt; they blow likewise in Syria; more frequently, however, near the sea, and in the desert, than on the mountains. M. Niebuhr met with them in Arabia, at Bombay, and in the Diarbekir: they are also known in Persia, in the rest of Africa, and even in Spain; every where their effects are similar, but their direction varies according to the situation of the country. In Egypt, the most violent proceed from the south-south-west; at Mecca, from the east; at Surat, from the north; at Bassora, from the north-west; from the west at Bagdad; and in Syria from the

south-east. These varieties, which seem embarrassing at first sight, on reflection, furnish the means of solving the enigma. We find, on examination, that these winds always proceed from desert continents; and, in fact, it is natural that the air which covers the immense plains of Lybia and Arabia, meeting there neither with rivulets, nor lakes, nor forests, but scorched by the rays of a burning sun, and the reflection of the sand, should acquire a prodigious degree of heat and aridity; and if any cause intervenes to set it in motion, it cannot but carry with it the destructive qualities it has imbibed; it is so true that these qualities are owing to the action of the sun upon the sands, that these same winds produce not the same effects at every season. In Egypt, for example, I am assured, that the southerly winds in December and January are as cold as those from the north; and the reason of this is, that the sun, having reached the southern tropic, no longer burns up the northern parts of Africa, and that Abyssinia, which is extremely mountainous, is covered with snow. The sun must approach the equator to produce these phenomena. From a similar reason, the south wind has much less effect in Cyprus, where it arrives cooled by the vapours of the Mediterranean. That from the north possesses its characteristic qualities in this island, where the inhabitants complain that its heat is insupportable in summer, while it is freezing cold in winter; which evidently arises from the state of Asia Minor, which in summer is burnt up, and in winter covered with ice. In fact, this subject offers a multitude of problems, calculated

culated to excite the curiosity of the naturalist.—Would it not, for instance, be interesting to know,

1st, Whence proceeds this connection of the seasons, and the progress of the sun, with the various winds, and the points from whence they blow?

2dly, Why, throughout the Mediterranean, does the wind most frequently blow from the north, inso-much that we may say it continues in that point nine months out of twelve?

3dly, Why do the easterly winds return so regularly after the equinoxes; and why are the winds, in general, higher at this period?

4thly, Why are the dews more abundant in summer than in winter; and why, since the clouds are caused by the evaporation of the sea, and that evaporation is more copious in summer than in winter, why, notwithstanding, are there more clouds in winter than in summer?

5thly, In short, why is rain so rare in Egypt, and why do the clouds rather collect in Abyssinia?

Natural History of Syria, including its Mountains, Volcanos, and Earthquakes; Locusts, Rivers and Lakes; Climate, Air, Waters and Winds.—From the same Work.

Of the Mountains.

THESE mountains, as they vary their levels and situations, are also greatly changed in their form and appearance. Between Alexandretta and the Orontes, the firs, larches, oaks, box-trees, laurels, yews, and myrtles, with which they abound, give them an air of liveliness, which delights the traveller, wearied with the melancholy nakedness of the isle of Cyprus*. On some declivities he even meets with cottages, environed with fig-trees and vineyards; and the sight of these repays the fatigue he has endured on a road which, by rugged paths, leads him from the bottoms of valleys to the tops of hills, and from the tops of hills to the bottoms of valleys. The inferior branches, which extend to the northward of Aleppo, on the contrary, present nothing but bare rocks, without verdure or earth. To the south of Antioch, and on the sea-coast, the hill-sides are proper for the cultivation of tobacco, olives, and vines†; but, on the side of the desert, the summits and declivities of this chain are almost one continued series of white rocks. Towards Lebanon, the mountains are lofty, but are covered, in many places, with as much earth as fits them for cultivation by industry and labour. There, amid the crags of the rocks, may be seen the no very magnificent remains of the boasted cedars‡; but

* All vessels which go to Alexandretta touch at Cyprus, the southern part of which is a naked and desolate plain.

† Mount Casius must be excepted, which rises above Antioch to a prodigious height. But Pliny surpasses hyperbole, when he says that, from its summit, we may discover at once both the morning's dawn and the evening twilight.

‡ There are now but four or five of these trees which deserve any notice.

a much greater number of firs, oaks, brambles, mulberry-trees, figs, and vines. As we leave the country of the Druzes, the mountains are no longer so high, nor so rugged, but become fitter for tillage. They rise again to the south-east of Mount Carmel, are covered with woods, and afford very pleasant prospects; but as we advance toward Judea, they lose their verdure, their valleys grow narrower, they become dry and stony, and terminate at the Dead Sea in a pile of desolate rocks, full of precipices and caverns*; while to the west of Jordan and the lake another chain of rocks, still higher and more rugged, presents a still more gloomy prospect, and announces, afar off, the entrance of the desert, and the end of the habitable lands.

A view of the country will convince us, that the most elevated point of all Syria is Lebanon, on the south-east of Tripoli. Scarcely do we depart from Larneca, in Cyprus, which is thirty leagues distance, before we discover its summit, capped with clouds. This is also distinctly perceivable on the map, from the course of the rivers. The Orontes, which flows from the mountains of Damascus, and loses itself below Antioch; the Kasnia, which from the north of Balbek, takes its course towards Tyre; the Jordan, forced by the declivities toward the south, prove that this is the highest point. Next to Lebanon, the most elevated part of the

country is Mount Akkar, which becomes visible as soon as we leave Marra in the desert. It appears like an enormous flattened cone, and is constantly in view for two days journey. No one has yet had an opportunity to ascertain the height of these mountains by the barometer; but we may deduce it from another consideration. In winter their tops are entirely covered with snow, from Alexandretta to Jerusalem; but after the month of March it melts, except on Mount Lebanon, where, however, it does not remain the whole year, unless in the highest cavities, and toward the north-east, where it is sheltered from the sea winds, and the action of the sun. In such a situation I saw it still remaining, in 1784, at the very time I was almost suffocated with heat in the valley of Balbek. Now, since it is well known that snow, in this latitude, requires an elevation of fifteen or sixteen hundred fathom, we may conclude that to be the height of Lebanon, and that it is consequently much lower than the Alps, or even the Pyrenees†.

Lebanon, which gives its name to the whole extensive chain of the Kesraouan, and the country of the Druzes, presents us every where with majestic mountains. At every step we meet with scenes in which nature displays either beauty or grandeur, sometimes singularity, but always variety. When we land on the coast, the loftiness and steep

* This is the place called the *Grottes of Engaddi*, which have been a refuge for vagabonds in all ages. Some of them are capable of containing fifteen hundred men.

† Mount Blanc, the loftiest of the Alps, is estimated at two thousand four hundred fathom above the level of the sea; and the Peak of Ossian, in the Pyrenees, at nineteen hundred.

ascent

ascent of this mountainous ridge, which seems to enclose the country, those gigantic masses which shoot into the clouds, inspire astonishment and respect. Should the curious traveller then climb these summits which bounded his view, the immensity of space which he discovers becomes a fresh subject of admiration; but completely to enjoy this majestic scene, he must ascend the very point of Lebanon, or the *Sannin*. There, on every side, he will view an horizon without bounds; while, in clear weather, the sight is lost over the desert, which extends to the Persian Gulph, and over the sea which bathes the coasts of Europe. He seems to command the whole world, while the wandering eye, now surveying the successive chains of mountains, transports the imagination in an instant from Antioch to Jerusalem; and now approaching the surrounding objects, observes the distant profundity of the coast, till the attention, at length, fixed by distinct objects, more minutely examines the rocks, woods, torrents, hill-sides, villages, and towns; and the mind secretly exults at the diminution of things, which before appeared so great. The spectator contemplates the valley obscured by stormy clouds, with a novel delight, and smiles at hearing the thunder, which had so often burst over his head, growling under his feet; while the threatening summits of the mountains are diminished till they appear only like the furrows of a ploughed field, or the steps of an amphitheatre; and

the mind is flattered by an elevation above so many great objects, or which pride makes it look down with a secret satisfaction.

When the traveller visits the interior of these mountains, the ruggedness of the roads, the steepness of the descents, the height of the precipices strike him at first with terror; but the sagacity of his mule soon relieves him, and he examines at his ease those picturesque scenes which succeed each other to entertain him. There, as in the Alps, he travels whole days, to reach a place which is in sight at his departure; he winds, he descends, he skirts the hills, he climbs; and in this perpetual change of position it seems as if some magic power varied for him at every step—the decorations of the scenery. Sometimes he sees villages ready to glide from the rapid declivities on which they are built, and so disposed that the terraces of one row of houses serve as a street to the row above them. Sometimes he sees a convent standing on a solitary eminence, like Mar-Shaya, in the valley of the Tigris. Here is a rock perforated by a torrent, and become a natural arch, like that of Nahr-el Leben*. There another rock, worn perpendicular, resembles a lofty wall. Frequently on the sides of hills he sees beds of stones stripped and detached by the waters, rising up like ruins disposed by art. In many places the waters, meeting with inclined beds, have undermined the intermediate earth, and formed caverns, as at Nahr-el-kehl, near Antoura: in others are

* The river of milk, which falls into Nahr-el-Salib, called also the river of Bairout; this arch is upwards of one hundred and sixty feet long, eighty-five wide, and near two hundred high above the torrent.

formed

formed subterranean channels, through which flow rivulets for a part of the year, as at Mar-Elias-el-Roum, and Mar-Hanna*; but these picturesque situations sometimes become tragical. From thaws and earthquakes rocks have been known to lose their equilibrium, roll down upon the adjacent houses, and bury the inhabitants: such an accident happened about twenty years ago, and overwhelmed a whole village near Mar-djordjos, without leaving a single trace to discover where it formerly stood. Still more lately, and near the same spot, a whole hill-side, covered with mulberries and vines, was detached by a sudden thaw, and sliding on the declivity of the rock, was launched altogether, like a ship from the stocks, into the valley. Hence arose a whimsical, but reasonable, litigation, between the proprietor of the original ground and the owner of the emigrated land; the cause was carried before the tribunal of the Emir Yousef, who indemnified both parties for their mutual losses. It might be expected such accidents would disgust the inhabitants of those mountains; but besides that they are rare, they are compensated

by an advantage which makes them prefer their habitations to the most fertile plains, I mean the security they enjoy from the oppressions of the Turks. This security is esteemed so valuable a blessing by the inhabitants, that they have displayed an industry on these rocks which we may elsewhere look for in vain. By dint of art and labour they have compelled a rocky soil to become fertile. Sometimes to profit by the water, they conduct it by a thousand windings along the declivities, or stop it by forming dams in the vallies, while in other places they prop up ground, ready to crumble away, by walls and terraces. Almost all these mountains, thus laboured, present the appearance of a flight of stairs, or an amphitheatre, each step of which is a row of vines or mulberry trees. I have reckoned from a hundred to a hundred and twenty of these gradations on the same declivity, from the bottom of the valley to the top of the eminence. While amid these mountains, I forgot I was in Turkey, or, if I recollected it, only felt more sensibly the powerful influence of even the feeblest ray of liberty.

* These subterranean rivulets are common throughout Syria; there are some near Damascus, at the sources of the Orontes, and at those of Jordan. That of Mar-Hanna, a Greek convent, near the village of Shouair, opens by a gulph called *El-baloua*, or the Swallower. It is an aperture of about ten feet wide, situated at the bottom of a tunnel: at the depth of fifteen feet is a sort of first bottom; but it only hides a very profound lateral opening. Some years ago it was shut, as it had served to conceal a murder. The winter rains coming on, the waters collected, and formed a pretty deep lake; but some small streams penetrating among the stones, they were soon stripped of the earth which fastened them, and the pressure of the mass of water prevailing on, the whole obstacle was removed with an explosion like thunder; and the reaction of the compressed air was so violent, that a column of water spouted up, and fell upon a house at the distance of at least two hundred paces. The current this occasioned formed a whirlpool, which swallowed up the trees and vines planted in the tunnel, and threw them out by the second aperture.

Structure

Structure of the Mountains.

If we examine the substance of these mountains, we shall find they consist of a hard calcareous stone, of a whitish colour, sonorous like free-stone, and disposed in strata variously inclined. This stone has almost the same appearance through the whole extent of Syria; sometimes it is bare, and looks like the peeled rocks on the coast of Provence: such, for instance, is the chain of hills on the north-side of the road from Antioch to Aleppo, and which serves as a bed to the upper part of the rivulet which passes by the latter city. Near Ermenaz, a village situated between Serkin and Kastin, is a defile where they perfectly resemble those we pass in going from Marseilles to Toulon. In travelling from Aleppo to Hama, veins of the same rock are continually to be met with in the plain, while the mountains on the right present huge piles, which look like the ruins of towns and castles. The same stone, under a more regular form, likewise composes the greater part of Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, the mountains of the Druzes, Galilee, and Mount Carmel, and stretches to the south of the lake Asphaltites. The inhabitants every where build their houses, and make lime with it. I have never seen, nor heard it said, that these stones contained any petrified shells in the upper regions of Lebanon; but we find, between Batroun and Djebail, in the Kesraouan, at a little distance from the sea, a quarry of schistous stones, the flakes of which bear the impressions of plants, fish, shells, and especially the sea onion. The bed of the torrent of Azkalan, in Palestine, is

also lined with a heavy stone, porous and salt, which contains a great number of small volutes and bivalves of the Mediterranean. Pocock found a large quantity of them in the rocks which border on the Dead Sea. Iron is the only mineral which abounds here; the mountains of the Kesraouan, and of the Druzes, are full of it. Every summer the inhabitants work those mines, which are simply ochreous. Judea cannot be without it, since Moses observed, above three thousand years ago, that its stones were of iron. There is a vague report, that there was anciently a copper mine near Aleppo, but it must have been long since abandoned: I have been told likewise among the Druzes, that in the declivity of the hill I have mentioned, a mineral was discovered which produced both lead and silver; but as such a discovery would have ruined the whole district, by attracting the attention of the Turks, they made haste to destroy every vestige of it.

Volcanoes and Earthquakes.

The south of Syria, that is, the hollow through which the Jordan flows, is a country of volcanos; the bituminous and sulphureous sources of the lake Asphaltites, the lava, the pumice-stones thrown upon its banks, and the hot bath of Tabaria, demonstrate that this valley has been the seat of a subterraneous fire which is not yet extinguished. Clouds of smoke are often observed to issue from the lake, and new crevices to be formed upon its banks. If conjectures in such cases were not too liable to error, we might suspect that the whole valley has been formed only by a violent sinking

ing of a country which formerly poured the Jordan into the Mediterranean. It appears certain, at least, that the catastrophe of five cities, destroyed by fire, must have been occasioned by the eruption of a volcano, then burning. Strabo expressly says *, "that the tradition of the inhabitants of the country, (that is, of the Jews themselves), was, that formerly the valley of the Lake was peopled by thirteen flourishing cities, and that they were swallowed up by a volcano." This account seems to be confirmed by the quantities of ruins still found by travellers on the western border. These eruptions have ceased long since, but earthquakes, which usually succeed them, still continue to be felt at intervals in this country. The coast in general is subject to them, and history gives us many examples of earthquakes, which have changed the face of Antioch, Laodicea, Tripoli, Berytus, Tyre, Sidon, &c. In our time, in the year 1759, there happened one which caused the greatest ravages. It is said to have destroyed, in the valley of Balbek, upwards of twenty thousand persons, a loss which has never been repaired. For three months, the shocks of it terrified the inhabitants of Lebanon so much as to make them abandon their houses, and dwell under tents. Very lately (the 14th of December, 1783) when I was at Aleppo, so violent a shock was felt, as to ring the bell in the house of the French consul. It is remarked in Syria, that earthquakes seldom happen but in winter, after the autumnal rains; and this observation, conformable

to that made by Doctor Shaw in Barbary, seems to prove that the action of water on the dried earth has some share in these convulsive motions. It may not be improper to remark, that the whole of Asia Minor is subject to them in like manner.

Of the Locusts.

Syria, as well as Egypt, Persia, and almost all the south of Asia, is subject to another calamity no less dreadful, I mean those clouds of locusts, so often mentioned by travellers. The quantity of these insects is incredible to all who have not themselves witnessed their astonishing numbers; the whole earth is covered with them for the space of several leagues. The noise they make in browsing on the trees and herbage may be heard at a great distance, and resembles that of an army foraging in secret. The Tartars themselves are a less destructive enemy than these little animals; one would imagine, that fire had followed their progress. Wherever their myriads spread, the verdure of the country disappears, as if a curtain had been removed; trees and plants, stripped of their leaves, and reduced to their naked boughs and stems, cause the dreary image of winter to succeed in an instant, to the rich scenery of the spring. When these clouds of locusts take their flight, to surmount any obstacle, or to traverse more rapidly a desert soil, the heavens may literally be said to be obscured with them. Happily this calamity is not frequently repeated, for it is the inevitable forerunner of fa-

* Lib. xvi p. 764.

hills and the mountains it occupies. The inhabitants of Syria have remarked, that locusts are always bred by too mild winters, and that they constantly come from the desert of Arabia. From this observation, it is easy to conceive that, the cold not having been rigorous enough to destroy their eggs, they multiply suddenly; and, the herbage failing them in the immense plains of the desert, innumerable legions issue forth. When they make their first appearance on the frontiers of this cultivated country, the inhabitants strive to drive them off, by raising large clouds of smoke, but frequently their herbs and wet straw fail them; they then dig trenches, where numbers of them are buried; but the two most efficacious destroyers of these insects, are the south and south-easterly winds, and the bird called the *samar*. These birds, which greatly resemble the woodpecker, follow them in numerous flocks, like starlings, and not only greedily devour them, but kill as many as they can; accordingly, they are respected by the peasants, and nobody is ever allowed to shoot them. As for the southerly and south-easterly winds, they drive with violence these clouds of locusts over the Mediterranean, where such quantities of them are drowned, that, when their carcases are thrown on the shore, they infect the air for several days, even to a great distance.

We may reasonably presume, that in so extensive a country as Syria, the quality of the soil is not every where the same. In general the

land of the mountains is such that of the plains fat and loamy, and exhibits every sign of the greatest fecundity. In the territory of Aleppo, towards Antioch, it resembles very fine brick-dust, or Spanish snuff. The waters of the Orontes, however, which traverse this district, are tinged with white, which proceeds from the nature of the lands towards its source. Almost every where else the earth is brown and like fine garden mould. In the plains, such as those of Hauran, Gaza, and Balbek, it is often difficult even to find a pebble. The winter rains occasion deep quagmires, and, on the return of summer, the heat produces, as in Egypt, large cracks in the earth several feet deep.

Of the Rivers and Lakes.

The exaggerated, or, if you will, the grand ideas which history and travellers usually give us of distant objects, have accustomed us to speak of the waters of Syria with a respect which amuses our imagination. We are fond of saying the *river Jordan*, the *river Orontes*, the *river Adonis*. If, however, we wish to preserve to words their proper signification, we shall hardly find in this country any other than *rivulets*. The channels of the Orontes and the Jordan, the two most considerable, are scarcely sixty paces wide at their mouths*; the others do not merit to be mentioned. If the rains and melted snow give them some importance in the winter, their course is only to be discovered, during

* The Jordan, it must be owned, has considerable depth, but if the Orontes were not impeded by repeated obstacles, it would be quite dry during the summer.

the

the remainder of the year, by the round stones and fragments of rocks with which their beds are filled. They are nothing but torrents and cascades; and it may be conceived that, from the proximity of the mountains, among which they rise, to the sea, their waters have not time to collect in long valleys, so as to form rivers. The obstacles opposed by the mountains, in several places, at their issue, have formed considerable lakes, such as those of Antioch, Aleppo, Damascus, Houla, Tabaria, and that which is honoured with the name of the Dead Sea, or Lake Asphaltites. All these lakes, except the last, are of fresh water, and contain several species of fish, different from * those we are acquainted with.

Lake Asphaltites, alone, contains neither animal nor vegetable life. We see no verdure on its banks, nor are fish to be found within its waters; but it is not true that its exhalations are pestiferous, so as to destroy birds flying over it. It is very common to see swallows skimming its surface, and dipping for the water necessary to build their nests. The real cause which deprives it of vegetables and animals is the extreme saltiness of the water, which is infinitely stronger than that of the sea. The soil around it, equally impregnated with this salt, produces no plants, and the air itself, which becomes loaded with it from evaporation, and which receives also the sulphureous and bituminous vapours, cannot be fa-

vourable to vegetation: hence the deadly aspect which reigns around this lake. In other respects, the ground about it, however, is not marshy, and its waters are limpid and incorruptible, as must be the case with a dissolution of salt. The origin of this mineral is easy to be discovered; for on the south-west shore are mines of fossil salt, of which I have brought away several specimens. They are situated in the side of the mountains which extend along that border, and, for time immemorial, have supplied the neighbouring Arabs, and even the city of Jerusalem. We find also on this shore fragments of sulphur and bitumen, which the Arabs convert into a trifling article of commerce; as also hot fountains, and deep crevices, which are discovered at a distance, by little pyramids built on the brink of them. We likewise find a sort of stone, which, on rubbing, emits a noxious smell, burns like bitumen, receives a polish like white alabaster, and is used for the paving of court-yards. At intervals, we also meet with unshapen blocks, which prejudiced eyes mistake for mutilated statues, and which pass with ignorant and superstitious pilgrims for monuments of the adventure of *Lot's wife*, though it is no where said she was metamorphosed into stone, like Niobe, but into salt, which must have melted the ensuing winter.

Some naturalists have been greatly embarrassed to find a discharge for the waters which the Jordan is

* The lake of Antioch abounds particularly with eels, and a sort of red fish of an indifferent quality. The Greeks, who keep a perpetual Lent, consume great quantities of them. Lake Tabaria is still richer; crabs, especially, are very numerous, but, as its environs are inhabited only by Mahometans, it is but little fished.

continually pouring into the lake, and have therefore been inclined to suspect it had a communication with the Mediterranean; but, besides that we know of no gulph to corroborate this supposition, it has been demonstrated, by accurate calculations, that evaporation is more than sufficient to carry off the waters brought by the river. It is, in fact, very considerable, and frequently becomes sensible to the eye, by the fogs with which the lake is covered, at the rising of the sun, and which are afterwards dispersed by the heat.

Of the Climate.

It is an opinion pretty generally received, that Syria is a very hot country; but it will be necessary to make several distinctions: first, on account of the difference of latitude, which, from one extremity to the other, is not less than six degrees: secondly, from the natural division of the country into low and flat, and high and mountainous, which division occasions a still more sensible difference; for while Reaumur's thermometer stands at twenty-five and twenty-six degrees upon the coast, it hardly rises to twenty or twenty-one among the mountains*. In winter, therefore, the whole chain of mountains is covered with snow, while the lower country is always free from it, or at least it lies only for an instant. We must first then establish two general climates; the one very hot,

which is that of the coast, and the interior plains, such as those of Balbek, Antioch, Tripoli, Acre, Gaza, Hauran, &c. the other temperate, and almost like our own, which is the climate of the mountains, at least to a certain height. The summer in 1784 was reckoned, among the Druzes, one of the hottest they remembered, yet I never found the heat to be compared to that I had felt at Saïde or Bairout.

In this climate, the order of the seasons is nearly the same as in the middle provinces of France; the winter, which lasts from November to March, is sharp and rigorous. Not a year passes without snow, and the earth is frequently covered several feet deep with it for months together; the spring and autumn are mild, and the summer heat is absolutely insupportable. In the plains, on the contrary, as soon as the sun returns to the equator, the transition is rapid to oppressive heats, which continue to the end of October. But then the winter is so moderate, that the orange, date, banana, and other delicate trees, flourish in the open air; and it appears equally extraordinary and picturesque to an European at Tripoli, to behold, under his windows, in the month of January, orange-trees loaded with flowers and fruit, while the lofty head of Lebanon is covered with ice and snow. It must nevertheless be observed that, in the northern parts, and to the east of the mountains,

* Along the Coast of Syria, and at Tripoli, in particular, the lowest degrees to which the thermometer falls in winter, are eight and nine degrees above the freezing point; in summer, in close apartments, it rises from $25\frac{1}{4}$ to 26° . As for the barometer, it is remarkable that at the latter end of May, it fixes at 28 inches, and never varies till October.

the winter is more rigorous, without the summer being less hot. At Antioch, Aleppo, and Damascus, there are several weeks of frost and snow every winter; which arises from the situation of the country still more than the difference of latitude. For, in fact, all the plain to the east of the mountains is very high above the level of the sea, exposed to all the parching winds of the north and north-east, and screened from the humid winds of the south and south-west. Besides, Antioch and Aleppo receive from the mountains of Alexandretta, which are within sight, an air which the snow, that covers them so long, must necessarily render very sharp.

Syria, therefore, unites different climates under the same sky, and collects within a narrow compass pleasures and productions, which nature has elsewhere dispersed at great distances of times and places. With us, for instance, seasons are separated by months; there we may say they are only separated by hours. If in Saïde or Tripoli, we are incommoded by the heats of July, in six hours we are, in the neighbouring mountains, in the temperature of March; or, on the other hand, if chilled by the frosts of December, at Besharrai, a day's journey brings us back to the coast, amid the flowers of May*. The Arabian poets have therefore said, that "the Sannin bears winter on

"his head, spring upon his shoulder, and autumn in his bosom, while summer lies sleeping at his feet." I have myself experienced the truth of this figurative observation, during the eight months I resided at the monastery of Mar-Hanna†, seven leagues from Bairout. At the end of February, I left at Tripoli a variety of vegetables which were in perfection, and many flowers in full bloom. On my arrival at Antoura‡, I found the plants only beginning to shoot; and, at Mar-Hanna, every thing was covered with snow. It had not entirely left the Sannin till the end of April, and, already, in the valley it overlooks, roses had begun to bud. The early figs were past at Bairout, when they were first gathered with us, and the silkworms were in cod, before our mulberry-trees were half stripped.

To this advantage, which perpetuates enjoyments by their succession, Syria adds another, that of multiplying them by the variety of her productions. Were nature assisted by art, those of the most distant countries might be produced within the space of twenty leagues. At present, in spite of the barbarism of a government which is an enemy to all industry and improvement, we are astonished at the variety this province affords. Besides wheat, rye, barley, beans, and the cotton plant, which is cultivated every where, we find a multitude

* This is the practice of several of the inhabitants of this district, who pass the winter near Tripoli, while their houses are buried under the snow.

† Mar-Hanna el Shouair; i. e. St. John, near the village of Shouair. This monastery is situated in a stony valley, which joins to that of *Nabr el Kelb*, or Torrent of the Dog. The religious are Greek Catholics, of the order of Saint Basil.

‡ A house formerly belonging to the Jesuits, but occupied at present by the Lazarists.

of useful and agreeable productions, appropriated to different situations. Palestine abounds in sesamum, from which oil is procured and doura * as good as that of Egypt †. Maize thrives in the light soil of Balbek, and even rice is cultivated, with success, on the borders of the marshy country of Havula. They have lately begun to plant sugar-canes in the gardens of Saide and of Bairout, and they find them equal those of the Delta. Indigo grows without cultivating, on the banks of the Jordan, in the country of Bisan, and only requires care to make it of an excellent quality. The hill-sides of Latakia produce tobacco, which is the principal article of its commerce with Dami-etta and Cairo. This is now cultivated throughout all the mountains. As for trees, the olive-tree of Provence grows at Antioch, and at Ramla, to the height of the beech. The white mulberry-tree constitutes the wealth of the whole country of the Druzes, by the beautiful silks which are produced on it, while the vine, supported on poles, or winding round the oaks, supplies grapes which afford red and white wines that might rival those of Bourdeaux. Before the ravages

occasioned by the late troubles, there were, in the gardens of Yaffa, two plants of the Indian cotton-tree, which grew rapidly, nor has this town lost its lemons, its enormous citrons ‡, or its water-melons, which are preferable even to those of Broulos §. Gaza produces dates like Mecca, and pomegranates like Algiers; Tripoli affords oranges equal to those of Malta; Bairout figs like those of Marseilles, and bananas not inferior to those of St. Domingo; Aleppo enjoys the exclusive advantage of producing pistachios; and Damascus justly boasts of possessing all the fruits known in our provinces. Its stony soil suits equally the apples of Normandy, the plumbs of Touraine, and the peaches of Paris. Twenty sorts of apricots are reckoned there, the stone of one of which contains a kernel highly valued through all Turkey. In short, the cochineal plant, which grows on all that coast, contains, perhaps, that precious insect in as high perfection as it is found in Mexico and St. Domingo ¶; and if we consider that the mountains of the Yemen, which produce such excellent coffee, are only a continuation of those of Syria, and that their soil and

* A sort of pulse, something like lentils, which grows in clusters, on a stalk six or seven feet high. It is the *bolcus arundinaceus* of Linnæus.

† I never saw any buck-wheat in Syria, and oats are very rare. Rye and straw are given to the horses.

‡ I have seen some which weighed eighteen pounds.

§ Broulos, on the coast of Egypt, produces better water-melons than are found in the rest of the Delta, where the fruits in general are too watery.

¶ It was long imagined that the insect of the cochineal was peculiar to Mexico; and the Spaniards, to secure the exclusive possession of it, have prohibited the exportation of the living cochineal, under pain of death; but M. Thierri, who succeeded in bringing it away, in 1771, and carried it to Saint Domingo, found the nopal of that island contained it before his arrival. It seems as if nature scarcely ever separated insects from the plants appropriated to them.

climate

climate are almost the same *, we shall be induced to believe that Judea, especially, might easily cultivate this valuable production of Arabia. With these numerous advantages of climate and of soil, it is not astonishing that Syria should always have been esteemed a most delicious country, and that the Greeks and Romans ranked it among the most beautiful of their provinces, and even thought it not inferior to Egypt. In more modern times, also, a Pacha, who was acquainted with both these provinces, being asked to which he gave the preference, replied, "Egypt, without doubt, is a most beautiful farm, but Syria is a charming country-house †."

Qualities of the Air.

I must not forget to speak of the

qualities of the air and waters. These elements present in Syria very remarkable phenomena. On the mountains, and in all the elevated plain which stretches to the eastward, the air is light, pure, and dry; while on the coast, and especially from Alexandretta to Yafa, it is moist and heavy; thus Syria is divided lengthways into two different districts, separated by the chain of mountains which also cause their diversity: for these preventing, by their height, the free passage of the westerly winds, force the vapours which they bring from the sea to collect in the vallies; and as air is light only in proportion to its purity, these are unable to rise above the summits of this rampart. The consequence is, that the air of the desert and the mountains, though sufficiently wholesome

* The situation of the country of Yemen and Tahama is very similar to that of Syria. See M. Niebuhr *Voyage en Arabie*.

† To complete the Natural History of Syria, it is proper to add that it produces all our domestic animals, and, besides them, the buffalo and the camel, whose utility is so well known. We also find gazelles (antelopes) in the plains, which supply the place of our roebucks; in the mountains are numbers of wild boars, not so large nor so fierce as ours. The stag and the deer are unknown there; the wolf and the real fox are very rare; but there is a prodigious quantity of the middle species, named *Sbacal* (jackall) which in Syria is called *wawwee*, in imitation of its howl; and in Egypt *dib*, or wolf. These jackalls go in droves, and frequent the environs of the towns, where they feed on what carrion they can find. They never attack any body, but are always ready to save themselves by flight. Every evening they seem to give each other the watch-word, to begin howling, and their cries, which are very doleful, sometimes last a quarter of an hour. In unfrequented places there are also hyenas, in Arabic named *daba*, and ounces, improperly called tigers (in Arabic *nema*). Lebanon, the country of the Druzes, Nablous, Mount Carmel, and the environs of Alexandretta, are their principal haunts. But, in return, the country is exempt from lions and bears. Water-fowl are very plentiful; land game is not so abundant, except in particular districts. The hare and the large red partridge are the most common; rabbits, if there are any, are extremely scarce. The francolin, or attagen, is more numerous at Tripoli, and in the neighbourhood of Yafa. Nor ought we to omit observing that a species of the colibri (or humming-bird) still exists in the territory of Saide. M. J. B. Adanson, formerly interpreter in that city, who cultivates natural history with equal taste and success, met with one, which he made a present of to his brother the Academician. This and the pelican are the only remarkable birds in Syria.

for such as are in no danger of pulmonary complaints, is hurtful to those who are, and it is necessary to send such from Aleppo to Latakia or Saïde. This good property of the air on the coast is, however, outweighed by more serious bad ones, and it may in general be pronounced unhealthy, as it causes intermittent and putrid fevers, and those defluxions of the eyes, of which I have spoken in treating of Egypt. The evening dews, and sleeping on the terraces, are found much less hurtful in the mountainous and interior parts of the country, as the distance from the sea is greater, which confirms what I have already observed upon that subject.

Qualities of the Waters.

The waters of this country have also a remarkable difference. In the mountains, that of the springs is light, and of a very good quality; but in the plain, whether to the east or west, if it has no natural or artificial communication with the springs, we find nothing but brackish water, which becomes still more so the nearer we approach the desert, where there is not a drop of any other. This inconvenience has rendered rain so precious to the inhabitants of the frontiers, that they

have in all ages taken care to collect it in wells and caverns carefully closed: hence, among all ruins, cisterns are the first things we discover.

The face of the heavens in Syria, particularly on the coast, and in the desert, is in general more constant and regular than in our climates; rarely is the sun obscured for two successive days. In the course of a whole summer we see few clouds, and still less rain; which only begins about the end of October, and then is neither long nor plentiful. The husbandmen wish for it to sow what they call their *winter* crop, that is, their wheat and barley*. In December and January, the rain becomes more frequent and heavier, and snow often falls in the higher country. It sometimes rains also in March and April: and the husbandman avails himself of it to sow his *summer* crop of sesamum, doura, tobacco, cotton, beans, and water-melons. The remainder of the year is uniform, and drought is more frequently complained of than too much wet.

Of the Winds.

The winds in Syria, as in Egypt, are in some degree periodical, and governed by the Seasons. About

* The seed-time of the winter crop, called *Sb. ta wia*, takes place, throughout Syria, only at the time of the autumnal rains, or toward the end of October. The time of reaping this crop varies according to the difference of situation. In Palestine, and in the Hauran, they reap their wheat and barley from the end of April through the whole month of May. But as we advance toward the north, or ascend the mountains, the harvest does not begin till June and July.

The seed time of the summer crop, or *Saïfa*, begins with the spring rains, that is, in March and April; and their harvest is in the months of September and October.

The time of vintage, in the mountains, is about the end of September; the silk-worms hatch therein April and May, and begin to spin in July.

the

the autumnal equinox, the north-west winds begin to blow more frequently and stronger. It renders the air dry, clear, and sharp; and it is remarkable that, on the sea-coast, it causes the head-ach, like the north-east wind in Egypt; and this more in the northern than in the southern parts, but never in the mountains. We may further remark, that it usually blows three days successively, like the south and south-east at the other equinox. It continues to prevail till November, that is, about fifty days, and its variations are generally toward the east. These winds are followed by the north-west, the west, and south-west, which prevail from November to February. The two latter are, to use the expression of the Arabs, *the fathers of the rains*. In March arise the pernicious winds from the southern quarter, with the same circumstances as in Egypt; but they become feebler as we advance toward the north, and are much more supportable in the mountains than in the flat country. Their duration, at each return, is usually of four and twenty hours, or three days. The easterly winds, which follow, continue till June, when a north wind succeeds, with which vessels may go and return along all the coast. At the same season too, the wind varies through all the points, every day, passing with the sun from the east to the south, and from the south to the west, to return by the north, and recommence the same circuit. At this time also a local wind, called the land breeze, prevails along the coast, during the night; it springs up after sun-set, lasts till sun-rising, and reaches only two or three leagues out at sea.

The causes of all these phenomena are problems well deserving the attention of natural philosophers. No country is better adapted to observations of this kind than Syria. It seems as if nature had there prepared whatever is necessary to the study of her operations. We, in our foggy climates, in the depth of vast continents, are unable to pursue the great changes which happen in the atmosphere: the confined horizon which bounds our view, circumscribes also our ideas. The field of our observation is very limited; and a thousand circumstances combine to vary the effects of natural causes. There, on the contrary, an immense scene opens before us, and the great agents of nature are collected in a space which renders it easy to watch their various operations. To the west is the vast liquid plain of the Mediterranean; to the east the plain of the desert, no less vast, but absolutely dry; in the midst of these two level surfaces rise the mountains, whose summits are so many observatories, from whence the sight may discern full thirty leagues. Four observers might command the whole extent of Syria; and from the tops of Casius, Lebanon, and Tabor, let nothing escape them within that boundless horizon. They might observe how the region of the sea, at first unclouded, veils itself with vapours; in what manner these vapours form into groupes, and separate, and by a constant mechanism ascend and rise above the mountains; while on the other hand, the desert, invariably clear, never produces clouds, and has only those it has received from the sea. They might reply to the question of

M. Michaelis,

"M. Michaelis *, "Whether the desert produces dews?" that the desert, containing no water, except in winter, after the rains, can only furnish vapours at that period. On viewing the valley of Balbek, burnt up with heat, whilst the head of Lebanon is hoary with ice and snow, they would be sensible of the truth of an axiom, which ought no longer to be disputed, *that the heat is greater in proportion as we approach the surface of the earth, and diminishes as we remove from it*; so that it seems to proceed only from the action of the rays of the sun upon the earth. In short, they might successfully attempt the solution of the greatest part of meteorological problems.

Some Account of the Productions and Peculiarities of the Marratta Country.—From the Asiatic Miscellany.

THE kinds of grain chiefly produced in this country are *jawar bājērā* †, &c. Rice grows in the Kokun Province ‡, and is also

brought from the Soobah of Khandaisse; it is sold for ten or twelve seer for a rupee, and wheat-flour, also, bears the same price. Grain is in general very dear, and there is but little trade in other commodities. Silk is brought hither from Bengal. Of linen manufactures there is abundance; but they are not to be compared with those of Bengal. Pearls are here a great article of merchandize; they are brought from Mocho and Judda. The fruits of the country are grapes, pomegranates, water-melons, mangoes, and pears.

Of manufactures, here are only some of white cloth, chintz, Burhaunpoor turbants, &c. but European goods, such as broad cloths, &c. and silk, opium, and Bengal cloths, are imported hither from Bombay, and dispersed on all sides as far as Dehly.

Excellent horses || are to be had here in great abundance, but the market price is high. In every province, and in every place dependent on the Marrattas, there are stables and herds § of horses; and
in

* See the *questions* proposed by M. Michaelis to the travellers for the king of Denmark.

† These are different kinds of pulse.

‡ The Kokun rice is like that commonly used in Bengal, and is indeed generally sold at 12 or 13 seer for a rupee; but the Khandaisse rice, called in Hindostan *patny chauvel*, which is the only species brought from that province, is generally used by the higher ranks of people, and is seldom at a lower price than 6 or 7 seer per rupee. It is a long and small grained rice, like that used for pillows by Mussulmen of high rank on the Coromandel coast.

|| The horses most esteemed by the Marrattas are those bred on the banks of the river Bheema, which runs into the Krishna, about thirty coss west of Bidder, in the province of Bhanjky. They are of a middling size and strong, but are, at the same time, a very handsome breed, generally of a dark bay with black legs, and are called, from the place which produces them, Bheemertedy horses. Some of them bear a price as high as 5000 rupees upon the market. Mares are commonly the dearest.

§ These herds are called, in the Marratta language, Jhundy, and are composed of the horses of several individuals, who send them to feed on the open plains as long

in most places there are herds the property of the Paithwah. The principal men also have all herds of horses on their respective jageers, and enlist horsemen, who serve on them in time of war, of whom the bodies of horse called Bargeer are composed. Accompanied by these the chiefs offer their services to government; and each of them has from a thousand to two thousand horses of his own. In a word, stout men and good horses are the chief boast of this country: besides these it has little to show but rocky hills and stony ground. The soil, indeed, in some places, is black, which creates an excessive quantity of mud in the rainy season, and the roads at that time are rendered also in most parts impassable by the torrents that come down from the hills.

The city of Poonah has nothing extraordinary to recommend it: it is about three or four cofs in circuit; but there are no gardens to

be seen here like those of Bengal or Benares *, and the houses of the principal people are like the houses of Mahajins.—Few of them have any extent either of building or of ground, and fewer still are adorned with courts, parterres, rivulets, or fountains. The inhabitants are, nevertheless, most of them wealthy and merchants, and the best part of the offices and employments are held by Brahmans.

As to beauty and complexion, the people of this country resemble those of Punjaub †; few are to be seen of a very dark colour. The women of all ranks, both rich and poor, go unveiled; and those of distinction go in palankeens without curtains. The wives of soldiers ride about on horseback. Curtain selling ‡ is very common in this country.

Many Brahmans || sell their own daughters, and girls that they have brought up, for a great price.

long as they have no immediate occasion for them. But those that are the property of the Paithwah are called, as well as the places where they are kept, Paugah.

* There are, it seems, a few gardens to the east and to the south of Poonah. Among the latter, that of Mooroopherneves is the best; but even that has few or none of the ornaments here mentioned. On the north and west of the city runs a small river called the Moolamootha, but it is full of rocks, and not navigable. Narrâyen Row began to build a bridge over this river, which was intended to be open during the rains, and shut during the hot months, in order to preserve the water for the use of the town; but he was killed before it was finished, and it has not since been carried on. This idea was suggested by a dreadful season of drought, which happened under his reign, during which a cudgerie pot of water was at one time sold in Poonah for half a rupee. This excessive scarcity, however, did not continue above ten or fifteen days.

† From other accounts it should appear, that the people of Punjaub are of a very different feature and make from the Marrattas; and that there are more people of a dark colour among the latter than would be understood from this description of them.

‡ By this he means prostitution.

|| A Marratta Brahman to whom this was read discovered great indignation at this assertion, and denied that they ever sell their own daughters, or bring up girls for sale, though he acknowledged it was not unusual among the inferior castes.

Other

Other casts *, besides Brahmans, bring up fowls in their houses, and eat the eggs; but the Brahmans eat neither flesh nor fish.

Cows are not allowed to be killed in any of the countries depen-

dent on the Marrattas. Muffulmans are here but few in number, and the influence of Islam at a low ebb.—But idolatry flourishes, and here are idol temples in abundance.

* The fact is, that not only the Brahmans abstain from fish and flesh, but all the different divisions of the Vies, or Banian cast, are equally abstemious, while the Chettri and Sudder indulge in both.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

The following Experiments on the Culture of Turneps, and a Receipt for preserving the Turnep Seed from being destroyed by the Fly, is taken from a Letter of Mr. Winter's, of Charlton, near Bristol, addressed to the Society instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.—From Vol. 5th of the Transactions of that Society.

"SIR,
THE very numerous experiments I have repeatedly made, more particularly this summer, on turnep-feed, to prevent being destroyed by the fly, enables me to send you my first account and recipe, for the most effectual preservation of that excellent vegetable.

My turneps have already been inspected by many gentlemen in this neighbourhood: should a member of your society live near this place, he may examine my numerous experiments, which, if your society will deem worthy their perusal, will send you an account of the whole, with the particulars of my observations on each.

As I have been credibly informed, that turneps have this season been sowed three times on the same ground, as the season is so far ad-

vanced, I think no time should be lost in serving the community.

Your answer by return of post, will be esteemed a favour conferred on

Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

MR. MORE. GEORGE WINTER.

Charlton, near Bristol,

July 7, 1736.

P. S. Steep turnep-feed, twenty-four hours or more, in sufficient quantity of train oil. Take a fine sieve, or linen bag, drain the oil from the feed, which mix with a quantity of good earth finely sifted, immediately drill or sow. When the plants begin to appear on the surface, let the ground be sowed with foot, from eight to sixteen bushels per acre.

N. B. Linseed, or other good vegetable oil, is equally as efficacious, and by draining the oil, a small quantity will be effectual for a large quantity of seed—the remainder will serve for common use, such as for harness, &c.

This mode is equally beneficial for every kind of grain, or seed sown in the garden. Time will not permit me at present to state my philosophical reasons on the subject."

"Experiments

Experiments on early Dutch turnep-feed, sowed on beds in my kitchen garden, in drills twelve inches distant, one inch and a half deep, on the 11th of May, 1786. These beds had been manured with rotten dung, in 1785—After planted with cabbages.

Remarks made the 26th of June.

Stake

N^o 1 Seed without any preparation—N^o 4, or 4th best.

- 2 Ditto mixed with foot, 3d.
- 3 with barton draining, 4th.
- 4 out of dunghill, 2nd.
- 5 Stale human urine, very few plants appeared.
- 6 Lime and barton draining, none vegetate.
- 7 Soot and water, 2nd.
- 8 Soot and barton draining, 2nd.
- 9 Elder leaf juice, 3d.
- 10 Seed mixed with elder and barton draining, 2nd.
- 11 Ditto and foot sowed over the covered drills, 3d.
- 12 Ditto and lime sowed over ditto, 3d.
- 13 Ditto mixed with slaked lime, very few plants appeared.
- 14 Seed sowed, scattered foot over, then covered, 3d.
- 15 Ditto ditto, slaked lime over ditto, very few plants appeared.
- 16 Elder bath drawn over when the plants appeared, 4th.

Stake

N^o 17 Seed steeped in train oil, flourished extremely, 1st.

18 Ditto in linseed oil, rather inferior.

The linseed oil was taken out of a bottle that had contained oil of turpentine for painters use.

N. B. All the seeds were steeped six hours in the different compositions.

Experiments on turneps (green Norfolk) drilled one inch and a half deep, at one foot distance in the rows, on beds eight feet three inches long, and two feet wide—Weight of seed, half a drachm to each bed, mixed and steeped with sundry articles as under, to endeavour to ascertain the most effectual remedy for preventing the fly: drilled or unmanured ground, the 20th of June, 1786. Marked with stakes.

N^o 1 Seed mixed with half an ounce of dry foot, then mixed with a pint of sifted mould, and drilled.

- 2 Soaper's ashes, ditto.
- 3 Wood ashes, ditto.
- 4 Pounded gunpowder.
- 5 Brimstone.
- 6 Slaked lime.

7 Seed steeped six hours in foot, and a quarter of an ounce of train oil, mixed with a pint of sifted mould.

- 8 Seed steeped in soaper's ashes, and ditto.
- 9 Wood ashes.

N^o 10

- stake
N^o 10 Gunpowder pounded.
11 Brimstone.
12 Slaked lime.
13 Seed steeped six hours in foot, and a quarter of an ounce of linseed oil, mixed with a pint of sifted mould.
14 Soaper's ashes, and ditto.
15 Wood ashes.
16 Gunpowder pounded.
17 Brimstone.
18 Slaked lime.
19 Seed mixed with brimstone, and saltpetre pounded, mixed with a pint of sifted mould.
20 Seed steeped six hours with ditto, and a quarter of an ounce of linseed oil, ditto.
21 Seed steeped six hours with ditto, ditto train oil ditto.
22 Seed steeped six hours with brimstone, and barton draining, mixed with mould.
23 Ditto with linseed oil.
24 Ditto with train oil.
25 Seed drilled in, and covered, after sowed foot over the beds.
26 Soaper's ashes.
27 Wood ashes.
28 Slaked lime.
29 Seed steeped six hours in linseed oil, mixed with mould, and covered, then sowed foot over the beds.
30 Ditto in train oil, ditto, ditto.

July 17, 1786. Particularly examined all the beds.—None had entirely escaped the fly.—The least

injury was done to N^o 30, 29, 24, and 23, which grew so luxuriant, as to produce rough leaves several days prior to the most flourishing of any other number, and enabled them the sooner and better to withstand the fly's attack.—The linseed oil was the same as that used in the first experiment—Its effects were inferior to train oil, which I must impute to the drying properties of the turpentine.—The leaves of the seeds steeped in oil were of a much darker green, and appeared twice as thick in bulk and luxuriance, and the plants were a considerable deal larger than any of the other numbers.—In point of luxuriance, &c. they stand as under.

N^o 33, 29: 1st best. Longest before, and least touched with the fly, which in some degree impute to the foot's being scattered over the beds.

24, 23—2nd best.

3, 5, 11, 17, 22, 25, 26, 27—4th best.

7, 13, 19—5th best.

All the others far inferior to even N^o 5."

Some Account of the Racine de Difette, or Root of Scarcity, of its Utility, and the Mode of treating it; from a Letter of Thomas Boothby Parkyns, Esq. addressed to the Secretary of the above-mentioned Society. — From the same Work.

" SIR,

" I HAVE this instant received Sir Richard Jebb's letter concerning the Racine de Difette, and send in consequence a parcel of the seed, which the society will honour me by accepting.—I am obliged to send

send it to the warehouse immediately, as the diligence by which it is to go sets off to Paris in a few hours—I have therefore no time to translate, or transcribe, the full directions given by the person who introduced it first into this country for the cultivation of the *Racine de Difette*; nor to describe its various and profitable uses. I shall content myself, as no time ought to be lost, and that I may not let this opportunity slip, being now full late to sow the seed, to say that the seed should be sown in the garden, or very good ground, in rows, or broadcast, and as soon as the plants are of the size of a goose-quill, to be transplanted in rows of eighteen inches distance, and eighteen inches apart, one plant from the other: care must be taken in the sowing, to sow very thin, and to cover the seed, which lays in the ground about a month, an inch only.—In transplanting, the root is not to be shortened, but the leaves cut at the top; the plant is then to be planted with a setting-stick, so that the upper part of the root shall appear about half an inch out of the ground; this last precaution is very necessary to be attended to. These plants will strike root in twenty-four hours, and a man a little accustomed to planting, will plant with ease one thousand eight hundred, or two thousand a day. In the seed-bed, the plants, like all others, must be kept clear of weeds: when they are planted out, after once hoeing, they will take care of themselves, and suffocate every kind of weed near them.

The best time to sow the seed is from the beginning of March to the middle of April; the cultivator, however, advises to continue sowing

every month until the beginning of July, to have a succession of plants. The seed will get to England six weeks or two months too late; of course, the leaves will not produce so much green forage, nor will the roots be so large by five or six pounds weight as if they had been sown at the proper season.

I shall only add for the present, that both leaves and roots are most excellent both for man and beast. This plant is not liable, like the turnep, to be destroyed by insects, for no insect touches it, nor is it affected by excessive drought, or the changes of seasons. Horned cattle, horses, pigs, and poultry, are excessively fond of it, when cut small. The leaves may be gathered every twelve or fifteen days; they are from thirty to forty inches long, by twenty-two to twenty-five inches broad. This exfoliation, which is properly explained by the cultivator, assists the increase of the root, instead of destroying it, as it does that of the beet-root, which it resembles very much, both in the feed and leaves. This plant is excellent for milch cows, when given to them in proper proportions, as it adds much to the quality as well as quantity of their milk; but care must be taken to proportion the leaves with other green food, otherwise it would abate the milk, and fatten them too much, it is of so exceeding a fattening quality.

I have taken steps for my receiving in England any quantity of the seed I may want, a precaution very necessary, because this plant, like the cabbage, must be planted in the spring, for seed; so that the plants of this year 1786, will not produce seed time enough for the year 1787.

I intend

I intend being in England the first or second week in August, and shall be happy to communicate the full directions for the cultivation of this excellent plant, that will be full time enough for every purpose the society can wish in the further culture of the *Racine de Disette*.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Mr. MORE.

T. B. PARKYNS.

Metz, May 13, 1736.

P. S. I intend sending another parcel of this seed the first opportunity, for fear this may miscarry. Sir R. Jebb will present the seed to the society.

A Method of destroying Ants, Spiders, and other Insects, in Hot-houses and Pineries; from a Letter of Mr. Ailway to the Secretary of the Society.—From the same.

AN easy method of destroying the red spider, and other noxious insects, in hot-houses and pineries, has long been considered as a very desirable object both to gentlemen and gardeners, and various modes of fumigating such places have been proposed, and premiums paid by the society for that purpose; particularly to Mr. Green, of her Majesty's flower-garden at Kew, for his invention of a kind of bellows, contrived by him, and now much in request, and commonly sold in the shops, by which the fumes of burning tobacco, put into a cavity made in the nozzle of the bellows, are blown into the places infected. The following letter from Mr. Ailway contains a method to

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obtain the same end—but it is hardly necessary to add, when the nature and properties of white sublimate are considered, that the washing the frames and walls must be done with great care and caution.

Sir,

As the society have sufficiently expressed their desire of finding a method of destroying the red spider, by having proposed a premium for that purpose, I send them an account of an attempt to answer that end, made in the hot-house of Thomas Clutterbuck, jun. of Watford, Herts, Esq.

Last summer, this house being much infested with the red spider, I prepared pieces of match, about six inches long, the pieces were moistened on the outside with a tincture of assafoetida, in spirits of wine, and then rolled in a powder, equal parts of brimstone and Scotch snuff; the gardener was directed to light the pieces, and by means of wires, or other contrivances, place them as near the ground as he could, and behind the frames, &c. at night, and then shut up the house close. The event was, many were destroyed or disappeared, and very little inconvenience was suffered from them the rest of the year.

Some time last winter, I directed the walls of the house, frames, &c. to be well washed with the following: take sublimate four ounces, and dissolve it in two gallons of water. This hot-house was likewise greatly infested with ants, not much less troublesome than the spider; neither spider nor ants have been seen in this house all this summer. If this method proves effectual, on farther trial, the society's

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wishes will be gratified, I hope, to the utmost, as the remedy is cheap and easily applied.

This wash may be used on old garden walls, and to the roots of trees infested with ants, if made weaker; the experiments I have made, prove that it will destroy the tender leaves of some plants, though not the roots: one pint and a half, poured four months ago on a standard current-tree, as near the stem as I could, has not affected either the leaves or tree itself, as far as I can perceive at this time. That this wash will be effectual in the destruction of all insects of a tender cuticle, and the ova of most others, I am myself perfectly convinced, and also that it will effectually destroy the spider; I recommend to every gentleman inclined to make the trial, to take care that it be applied with diligence into every crevice of the walls, frames, &c. with a painter's brush.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,
MR. MORE. JOHN AILWAY.

Curious Discovery of the ancient Grecian Method of painting on Wax, by Miss Greenland.—From the same Work.

THE well-known disadvantages that paintings in oil lie under, have rendered the discovery of some other vehicle an object of attentive enquiry among the learned; and dissertations have been written on the subject, by various authors, as Count Caylus, Muntz, &c. &c.

Wax has been universally considered as the most likely substance to supply the place of the oil; and

most of the writers have recommended the uniting it with alkaline salts, into a kind of soap for that purpose; the impropriety of such a measure is evident to any one, in the least acquainted with the properties of those salts.

The method made use of by Miss Greenland provides against all those inconveniences, and the brilliancy of the colours in the picture painted by her, and exhibited to the society, fully justifies the opinion, that the art of painting in wax, as described in the following letter and account, highly merited the reward of a gold pallet, voted to Miss Greenland on this occasion.

Sir,

I was extremely fortunate, when at Florence the summer before last, in the acquaintance of an *Amateur* of painting, who procured me the satisfaction of seeing some paintings in the ancient Grecian style, executed by Signora Parenti, a professor at that place, who received her instructions from a Jesuit at Pavia, the person who made the farthest discoveries in that art. My friend, knowing I was fond of painting, very politely informed me what were the materials the paintress used, but could not tell me the proportions of the composition; however, from my anxiety to succeed in such an acquisition, I made various experiments, and at last obtained such a sufficient knowledge of the quantities of the different ingredients, as to begin and finish a picture, which I shall be happy to lay before the society for their inspection.

As I must ever consider myself greatly indebted to the society, for the many honours received from them;

them; should you approve of the discovery being mentioned to the society, and they think it worthy their attention, I shall be extremely happy in giving them a particular account of the manner in which I accomplished my undertaking.

I am, Sir,

Your much obliged
and obedient humble servant,

EMMA JANE GREENLAND.

Nov. 14, 1786.

Mr. MORE.

Take an ounce of white wax, and the same weight of gum mastic in lachrymæ, that is, as it comes from the tree, which must be reduced to a coarse powder. Put the wax in a glazed earthen vessel, over a very slow fire, and when it is quite dissolved, strew in the mastic, a little at a time, stirring the wax continually, until the whole quantity of gum is perfectly melted and incorporated; then throw the paste into cold water, and when it is hard, take it out of the water, wipe it dry, and beat it in one of Mr. Wedgwood's mortars, observing to pound it at first in a linen cloth to absorb some drops of water that will remain in the paste, and would prevent the possibility of reducing it to powder, which must be so fine as to pass through a thick gauze. It should be pounded in a cold place, and but a little while at a time, as, after long beating, the friction will in a degree soften the wax and gum, and instead of their becoming a powder they will return to paste.

Make some strong gum arabick water, and when you paint, take a little of the powder, some colour, and mix them together with the gum-water. Light colours require

but a small quantity of the powder, but more of it must be put in proportion to the body and darkness of the colours; and to black, there should be almost as much of the powder as colour.

Having mixed the colours, and no more than can be used before they grow dry, paint with water, as is practised in painting with water-colours, a ground on the wood being first painted of some proper colour prepared in the same manner as is described for the picture; walnut-tree and oak are the sorts of wood commonly made use of in Italy for this purpose. The painting should be very highly finished, otherwise, when varnished, the tints will not appear united.

When the painting is quite dry, with rather a hard brush, passing it one way, varnish it with white wax, which is put into an earthen vessel, and kept melted over a very slow fire till the picture is varnished, taking great care the wax does not boil. Afterwards hold the picture before a fire, near enough to melt the wax, but not make it run; and when the varnish is entirely cold and hard, rub it gently with a linen cloth. Should the varnish blister, warm the picture again very slowly, and the bubbles will subside.

When the picture is dirty, it need only be washed with cold water.

Extract of a Letter from Bernard Romans, of Pensacola, dated August 20, 1773, on an improved Sea Compass.—From Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.

THE common mariners compass has always appeared to
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accurate observers as an imperfect instrument, but in nothing has it proved to be more defective than in its use in storms; the heaviest brass compasses now in use are by no means to be relied on in a hollow or high sea. This is owing to the box hanging in two brass rings, confining it to only two motions, both vertical, and at right angles with each other, by which confinement of the box upon any succession, more especially sudden ones, the card is always put into too much agitation, and before it can well recover itself, another jerk again prevents its pointing to the pole, nor is it an extraordinary thing to see the card unshipped by the violence of the ship's pitching.

All these inconveniences are remedied to the full by giving the box a vertical motion at every degree and minute of the circle, and to compound these motions with a horizontal one, of the box, as well as of the card. By this unconfined disposition of the box the effects of the jerks on the card are avoided, and it will always very steadily point to the pole. Experience has taught me, that the card not only is not in the smallest degree affected by the hollow sea, but even in all the violent shocks and whirling the box can receive, the card lies as still as if in a room, unaffected by the least motion.

Lately a compass was invented and made in Holland, which has all these motions. It is of the size of the common brass compasses; the bottom of the brass box, instead of being like a bowl, must be raised into a hollow cone, like the bottom of a common glass bottle; the vertex of the cone must be raised so high as to leave but one inch be-

tween the card and the glass; the box must be of the ordinary depth, and a quantity of lead must be poured in the bottom of the box round the base of the cone, this secures it on the style whereon it traverses.

This style is firmly fixed in the center of a square wooden box, like the common compass, except that it requires a thicker bottom. The style must be of brass about six inches long, round and of the thickness of one-third of an inch, its head blunt, like the head of a sewing thimble, but of a good polish; the style must stand perpendicular, the inner vertex of the cone must also be well polished; the vertical part of the cone ought to be thick enough to admit of a well polished cavity sufficient to admit a short style proceeding from the center of the card whereon it traverses. The compass I saw was so constructed; but I see no reason why the style might not proceed from the center of the vertex of the cone, and so be received by the card the common way. The needle must be a magnetic bar blunt at each end; the glass and cover is put on in the common way.

A compass of this kind was given by the captain of a Dutch man of war to Captain Burnaby of the Zephyr sloop; this gentleman gave it to me to examine, and was very profuse in his encomiums thereon, saying that in a very hard gale, which lasted some days, there was not a compass but it of any service at all. Indeed to me it appears to deserve all the praise he gave it. My stay is so short here, as not to allow me time to have one made; but I intend to have one made for my own use, and shall offer it to

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the society for impetion. I hope that this useful instrument may become univerfal, as navigation certainly will be rendered more safe through its means; and I shall think myself highly honoured, if through the channel of this society it becomes public.

Letter concerning Smoky Chimneys to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq. LL. D. President of the State of Pennsylvania, and of the American Philosophical Society, &c.—From the same Work.

Philadelphia, January 12, 1786.

S I R,

THE subject of smoky chimneys, of which I had the honour of conversing with you at your own house last evening, is of so much importance to every individual, as well as to every private family, that too much light cannot be thrown upon it.

A smoky house and a scolding wife
Are (said to be) two of the greatest ills in
life.

And however difficult it may be to remedy one of those ills, yet any advances we may be able to make towards removing the inconveniences arising from the other, cannot fail to be favourably received by the public. As they are shortly to be favoured with your sentiments on that subject, possibly the following observations, which were in fact occasioned by necessity, and are the result of my own experience, may not be altogether undeserving of notice.

When I left London and went to live in Devonshire, in the latter end

of the year 1777, it happened to be my lot to dwell in an old mansion which had been recently modernised, and had undergone a thorough repair. But as in most of the old houses in England the chimneys, which were perhaps originally built for the purpose of burning wood, though they had been contracted in front, since coal fires came into general use, to the modern size, yet they were still above, out of sight, extravagantly large. This method of building chimneys may perhaps have answered well enough while it was the custom to sit with the doors and windows open; but when the customs and manners of the people began to be more polished and refined, when building and architecture were improved, and they began to conceive the idea of making their chambers close, warm, and comfortable, these chimneys were found to smoke abominably, for want of a sufficient supply of air. This was exactly the case with the house in which I first lived, near Exeter, and I was under the necessity of trying every expedient I could think of to make it habitable.

The first thing I tried, was that method of contracting the chimneys by means of earthen pots, much in use in England, which are made on purpose, and which are put upon the tops of them; but this method by no means answered. I then thought of contracting them below, but as the method of contracting them in front to the size of a small coal-fire grate has an unsightly appearance, as it makes a disagreeable blowing like a furnace, and as it is the occasion of consuming a great deal of unnecessary fuel, the heat of which is immediately hurried

ried up the chimney, I rejected this method, and determined to contract them above, a little out of sight. For this purpose, I threw an arch across, and also drew them in at the sides. This had some effect, but as this contraction was made rather suddenly, and the smoke, by striking against the corners that were thereby occasioned, was apt to recoil, by which means some part of it was thrown out into the room; I determined to make the contraction more gradually, and therefore run it up at the back, where the depth of the chimney would admit of it, and also shelving or sloping in a conical kind of direction at the sides, as high as a man, standing upright, could conveniently reach, and by this means brought the cavity within the space of about twelve by fourteen or sixteen inches, which I found sufficiently large to admit a boy to go up and down to sweep the chimneys. This method I found to succeed perfectly well, as to curing the chimneys of smoking, and it had this good effect of making the rooms considerably warmer; and as this experiment succeeded so well, since the only use of a chimney is to convey away the smoke, I determined to carry it still farther, in order to ascertain with precision how much space is absolutely necessary for that purpose, because all the rest that is shut up must be so much gained in warmth. Accordingly I laid a piece of slate across the remaining aperture, removeable at pleasure, so as to contract the space above two thirds, leaving about three inches by twelve remaining open; but this space, except when the fire burnt remarkably clear, was scarcely sufficient to carry away the smoke. I therefore enlarged it

to half the space, that is, to about six by seven or eight inches, which I found fully sufficient to carry away the smoke from the largest fires.

When I removed into the Bedford Circus in Exeter, though the house was modern, and almost perfectly new, yet the chimneys were large; in consequence of which almost every room of it smoked. My predecessor, who was the first inhabitant, had been at great expence in patent stoves, &c. but without effect; but by adopting the method I have just now described, I not only cured every chimney of smoking, but my house was remarked for being one of the warmest and most comfortable to live in of any in that large and opulent city.

The house I now live in, in Philadelphia, I am told, has always had the character of being both cold and smoky; and I was convinced, as soon as I saw the rooms and examined the chimneys, that it deserved that character; for tho' the rooms were close, the chimneys were large: and we shall ever find, that if our chimneys are large, our rooms will be cold even though they should be tolerably close and tight; because the constant rushing in of the cold air at the cracks and crevices, and also at every opening of the door, will be sufficient to chill the air, as fast as it is heated, or to force the heated air up the chimney; but by contracting the chimneys I have cured it of both these defects. There was one remarkable circumstance attending the contraction of the chimney in the front parlour, which deserves to be attended to; which was, that before I applied the cast-iron plate, which I made use of instead of slate, to diminish the space requisite for a chimney-

chimney-sweeper's boy to go up and down, the suction or draught of air was so great, that it was with difficulty I could shut the door of the room, inasmuch that I at first thought it was owing to a tightness of the hinges, which I imagined must be remedied, but upon applying the iron plate, by which the space was diminished one half, the door shut to with the greatest ease. This extraordinary pressure of the air upon the door of the room, or suction of the chimney, I take to be owing in some measure to the unusual height of the house.

Upon the whole, therefore, this fact seems clearly ascertained, viz. That the flue or size of the chimney ought always to be proportioned to the tightness and closeness of the room; some air is undoubtedly necessary to be admitted into the room in order to carry up the smoke, otherwise, as you justly observed, we might as well expect smoke to arise out of an exhausted receiver; but if the flue is very large, and the room is tight, either the smoke will not ascend, the consequence of which will be, that the air of your room will be so frequently and so constantly changed, that as fast as it is heated it will be hurried away, with the smoke, up the chimney, and of course your room will be constantly cold.

One great advantage attending this method of curing smoky chimneys is, that, in the first place, it makes no awkward or unsightly appearance, nothing being to be seen but what is usual to chimneys in common; and in the second place, that it is attended with very little expence, a few bricks and mortar, with a plate or covering to the aperture, and a little labour, being

all that is requisite. But in this new country, where crops of houses may be expected to rise almost as quick as fields of corn, when the principles upon which chimneys are erected ought to be thoroughly understood, it is to be hoped, that not only this expence, small as it is, but that all the other inconveniences we have been speaking of, will be avoided, by constructing the flues of the chimneys sufficiently small.

From your humble servant,

THOMAS RUSTON.

A Letter from the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, on the preserving of Parsnips by drying.—From the same Work.

Dover, New-Hampshire,
March 5, 1734.

S I R,

AMONG the number of esculent roots, the parsnip has two singular good qualities. One is, that it will endure the severest frost, and may be taken out of the ground in the spring, as fresh and sweet as in autumn; the other is, that it may be preserved by drying, to any desired length of time.

The first of these advantages has been known for many years past; the people in the most northerly parts of New-England, where winter reigns with great severity, and the ground is often frozen to the depth of two or three feet for four months, leave their parsnips in the ground till it thaws in the spring, and think them much better preserved than in cellars.

The other advantage never occurred to me till this winter, when one of my neighbours put into my hands a substance which had the

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appearance

appearance of a piece of buck's horn. This was part of a parsnip which had been drawn out of the ground last April, and had lain neglected in a dry closet for ten months. It was so hard as to require considerable strength to force a knife through it cross-wise; but being soaked in warm water, for about an hour, became tender, and was as sweet to the taste as if it had been fresh drawn from the ground.

As many useful discoveries owe their origin to accident, this may suggest a method of preserving so pleasant and wholesome a vegetable for the use of seamen in long voyages, to prevent the scurvy and other disorders incident to a sea-faring life, which is often rendered tedious and distressing for want of vegetable food; since I am persuaded that parsnips dried to such a degree, as above related, and packed in tight casks, may be transported round the globe, without any loss of their flavour or diminution of their nutritive quality.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,
JEREMY BELKNAP.

Letter to Mr. Nairne, of London, from Dr. Franklin, proposing a slowly sensible Hygrometer for certain Purposes. — From the same.

Passy, near Paris, Nov. 13th, 1780.

SIR,

THE qualities hitherto sought in a hygrometer, or instrument to discover the degrees of moisture and dryness in the air, seem to have been an aptitude to receive humidity readily from a

moist air, and to part with it as readily to a dry air. Different substances have been found to possess more or less of this quality; but when we shall have found the substance that has it in the greatest perfection, there will still remain some uncertainty in the conclusions to be drawn from the degree shown by the instrument, arising from the actual state of the instrument itself as to heat and cold. Thus, if two bottles or vessels of glass or metal being filled, the one with cold and the other with hot water, are brought into a room, the moisture of the air in the room will attach itself in quantities to the surface of the cold vessel, while if you actually wet the surface of the hot vessel, the moisture will immediately quit it, and be absorbed by the same air. And thus in a sudden change of the air from cold to warm, the instrument remaining longer cold, may condense and absorb more moisture, and mark the air as having become more humid than it is in reality, and the contrary in a change from warm to cold.

But if such a suddenly changing instrument could be freed from these imperfections, yet when the design is to discover the different degrees of humidity in the air of different countries, I apprehend the quick sensibility of the instrument to be rather a disadvantage; since, to draw the desired conclusion from it, a constant and frequent observation day and night in each country will be necessary for a year or years, and the mean of each different set of observations is to be found and determined. After all which, some uncertainty will remain respecting the different degrees of exactitude with which different persons may have

have made and taken notes of their observations.

For these reasons, I apprehend, that a substance which, though capable of being distended by moisture and contracted by dryness, is so slow in receiving and parting with its humidity; that the frequent changes in the atmosphere have not time to effect it sensibly, and which therefore should gradually take nearly the medium of all those changes and preserve it constantly, would be the most proper substance of which to make such an hygrometer.

Such an instrument you, my dear sir, though without intending it, have made for me; and I, without desiring or expecting it, have received from you. It is therefore with propriety that I address to you the following account of it; and the more, as you have both a head to contrive and a hand to execute the means of perfecting it. And I do this with greater pleasure, as it affords me the opportunity of renewing that ancient correspondence and acquaintance with you, which to me was always so pleasing and so instructive.

You may possibly remember, that in or about the year 1758, you made for me a set of artificial magnets, six in number, each five and a half inches long, half an inch broad, and one eighth of an inch thick. These, with two pieces of soft iron, which together equalled one of the magnets, were inclosed in a little box of mahogany wood, the grain of which ran with, and not across, the length of the box; and the box was closed by a little shutter of the same wood, the grain of which ran across the box; and the ends of this shutting piece were

bevelled so as to fit and slide in a kind of dovetail groove when the box was to be shut or opened.

I had been of opinion that good mahogany wood was not affected by moisture so as to change its dimensions, and that it was always to be found as the tools of the workman left it. Indeed the difference at different times in the same country is so small, as to be scarcely in a common way observable. Hence the box, which was made so as to allow sufficient room for the magnets to slide out and in freely, and, when in, afforded them so much play, that by shaking the box one could make them strike the opposite sides alternately, continued in the same state all the time I remained in England, which was four years, without any apparent alteration. I left England in August 1762, and arrived at Philadelphia in October the same year. In a few weeks after my arrival, being desirous of showing your magnets to a philosophical friend, I found them so tight in the box, that it was with difficulty I got them out; and constantly during the two years I remained there, viz. till November 1764, this difficulty of getting them out and in continued. The little shutter too, as wood does not shrink lengthways of the grain, was found too long to enter its grooves, and not being used, was mislaid and lost; and I afterwards had another made that fitted.

In December 1764 I returned to England, and after some time I observed that my box was become full big enough for my magnets, and too wide for my new shutter; which was so much too short for its grooves, that it was apt to fall out; and

and to make it keep in, I lengthened it by adding to each end a little coat of sealing-wax.

I continued in England more than ten years, and during all that time, after the first change, I perceived no alteration. The magnets had the same freedom in their box, and the little shutter continued with the added sealing-wax to fit its grooves, till some weeks after my second return to America.

As I could not imagine any other cause for this change of dimensions in the box, when in the different countries, I concluded, first generally, that the air of England was moister than that of America; and this I supposed an effect of its being an island, where every wind that blew must necessarily pass over some sea before it arrived, and of course lick up some vapour. I afterwards indeed doubted whether it might be just only so far as related to the city of London, where I resided; because there are many causes of moisture in the city air, which do not exist to the same degree in the country; such as the brewers and dyers boiling caldrons, and the great number of pots and tea-kettles continually on the fire, sending forth abundance of vapour; and also the number of animals who by their breath continually increase it; to which may be added, that even the vast quantity of sea coals burnt there, do in kindling discharge a great deal of moisture.

When I was in England, the last time, you also made for me a little achromatic pocket telescope; the body was brass, and it had a round case (I think of thin wood) covered with shagrin. All the while I remained in England, though possi-

bly there might be some small changes in the dimensions of this case, I neither perceived nor suspected any. There was always comfortable room for the telescope to slip in and out. But soon after I arrived in America, which was in May 1775, the case became too small for the instrument, it was with much difficulty and various contrivances that I got it out, and I could never after get it in again, during my stay there, which was eighteen months. I brought it with me to Europe, but left the case as useless, imagining that I should find the continental air of France as dry as that of Pennsylvania, where my magnet-box had also returned a second time to its narrowness, and pinched the pieces, as heretofore, obliging me too to scrape the sealing-wax off the ends of the shutter.

I had not been long in France, before I was surprised to find, that my box was become as large as it had always been in England, the magnets entered and came out with the same freedom, and, when in, I could rattle them against its sides; this has continued to be the case without sensible variation. My habitation is out of Paris distant almost a league, so that the moist air of the city cannot be supposed to have much effect upon the box. I am on a high dry hill in a free air, as likely to be dry as any air in France. Whence it seems probable that the air of England in general may, as well as that of London, be moister than the air of America, since that of France is so, and in a part so distant from the sea.

The greater dryness of the air in America appears from some other observations,

formerly sent us from London. which consisted in thin plates of fine wood glued upon fir, never would stand with us, the vanoeering, as those plates are called, would get loose and come off; both woods shrinking, and their grains often crossing. they were for ever cracking and flying. And in my electrical experiments there, it was remarkable, that a mahogany table, on which my jars stood under the prime conductor to be charged, would often be so dry, particularly when the wind had been some time at north-west, which with us is a very drying wind, as to isolate the jars, and prevent their being charged till I had formed a communication between their coatings and the earth. I had a like table in London, which I used for the same purpose all the time I resided there; but it was never so dry as to refuse conducting the electricity.

Now what I would beg leave to recommend to you is, that you would recollect, if you can, the species of mahogany of which you made my box, for you know there is a good deal of difference in woods that go under that name; or, if that cannot be, that you would take a number of pieces of the closest and finest grained mahogany that you can meet with, plane them to the thinness of about a line, and the width of about two inches across the grain, and fix each of the pieces in some instrument that you can contrive, which will permit them to contract and dilate, and will shew, in sensible degrees, by a moveable hand upon a marked scale, the otherwise less sensible quantities of such contraction and dilatation. If these instruments are all kept in

are graduated together while subject to the same degrees of moisture or dryness, I apprehend you will have so many comparable hygrometers, which being sent into different countries, and continued there for some time, will find and show there the mean of the different dryness and moisture of the air of those countries, and that with much less trouble than by any hygrometer hitherto in use.

With great esteem,

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient,
and most humble servant.

B. FRANKLIN.

Some Observations on ancient Inks, with the Proposal of a new Method of recovering the Legibility of decayed Writings. By Charles Blagden, M. D. Sec. R. S. and F. A. S. — From Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London.

IN a conversation some time ago with my friend Thomas Astle, Esq. F. R. S. and A. S. relative to the legibility of ancient MSS. a question arose, whether the inks in use eight or ten centuries ago, and which are often found to have preserved their colour remarkably well, were made of different materials from those employed in later times, of which many are already become so pale as scarcely to be read. With a view to the decision of this question, Mr. Astle obligingly furnished me with several MSS. on parchment and vellum, from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries inclusively; some of which were still very black, and others of different shades of colour, from a deep yellowish

in some parts so faint as to be scarcely visible. On all of these I made experiments with the chemical re-agents which appeared to me best adapted to the purpose; namely, alkalies both simple and phlogisticated, the mineral acids, and infusion of galls.

It would be tedious and superfluous to enter into a detail of the particular experiments; as all of them, one instance only excepted, agreed in the general result, to shew, that the ink employed anciently, as far as the above-mentioned MSS. extended, was of the same nature as the present; for the letters turned of a reddish or yellowish brown with alkalies, became pale, and were at length obliterated, with the dilute mineral acids, and the drop of acid liquor which had extracted a letter, changed to a deep blue or green on the addition of a drop of phlogisticated alkali; moreover, the letters acquired a deeper tinge with the infusion of galls, in some cases more, in others less. Hence it is evident, that one of the ingredients was iron, which there is no reason to doubt was joined with the vitriolic acid; and the colour of the more perfect MSS. which in some was a deep black, and in others a purplish black, together with the restitution of that colour, in those which had lost it, by the infusion of galls, sufficiently proved that another of the ingredients was astringent matter, which from history appears to have been that of galls. No trace of a black pigment of any sort was discovered, the drop of acid, which had completely extracted a letter, appearing of an uniform pale ferrugineous colour, without an atom of black

ter, floating in it.

As to the great durability of the more ancient inks, it seemed, from what occurred to me in these experiments, to depend very much on a better preparation of the material upon which the writing was made, namely, the parchment or vellum; the blackest letters being generally those which had sunk into it the deepest. Some degree of effervescence was commonly to be perceived when the acids came in contact with the surface of these old vellums. I was led, however, to suspect, that the ancient inks contained a rather less proportion of iron than the more modern; for in general the tinge of colour, produced by the phlogisticated alkali in the acid laid upon them, seemed less deep; which, however, might depend in part upon the length of time they had been kept: and perhaps more gum was used in them, or possibly they were washed over with some kind of varnish, though not such as gave any gloss.

One of the specimens sent me by Mr. Astle proved very different from the rest. It was said to be a MS. of the fifteenth century; and the letters were those of a full engrossing hand, angular, without any *fine* strokes, broad, and very black. On this none of the above-mentioned re-agents produced any considerable effect; most of them rather seemed to make the letters blacker, probably by cleaning the surface; and the acids, after having been rubbed strongly upon the letters, did not strike any deeper tinge with the phlogisticated alkali. Nothing had a sensible effect, toward obliterating these letters, but what took off part of the surface of the

the vellum; when small rolls, as of a dirty matter, were to be perceived. It is therefore unquestionable, that no iron was used in this ink; and from its resistance to the chemical solvents; as well as a certain clotted appearance in the letters when examined closely, and in some places a slight degree of gloss, I have little doubt but they were formed with a composition of a black sooty or carbonaceous powder and oil, probably something like our present printers' ink, and am not without suspicion that they were actually printed*.

Whilst I was considering of the experiments to be made, in order to ascertain the composition of ancient inks, it occurred to me, that perhaps one of the best methods of restoring legibility to decayed writing might be, to join phlogisticated alkali with the remaining calx of iron; because, as the quantity of precipitate formed by these two substances very much exceeds that of the iron alone, the bulk of colouring matter would thereby be greatly augmented. M. Bergman was of opinion, that the blue precipitate contains only between a fifth and a sixth part of its weight of iron; and though subsequent experiments† tend to shew that, in some cases at least, the proportion of iron is much greater, yet upon the whole it is certainly true, that if the iron left by the stroke of a pen were joined to the colouring matter of phlogisticated alkali, the quantity of Prussian blue thence resulting would be much greater than the quantity of black matter origi-

nally contained in the ink deposited by the pen; though perhaps the body of colour might not be equally augmented. To bring this idea to the test, I made a few experiments as follows.

The phlogisticated alkali was rubbed upon the bare writing, in different quantities; but in general with little effect. In a few instances, however, it gave a bluish tinge to the letters, and increased their intensity, probably where something of an acid nature had contributed to the diminution of their colour.

Reflecting that when the phlogisticated alkali forms its blue precipitate with iron, the metal is usually first dissolved in an acid, I was next induced to try the effect of adding a dilute mineral acid to writing, besides the alkali. This answered fully to my expectations; the letters changing very speedily to a deep blue colour, of great beauty and intensity. It seems of little consequence as to the strength of colour obtained, whether the writing be first wetted with the acid, and then the phlogisticated alkali be touched upon it, or whether the process be inverted, beginning with the alkali; but on another account, I think the latter way preferable. For the principal inconvenience which occurs in the proposed method of restoring MSS. is, that the colour frequently spreads, and so much blots the parchment, as to detract greatly from the legibility; now this appears to happen in a less degree when the alkali is put on first, and

* A subsequent examination of a larger portion of this supposed MS. has shewn, that it is really part of a very ancient printed book.

† Crell. Beyträge, B. i. ft. 1. p. 42, &c.

the dilute acid is added upon it. The method I have hitherto found to answer best, has been to spread the alkali thin with a feather over the traces of the letter, and then to touch it gently, as nearly upon or over the letters as can be done, with the diluted acid, by means of a feather, or a bit of stick cut to a blunt point. Though the alkali has occasioned no sensible change of colour, yet the moment that the acid comes upon it, every trace of a letter turns at once to a fine blue*, which soon acquires its full intensity, and is beyond comparison stronger than the colour of the original trace had been. If now the corner of a bit of blotting-paper be carefully and dexterously applied near the letters, so as to suck up the superfluous liquor, the staining of the parchment may be in great measure avoided: for it is this superfluous liquor, which, absorbing part of the colouring matter from the letters, becomes a dye to whatever it touches. Care must be taken not to bring the blotting-paper in contact with the letters, because the colouring matter is soft whilst wet, and may easily be rubbed off.

The acid I have chiefly employed has been the marine; but both the vitriolic and nitrous succeed very well. They should undoubtedly be so far diluted as not to be in danger of corroding the parchment, after which the degree of strength does not seem to be a matter of much nicety.

The method now commonly practised to restore old writings, is by wetting them with an infusion of galls in white wine.† This certainly has a great effect; but it is subject, in some degree, to the same inconvenience as the phlogisticated alkali, of staining the substance on which the writing was made. Perhaps if, instead of galls themselves, the peculiar acid or other matter which strikes the black with iron were separated from the simple astringent matter, for which purpose two different processes are given by Piepenbring § and by Scheele ||, this inconvenience might be avoided. It is not improbable, likewise, that a phlogisticated alkali might be prepared, better suited to this object than the common; as by rendering it as free as possible from iron, diluting it to a certain degree,

* The *phlogisticated alkali* (which is to be considered simply as a name) appears to consist of a peculiar acid, in the present extensive acceptation of that term, joined to the alkali. Now the theory of the above-mentioned process I take to be, that the mineral acid, by its stronger attraction for the alkali; dislodges the colouring (Prussian) acid, which then immediately seizes on the calx of iron, and converts it into Prussian blue, without moving it from its place. But if the mineral acid be put upon the writing first, the calx of iron is partly dissolved and diffused by that liquor before the Prussian acid combines with it; whence the edges of the letters are rendered more indistinct, and the parchment is more tinged. The sudden evolution of so fine a colour, upon the mere traces of letters, affords an amusing spectacle.

† See a complicated process for the preparation of such a liquor in Caneparius, *De Atramentis*, p. 277.

‡ *Crell. Annal.* 1786, B. i. p. 51.

§ *Kongl. Vetensk Acad. Nya Handlingar*, tom. vii. p. 30. See also M. de Morveau's account of this substance in the *Encyclopedie par ordre des matieres*.

or substituting the volatile alkali for the fixed. Experiment would most likely point out many other means of improving the process described above; but in its present state I hope it may be of some use, as it not only brings out a prodigious body of colour upon letters

which were before so pale as to be almost invisible, but has the further advantages over the infusion of galls, that it produces its effect immediately, and can be confined to those letters only for which such assistance is wanted.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

*The Copie of a notable L're written by the Duke of *Suff' to his † Sonne giving hym therein ver; good Counseil.—From Original Letters, writtten during the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III. by various Persons of Rank or Consequence.*

*The Copy of a notable Letter, writtten by the Duke of *Suffolk to his † Son, giving him therein very good Counseil. — From Original Letters, writtten during the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III. by various Persons of Rank or Consequence.*

MY dere and only welbeloved Sone I beseeche oure Lord in Heven ye maker of alle the world

MY Dear and only wellbeloved Son, I beseech our Lord in Heaven, the Maker of all the World,

The following Pedigree of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the Son of the Writer of this Letter, is taken from a letter of John Paston, Esq. to his Cousin, Margaret Paston, dated Saturday, and written between 1460 and 1466, x and 6 of E. IV. having for the Paper Mark a Bull.

“ Item, as for the Pedegre of ye seyd Dewk, he is Sone to Will'm Pool, “ Dewk of Suff', Sone to Mychell Pool, Erl of Suff', Sone to Michel Pool, “ ye first Erl of Suff' of the Poles, mad my Kyng Ric feth (*since*) my Fader “ was born.

“ And ye seyd furst Mychell was Sone to on (*one*) Will'm Pool of Hull, “ whch was a worſchepfull man grow be furtwne of ye world, and he was “ furst a Murchant and aft' a Kenygh and aft' he was mad Baneret.”

* William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, succeeded his Brother Michael, slain at the Battle of Agincourt, in 1415, as Earl of Suffolk; he was Prime Minister and Favourite of Henry VI. and Queen Margaret; was created in 1443, 23 H. VI. Marquis, and in 1448, 26 H. VI. Duke of Suffolk. He was banished by the King, at the instigation of the Commons, &c. and murdered on the Sea, on the 2d of May, 1450, 28 H. VI.

He married Alice, widow of Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and Daughter and heir of Thomas Chaucer, Esq. of Ewelme, in Oxfordshire, and Grand-daughter of Geoffrey Chaucer, the celebrated Poet.

† John de la Pole, (after his Father's Murder,) Duke of Suffolk, &c. He married Elizabeth, Daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and Sister of Edward IV. He died in 1491, 7 H. VII. and was buried by his Father at Wingfield in Suffolk.

to

to blesse you and to sende you eu^e grace to love hym and to drede hym to y^e which as ferre as a Fader may charge his child I both charge you and prei you to sette alle your spirites and wittes to do and to knowe his holy Lawes and Comaundments by the which ye shall w^t his grete m^cy passe alle y^e grete tempestes and troubles of yis wrecched world, and ye also wetyngly ye do nothyng for love nor drede of any erthely creature yt shuld displese hym. And y^{re} as any Freelte maketh you to falle be secheth hys m^cy soone to calle you to hym agen w^t repentaunce satisfaccōn and contricon of youre herte never more in will to offende hym.

Secoundly next hym above alle erthely thyng to be trewe Liege man in hert in wille in thought in dede unto ye Kyng oure alder most high and dredde Sou^eeygne Lord, to whom bothe ye and I been so moche bounde too, Charging you as Fader can and may rather to die yan to be y^e contrarye or to knowe any thyng y^e were ayenste ye * welfare or p^ro^perite. of his most riall p^rone but yt as ferre as youre body and lyf may stretche ye lyve and die to defende it. And to lete his Highnesse have knowlache y^rof in alle y^e haste ye can.

Thirdly in y^e same wyse I charge you my Dere Sone alwey as ye be bounden by y^e com^aundement of God to do, to love to worthepe youre Lady and Moder, and also y^t ye obey alwey hyr com^aundements and to beleve hyr councelles and advises in alle y^rure werks y^e to

blesse you, and to fend you ever grace to love him, and to dread him, to the which, as far as a Father may charge his child, I both charge you, and pray you to set all your spirites and wits to do, and to know his Holy Laws and Commandments, by the which ye shall, with his great mercy, pass all the great tempests and troubles of this wretched world.

And that, also weetingly, ye do nothing for love nor dread of any earthly creature that should displease him. And there as [*subseuer*] any Frailty maketh you to fall, beseech his mercy soon to call you to him again with repentance, satisfaction, and contrition of your heart, never more in will to offend him.

Secondly, next him above all earthly things, to be true Liege-man in heart, in will, in thought, in deed, unto the King our alder most [*greatest*] high and dread Sovereign Lord, to whom both ye and I be so much bound to; Charging you as Father can and may, rather to die than to be the contrary, or to know any thing that were against the * welfare or prosperity of his most Royal Person, but that as far as your body and life may stretch, ye live and die to defend it, and to let his Highness have knowledge thereof in all the haste ye can.

Thirdly, in the same wise, I charge you, my dear son, alway as ye be bounden by the Commandment of God to do, to love, to worship, your Lady and Mother; and also that ye obey alway her commandments, and to believe her counsels

* This very particular advice to his son, shows his fears for the king's personal safety at this time.

which dredeth not but shall be best and trewest to you. And yet any other body wold fere you to y^e contrarie to flee y^e counsell in any wyse for ye shall fynde it nought and evyll.

Forthermore as ferre as Fader may and can I charge you in any wyse to flee y^e cop^yny and councel of proude men, of coveitowse men and of flatering men the more especially and myghtily to withstonde hem and not to drawe ne to meddle w^t him w^t all your myght and power. And to drawe to you and to your company good and v^tuowse men and such as ben of good conu^sacon and of trouthe and be them shal ye nev^r be defeyved ner repente you off, moreover nev^r follow youre owne witte in no wyse, but in alle youre werkes of suche Folks as I write of above axeth youre advise and counsel and doying thus w^t ye m^cy of God ye shall do right well and lyue in right moche worship and grete herts rest and ease. And I wyll be to you as good Lord and Fader as my hert can thynke. And last of alle as hertily and as lovyngly as ever Fader blessed his child in erthe I yeve you y^e blessing of Oure Lord and of me, whiche of his infynite m^cy encrece you in alle vertu and good lyvyng. And ye youre blood may by his grace from kynrede to kynrede multeplie in this erthe to hys s^rvise in suche wyse as after ye departyng fro this wretched world here ye and thei^r may gloretye

and advices in all your works, the which dread not but shall be best and truest to you.

And if any other body wold fere you to the contrary, to flee the counsel in any wise, for ye shall find it nought and evil.

Furthermore, as far as Father may and can, I charge you in any wise to flee the Company and Counfel of proud men, of covetous men, and of flattering men, the more especially and mightily to withstand them, and not to draw nor to meddle with them, with all your might and power: and to draw to you and to your company good and virtuous men, and such as be of good conversation, and of truth, and by them shall ye never be deceived nor repent you of.

Moreover, never follow your own wit in no wise, but in all your works, of such Folks as I write of above, ask your advice and counfel, and doing thus, with the mercy of God, ye shall do right well, and live in right much worship, and great heart's rest and ease.

And I will be to you as good Lord and Father as my heart can think.

And last of all, as heartily and as lovyngly as ever Father blessed his child in earth, I give you the Blessing of our Lord and of me, which of his infinite mercy increase you in all virtue and good living: and that your blood may by his grace from kindred to kindred multiply in this earth to his service, in such wise as after the departing

N. B. Those words with dots over them are added, as in the copy they were chafed and illegible.

hym

ym et'nally amongs his Aungelys
n hevyn.

* Wreten of myn hand,
ye day of my dep'tyng fro this
land.

Your trewe and lovyng Fader,
Suffolk.

ii $\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Paper Mark.

Cap and Flower de Lys †.

from this wretched world here, ye
and they, may glorify him eternally
amongst his Angels in heaven.

* Writren of mine hand,
The day of my departing fro
this Laud.

Your true and loving Father,
SUFFOLK.

April,
1450, 28 H. VI.

*To the ryght Worchipfull John Pas-
ton at Norwich.—From the same
Work. Giving a particular Ac-
count of the Death of the Duke of
Suffolk.*

*To the right Worshipful John Pas-
ton, at Norwich.*

RYGHt worchipfull Sr. I re-
comaunde me to yow and am
right fory of that I shalle sey and
have soo wefshe this litel bille with
forwfulle terys that on ethes ye
shalle reede it.

As on monday nexte after may
day ther come tydyngs to London
that on thorshday before the Duke
of Suff' come unto the † Coftes of
Kent full nere Dower with his ij

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I re-
commend me to you, and am
right sorry of that I shall say, and
have so washed this little bill with
forrowful tears, that uneths [*scarce-
ly*] ye shall read it.

As on Monday next after May
day (*4th May*) there came tidings
to London, that on Thursday be-
fore (*30th of April*), the Duke of
Suffolk came unto the † Coasts of

* The concluding sentences are in rhyme.

This affectionate Letter, strongly inculcating his Son's Duty to God, his So-
vereign, and his Parents, gives him good and fatherly couniel, as to his com-
pany, his conversation, and transactions in life; tells him, that in following
the advice it contains, he will prosper in the world; and then solemnly
pronouncing a blessing on him, it concludes with a prayer for him and his
posterity.

May not this well-written epistle alone entitle this duke to a place amongst
the noble authors of England?

This advice written so immediately upon his departure, and so short a time
before his murder, must have made a deep impression on his son's mind, and
doubtles in that age the letter was much admired, as even at this period of
refined literature, it may be called a good and an affecting composition.

† This is the mark on the paper, upon which the copy of this letter is writ-
ten, and being of the same kind with that on the paper, which contains the
account of the duke's murder, shews that this copy was transcribed about the
same time, and in some measure authenticates the truth of it.

The Apograph is copied from an indenture, dated 13th May, 1436,
14 H. VI. and signed by the Duke when Earl of Suffolk.

† Some of our historians say that he put to sea from the coast of Norfolk.

Shepes and a litel Spynn^r the
 qweche Spynn^r he sente with c^{te}yn
 Lett^rs to c^{te}yn of his truſtid men
 unto Caleys warde to knowe howe
 he ſhuld be reſceyvyd and with hym
 mette a Shippe callyd * Nicolas of
 the Towre with other Shippis wait-
 yng on hym and by hem that
 were in the Spyner the maiſter of
 the Nicolas hadde knowlich of the
 Dukes comyng and whanne he eſ-
 pyed the Dukes Shepis he ſent forthe
 his bote to wete what they were
 and the Duke hym ſelfe ſpakke
 to hem and ſeyd he was be the
 Kyngs comaundemēt ſent to Caleys
 warde, &c.

And they ſeyd he moſte ſpeke
 with here maſt^r and ſoo he wt ij or
 iij of his men wente forth wyth hem
 yn here bote to the Nicolas and
 whanne he come the maſt^r badde
 hym Welcom Traitor as mē ſey and
 forthe the maſt^r deſyryd to wete yf
 the Shepmen woldde holde with
 the Duke and they ſent word they
 wold not yn noo wyſe, and ſoo he
 was yn the Nicolas tyl Sat^rday next
 folwyng.

Soom ſey he wrotte moche thenke
 to be delyu'd to the Kynge but that
 is not verily knowe, he hadde hes
 Confeſſor with hym, &c.

And ſome ſey he was arreynd
 yn the Sheppe on here maſt^r upon
 the † appchementes and ſonde gyl-
 ty, &c.

Alſo he asked the name of the
 Sheppe and whanne he knew it he
 remembred ‡ Stacy that ſeid if he
 myght eſchape the daung^r of the

Kent full near Dover with his two
 Ships and a little Spinner; the which
 Spinner he ſent with certain Letters,
 by certain of his truſted men unto
 Calais ward, to know how he
 ſhould be received; and with him
 met a Ship called * Nicholas of
 the Tower with other Ships wait-
 ing on him, and by them that
 were in the Spinner, the Maſter of
 the Nicholas had knowledge of the
 Duke's coming.

When he eſpyed the Duke's Ships,
 he ſent forth his boat to weet what
 they were, and the Duke himſelf
 ſpoke to them, and ſaid, he was by
 the King's Commandment ſent to
 Calais warde, &c. and they ſaid,
 he muſt ſpeak with their Maſter;
 and ſo he with two or three of his
 men went forth with them in their
 Boat to the Nicholas; and when he
 came, the Maſter bade him, Wel-
 come Traitor, as men ſay.

And further the Maſter deſired to
 wete if the Shipmen would hold with
 the Duke, and they ſent word they
 would not in no wiſe; and ſo he
 was in the Nicholas till Saturday
 (2d May) next following.

Some ſay he wrote much thing to
 be delivered to the King, but that
 is not verily known.

He had his Confeſſor with him,
 &c. and ſome ſay, he was arraigned
 in the Ship on their manner upon
 the † Impeachments and found guil-
 ty, &c.

Alſo he asked the name of the
 Ship, and when he knew it, he re-
 membered ‡ Stacy that ſaid, if he
 Tower

* This ſhip belonged to Briſtol in 1442, 20 H. VI. and was a great Ship with
 Fore Stages, and carried 150 men.

† Impeachments by the commons; this ſhows that theſe Ships were ſent out
 on purpoſe to take him, &c.

‡ Prophecies in theſe times were generally believed, and being always am-
 biguouſly expreſſed, had a greater chance of being ſometimes fulfilled.

his herte faylyd hym for he thought he was deffeyvyd, and yn the syght of all his men he was drawn ought of the grete Shippe yn to the Bote and there was an Exe and a stoke and oon of the lewdeste of the Shippe badde hym ley down hys hedde and he shuld be fair ferd wyth and dye on a swerd and toke a rusty swerd and smotte of his hedde withyn * halfe a doseyen strokes and toke away his Gown of ruffette and his Dobelette of velvet mayled, and leyde his body on the Sonds of Dover and some sey his hedde was sette oon a pole by it † and hes men sette on the londe be grette circoufunce and preye and the Shreve of Kent doth wechie the ‡ body and sent his Under Shreve to the Juges to wete what to doo, and also to the Kenge whatte shalbe doo.

Forther I wotte notte but this fer is yt yf the p's be erronec, lete his concell reurse it, &c.

Also for alle yor other matrs they slepe and the ffreer also, &c. Sr Thomas || Keriell is take p'son, and alle the legge harneyse and abowte iij me Englishe men slayn.

Mathew § Gooth with xvc fledde and favyd hym selffe and hem, and

he should be safe, and then his heart failed him, for he thought he was deceived.

And in the fight of all his men, he was drawn out of the great Ship into the Boat, and there was an Axe, and a Stock, and one of the lewdest [meanest] of the Ship bade him lay down his head, and he should be fairly ferd [dealt] with, and die on a Sword; and took a rusty Sword and smote off his head within * half a dozen strokes, and took away his Gown of Ruffet, and his Doublet of velvet mailed, and laid his Body on the Sands of Dover; and some say his Head was set on a pole by it; † and his men sit an the land by great circumstance [q. by great numbers] and pray.

And the Sheriff of Kent doth watch the ‡ body, and (batb) sent his Undertheriff to the Judges to weet what to do; and also to the King (to know) what shall be done.

Further I wot not, but thus far is it, if the proces be erroneous let his Counsel reverse it, &c.

Also for all the other matters, they sleep and the Fryar also, &c. Sir Thomas || Keriell is taken Pri-

King Henry IV. from one of these ambiguous Prophecies, believed he was to die in Jerusalem.

* A most cruel manner of putting him to death.

† May not this sentence be thus read?

and his men [were] set on the land be [together with] great circumstance [weakly] and prey [booty].

‡ His Body was taken from Dover Sands, and carried to the Collegiate Church of Wingfield, in Suffolk, where it lies interred under an Altar Tomb, in the Chancel, with his Effigies in Armour, painted, gilt, &c. carved in wood, lying on it. It is remarkably well executed, as is that of Alice his wife, likewise, which lies at his right hand.

§ He was taken Prisoner at the battle of Fourmigni, fought on the 18th of April, 1450, where he defended himself with great bravery. He was be-headed by Queen Margaret's order, after the second battle of St. Alban's, in 1460.

Peris Brusy was Chiefe Capteyn
and hadde x m^e frenshe men and
more, &c.

I prey yow lete my maistras yo^r
moder knowe these tydyngis and
God have yow yn his kepyn.

I prey yow this bille may .re-
comaunde me to my Maistras yo^r
Modyr and Wife, &c.

James Gresham hath wretyn to
John of Dam and recomaundith
him, &c.

Wretyn yn gret haste at Lond,
the v day of May, &c.

by yowr Wyfe,

W. L.

12 by 8 1/2

Paper Mark.
Cap and Fleur de Lys.

loner and all the leg harness, and
about 3000 Englishmen slain.

Matthew § Gooth [q. *Gough*]
with 1500 fled, and saved himself
and them. And Peris Brusy was
chief Captain and had 10,000
Frenchmen and more, &c.

I pray you let my Mistres your
Mother know these tidings, and
God have you all in his keeping.

I pray you (*that*) this bill may
recommend me to my Mistres
your Mother and Wife, &c.

James Gresham hath written to
John of Dam and recommendeth
him, &c.

Written in great haste at London
the 5th day of May, &c.

By your Wife,
WILLIAM LOMNER.

London,
Tuesday, 5th of May,
1450, 28 H. VI.

§ Query, if the brave Mathew Gough, who was afterwards slain in Cades's
Rebellion, fighting on the Citizens' Part, in July 1450, at the battle of the
bridge.

The conclusion of this Letter puzzled me for a long time; at first I thought
that the word Wyfe might be read Neif or Servant, but the W was too much
like all the others in the same Letter to warrant that reading.

I think it may be thus explained.

On looking over this Collection of Letters, I found some subscribed W L,
and others Will^m Lomner in the same hand.

But then this difficulty occurred, how could W L or Will^m Lomner be the
Wife of John Paston?

On examining some of the Letters of Margaret Paston to her husband, and
which were subscribed "Be your Wife M P," I found them written in the
same hand as those signed W L, and Will^m Lomner.

I guess, therefore, that, being used to write sometimes for his mistress to
her husband John Paston, he now in his hurry instead of concluding "By your
"Servant W L," as some of his Letters do, he wrote by mistake "By yowr
Wyfe "W; L."

The family of Lomner had property both at Mannington and Wood
Dalling in Norfolk; at the latter Town his Son William built a castellated
Mansion.

RIGHT worſhipfull Sr. I re-
 comaunde me unto yow in the
 moſt goodly wyſe that y can, and
 forasmuche as ye deſired of me to
 ſende yow worde of dyu's matirs
 her' whiche been opened in the
 p'liament openly, I ſende yow of
 theſe ſuche as I can.

Fiſt moſt eſpi'all that for verray
 trowthe upon ſat'day that laſt was
 the Duke of * Suffolk was taken in
 the See, and there he was byheded
 and his body w^t the app'tenaunce
 ſette at lande at Dover, and alle the
 Folks that he haad w^t hym were ſette
 to lande, and haad noon harme.

Alſo the Kyng hath ſūwhat graant-
 ed to have the reſūpſion agayne in
 ſūme but not in alle, &c.

Alſo yef ye purpoſe to come hy-
 dre to put up your † bylles, ye may
 come now in a good tyme, for now
 eu'y man that hath any they put
 theyme now inne, and ſo may ye
 yif ye come, w^t Godds Grace to
 your pleaſur.

Ferthermore upon the iiijth day
 of this monthe the Erle of ‡ De-
 venefſhire come hydre w^t iiij^e men ||
 wel byſeen, &c.

And upon the morrow aft' my
 Lord of § Warrewyke w^t iiij^e and
 moo, &c.

* This Account exactly agrees with that in the laſt Letter, as to the murder
 &c. of the Duke of Suffolk.

† Here follows ſome advice relative to ſome private Bills of J. Paſton, to
 be preſented to the Parliament.

‡ Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonſhire, was taken at the battle of Tow-
 ton, in 1461, and afterwards beheaded, by order of Edward IV. he having
 revolted from Edward to Henry VI.

|| A fine body of men well arrayed and accoutred.

§ Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, was killed in the battle of Barnet in
 1471, moſt furioſly fighting againſt Edward IV.

H 4

Alſo

RIGHT worſhipful Sir, I re-
 commend me unto you in the
 moſt goodly wiſe that I can; and
 for as much as ye deſired of me to
 ſend you word of divers matters
 here, which have been opened in
 the Parliament openly, I ſend you
 of them ſuch as I can.

Fiſt moſt eſpecial, that for very
 truth upon Saturday that laſt was,
 the Duke of * Suffolk was taken in
 the Sea, and there he was behaded,
 and his body with the appurtenance
 ſet at land at Dover; and all the
 Folks that he had with him were
 ſet to land, and had none harm,
 &c.

Alſo the King hath ſomewhat
 granted to have the reſumption
 again, in ſome but not in all, &c.

Alſo if ye purpoſe to come hi-
 ther to put up your † bills, ye may
 come now in a good time, for now
 every man that hath any, they put
 them in, and ſo may ye if ye come,
 with God's Grace to your plea-
 ſure.

Furthermore upon the 4th day of
 this Month, the Earl of ‡ Devon-
 ſhire came hither with 300 men ||
 well beſeen, &c. and upon the mor-
 row after, my Lord of § Warwick,
 with 400 and more, &c.

Also as hyt ys noyfed here Calys
shal be bysegged w'tynne this vij
dayes, &c.

God save the Kyng and sende us
pees, &c.

Other tithyngs be ther noon here,
but Almyghty God have yow in his
keepyng.

Written at Deycestr the vj day of
May.

Your Cosigne,
* **John Crane.**

11 by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Paper Mark,
Cross, &c.

Also as it is noifed here, Calais
shall be besieged within this seven
days, &c.

God save the King, and send us
peace, &c.

Other tidings be there none here,
but Almighty God have you in his
keeping.

Written at Leicefter, the 6th day
of May.

Your Cousin,
* **JOHN CRANE.**

Leicefter,
Wedneseday, 6th of May,
1450, 28 H. VI.

*Some Observations on the Two pre-
ceding Letters to the worshipful John
Paston, Esquire, at Norwich.*

THE Murder of William de la
Pole, Duke of Suffolk, is, by our
Historians, variously related; some
informing us, in general terms, that
it was committed by the contrivance
of the Party then in opposition
to the Queen; others, that it was
done by order of the Party then in
the Duke of York's Interest; and
others, that a Captain Nicholas, of
a Ship belonging to the Tower, or
a Captain of a Ship called the Ni-
cholas, met him on the Sea, and
there took and murdered him; but
whether in consequence of being em-
ployed for that purpose, or on his
own authority, does not sufficiently
appear.

A Short Sketch of the Proceed-
ings of the Parliament, and of the

Duke of Suffolk's situation previous
to his leaving the Kingdom, are
necessary to the clearly understand-
ing of the following account.

Upon the Meeting of the Parlia-
ment at Westminster, in November
1449, the Commons presented to the
Lords several Articles of Impeach-
ment against the Duke of Suffolk.
The Queen, fearing the consequences
of these, persuaded the King to
send the Duke to the Tower,
hoping by this step to satisfy the
Commons.

After this, by her address, the
Parliament was adjourned to Lei-
cester, to meet in April 1450,
where the Duke, being released
from his imprisonment, appeared,
with the King and Queen, as Prime
Minister.

This Proceeding extremely of-
fending the Commons, they pre-
sented a Petition to the King, pray-

* The Cranes were a good family flourishing at this time in the Counties
of Norfolk and Suffolk; and the writer of this Letter belonged to the Court.
The seal on this Letter is defaced, but it has a neat braid of twine round it.

ing

ing that all, who had been concerned in the delivery of Normandy to the French, might be punished.

The Queen's Fears were now renewed, and she prevailed upon the King instantly to banish the Duke for five years, which he did; and the Duke very soon embarked with an intention of going to France, where his Friend the Duke of Somerset was Regent.

From the plain State of this historical Fact, delivered down to us in these Letters, the following observations are deduced, first premising that, in 1447, the Duke of Suffolk, in conjunction with the Queen and her Ministry, had been one of the principal Agents in the Murder of the Duke of Gloucester; an Event which, in all human probability, was the immediate occasion of the Duke of York's Thoughts of asserting his Claim to the Crown, a Claim, in which he could have had little hopes of success during the life of a Prince, the Uncle of the reigning King, and the Brother and Son of the two preceding Sovereigns.

A Prince likewise well beloved by the People, and endowed with abilities which would have adorned a Throne.

The Duke of York at this time most certainly had a personal hatred to the Duke of Suffolk, as by him he had been not long before dismissed from the Regency of France, and was very lately sent into Ireland, to quell a Rebellion with a Force inadequate to the purpose.

The Duke of Suffolk's undoubted attachment to the House of Lancaster, must be, at all times, a great impediment to the taking of many

necessary steps by the York Party, towards carrying this meditated Claim into execution; the having him therefore put to Death, must be a very desirable circumstance to the Duke of York and his Friends.

The Arrival of the Earls of Devonshire and Warwick, at this critical time, at Leicester, with such large Retinues of Men "well by-
"seen," furnishes very sufficient reasons for thinking, that the Murder of the Duke of Suffolk was a pre-meditated scheme; and that these Noblemen came, thus attended, to prevent any proceedings which might have been adopted by the Queen and her Party, on their knowledge of this Event being accomplished; for these two Noblemen could not arrive at Leicester in consequence of the Murder, as it was impossible for them to know of it, to get their men together, and to enter Leicester, the one on the 4th, the other on the 5th of May, the account of it not arriving in London till the 4th; they therefore most probably came in consequence of their previous knowledge of the plan that was laid, to wait the event of it, and to act as circumstances might require.

The sentence of Banishment seems to have been almost instantaneous; this method therefore of taking him off, must have been as instantaneously resolved upon, by those of the Party then near the Court; for though the People in general, and the Commons, hated the Duke, it no where appears, that he was thus taken off by any generally concerted plan for that purpose, but by a Party; and as these two Noblemen, both at that time professed Friends to the Duke of York, arrived thus
critically

critically with such numerous Attendants so well arrayed and accoutred, it gives the greatest reason to suspect that it was by their Party.

What Captain of a Ship that had met the Duke on the Sea, unless his Ship had been sent out on purpose to take him, could have known what had passed at Leicester, otherwise than from the Duke's own people in the Spinner, and from that account only would have dared to take and murder him?

This Force too, the Nicholas, with the other Ships waiting on him, was certainly much superior to the Duke's two Ships and one little Spinner; otherwise, how can we account for his own Shipmen not holding with him; for however lowly fallen in the public esteem, a Nobleman, of his consequence and possessions, must have still had faithful Adherents enough to have defended him, and to have accompanied him to France, unless they found that resistance in their situation to such superior force (a force sent out on purpose to take him)

could be of no service, but would most probably have hastened his fate.

The Words "God save the Kyng, and sende us pees," seem to insinuate a suspicion of the King's personal safety at this time, and a fear that the disturbances which then overspread the land might be productive of civil wars; for the Prayer for Peace being coupled with that for the King's safety, plainly refers to the disturbances at home, and not to those in France.

From these, and all other circumstances, therefore, as stated in the two preceding Letters, it may be justly concluded, that the York Party not only contrived, but perpetrated the Murder of this Nobleman; who thus fell a terrible Example, that Blood requires Blood; and had it been the only, instead of the first blood, spilt by the Yorkists, happy had it been for England, who would not then have had to lament those Deluges of it, which soon after flowed, in the dreadful Civil Contests between the two Houses of York and Lancaster.

The following Letter presents to us a certain and curious Account of the Commons of Kent, when assembled at Blackheath under Cade, in 1450, and was written by J. Payn, who was taken by them, carried about with them, and threatened to have been beheaded, &c.—It truly shews to us the Violence and Barbarity of a Body of Men, collected chiefly from the meanest of the People, combined together for the pretended Purpose of Reformation; but really for the Destruction of all good Order and legal Government.—From the same Work.*

* J. Payn had been formerly a Servant to Sir John Fastolf, of some consequence, and was now a Petitioner for some relief, on account of his losses and misfortunes, while a Prisoner, &c. with the Rebels, from John Paston, one of the Executors of Sir John Fastolf's Will.

RYGH T honourabyll and my ryght enterly beloved Maifter I recomaunde me un to you w^t all maner of due reu^ence in the moſte lowly wyſe as me ought to do eu^mor deſyryng to here of yo^r worſhipfull ſtate proſpⁱte and wel- far the whch I beſeke God of his abundant gr^oce encrece and mayntene to his moſt pleaſaunce and to yo^r hartis deſyre.

Pleaſyth it yo^r gode and gracious maifterſhipp tendyrly to conſedir the grete loſſes and hurts y^t yo^r por- petitioner haeth and haeth jhad evyrſeth the Comons of Kent come to the Blakheath and y^t is at xv yer paſſed wher^as my Maift^r Syr John * Faſtolf knyght yt is youre Teſtat^r com^andyt yo^r beſecher to take a man and ij of the beſte orſſe y^t wer in his ſtabyll w^t him to ryde to the Comens of Kent to gete the Arti- cles y^t they come for, and ſo I dyd and alſo ſone as I come to the Blakheth the † Capteyn made the Comens to take me and for the ſavacion of my Maift^r's horſe I made my fellowe to ryde a wey w^t the ij horſes and I was brought forth w^t befor the Capteyn of Kent and the Capteyn demaundt me what was my cauſe of comyng thedyr and why y^t I made my fellowe to ſtele a wey w^t he horſe and I ſeyd yt I come thedyr to cher^r w^t my wyves bre- thren and other y^t wer^r my alys and Goſſippes of myn y^t wer^r p^rſent ther^r and yan was y^r oone y^r and ſeid to the Capteyn yt I was one of St. John Faſtolſes men and

RIGHT honourable and my right entirely beloved Maſ- ter, I recommend me unto you, with all manner of due reverence in the moſt lowly wiſe as me ought to do, evermore deſiring to hear of your worſhipful ſtate, proſperity, and wel- fare; the which I beſeech [*beſeech*] God, of his abundant grace, increaſe and maintain to his moſt pleaſance, and to your heart's deſire.

Pleaſeth it, your good and gra- cious Maſterſhip, tenderly to con- ſider the great loſſes and hurts that your poor Petitioner hath, and hath had, ever ſince the Commons of Kent came to the Blackheath, and that is at 15 years paſſed; where- as my Maſter Sir John * Faſtolf, knight, that is, your Teſtator, com- manded your Beſeecher to take a man, and two of the beſt horſes that were in his ſtable, with him to ride to the Commons of Kent, to get the Articles that they come for; and ſo I did; and all ſo ſoon as I came to the Blackheath, the † Captain made the Commons to take me; and for the ſavacion [*ſav- ing*] of my Maſter's horſes I made my Fellow to ride away with the two horſes; and I was brought forthwith before the Captain of Kent; and the Captain demanded [*of*] me, what was my cauſe of coming thither, and why that I made my Fellow to ſteal away with the horſes; and I ſaid, that I came thither to cheer with my wife's brethren, and others that were mine Allieſ, and Goſſips of mine, that

* He died on the 6th of November, St. Leonard's Day, in 1459, aged 80 years and upwards.

† Jack Cade, an Iriſhman; he called himſelf John Mortimer, of the Houſe of Marche, he was likewiſe ſtyled Captain Mend-all.

the

and then the Capteyn lete cry treason upon me thorought ought all the felde and brought me at iiij p'tes of the feld wt a Harrawd of the Duke of * Exett^r before me in the Dukes Cote of Armes makynge iiij Oyes at iiij p'tes of the feld p'claymyng opynly by the seid Harrawd yt I was sent thedyr for to aspy yeyre pusaunce and theyre Abyllments of werr fro the grettyft Tray'tr yt was in Yngelond or in Fraunce as y^e seyde Capteyn made p'claymacion at yt tyme fro oone Sr. John Fastolf knyght the which mynnyshyd all the Garrisons of Norm^{undy} and Marns and Mayn the which was the cause of the lesyng of all the Kyng's tytyll and ryght of an herytance yt he had by yonde see and morovyr he seide yt the seid Sr. John Fastolf had furnysshed his place with the olde Sawdoyrs of Norm^{undy} and Abyllymets of werr to destroy the Comens of Kent whan yt they come to Southewerk and y^rfor he seyde playnly yt I shulde lese my hede and so furthwe I was taken and led to the Capteyns Tent and j ax and j blok was brought forth to have smetyn of myn hede and yan my Maist^r + Poyngs yot brodyr we other of my Frenedes come and lettyd y^e Capteyn and seyde pleynly yt y^r shulde dye a C or ij yt in case be yt I dyed and so by ye meane my lyf was

there one there, and [wbe] said to the Captain, that I was one of Sir John Fastolf's men, and the two horses were Sir John Fastolf's; and then the Captain let cry Treason upon me throughout all the field, and brought me at four parts of the field, with a Herald of the Duke of * Exeter before me, in the Duke's Coat of Arms, making four Oyez at four parts of the field; proclaiming openly by the said Herald, that I was sent thither for to espy their puissance, and their habiliments of war, from the greatest Traitor that was in England or in France, as the said Captain made proclamation at that time, from one Sir John Fastolf knight, the which minished [diminished] all the Garrisons of Normandy, and Manns, and Mayn, the which was the cause of the losing of all the King's title and right of an heritance, that he had beyond sea. And moreover, he said, that the said Sir John Fastolf had furnished his Place with the old Soldiers of Normandy and habiliments of war, to destroy the Comens of Kent, when that they came to Southwark, and therefore he said plainly that I should lose my head; and so forthwith I was taken, and led to the Captain's Tent, and one axe and one block was brought forth to have smitten off mine head; and then my Master + Poynyngs

* It cannot be supposed that the Duke of Exeter, a faithful Lancastrian, took any part in this Commotion, but it is probable his Herald might be forced into the service of the Rebels.

Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, though he married Anne, Sister of Edward IV. always adhered to the House of Lancaster, and after the battle of Barnet, in 1471, took Sanctuary at Westminster; whence he privately escaped abroad, where he lived in great poverty and distress. It is said that his dead body was found in 1474, on the sea shore, on the Coast of Kent.

† Robert Poynyngs married Elizabeth, the Sister of J. Paston, and was Sword Bearer and Carver to Cade.

favyd

flavyd at yt tyme and yan I was
sworen to the Capteyn and to the
Comens yt I shulde go to Southe-
werk and aray me in the best wyse
yt I coude and come ageyn to hem
to helpe hem and so I gotte tharticles
and brought hem to my Maist' and
yt cost me mor' epoungs y^c Comens
yt day yan xxvij S.

Whereupon I come to my Maist'
Fastolf and brought him tharticles
and enforme^d hym of all the mat'
and counseyled hym to put a wey
all his Abylyments of werr and the
olde Sawdiors and so he dyd and
went hymself to the Tour and all
his meyny w^t hym but Betts and j
Mathew Brayn and had not I ben
the Comens wolde have brennyd his
plase and all his ten'uries wher-
thorough it coste me of my noune
p^rpr godes at yt tyme mor than vj
m^rks. in mate and drynke and
nought w^tstondyng the Capteyn yt
same tyme lete take me atte Whyte
Harte in Suthewerk and y^r co-
mandyt Lovelase to dispoyle me
oute of myn aray and so he dyd and
yt he toke a fyn Gowne 'of Must'
dewyllrs furred w^t fyn beu's and j
peyr of * Bregandyrns kev't w^t blew
fellewet and gylt naile w^t leghar-
neyse, the vallew of the gown and
the Bregardyns viij li.

Item the Capteyn sent certeyn of
his meyny to my Chamber in yo^r
rents and y^r breke up my Chest
and toke a wey j Obligation of myn
yt was due unto me of xxxvj li. by
a p^rft of Poules and j nother Obl-
gacion of j knyght of xⁱⁱ and my
purse w^t v ryngs of golde and xvij^s
vj^d of golde and sylv^r and j herneyse
complete of the touche of † Milleyn
and j gowne of fyn perse blewe fur-

your brother, with other of my
Friends came, and letted [*prevent-
ed*] the Captain, and said plainly,
that there should die an hundred or
two, that in case be that I died;
and so by that mean my life was
saved at that time.

And then I was sworn to the Cap-
tain, and to the Commons, that I
should go to Southwark, and aray
me in the best wise that I could,
and come again to them to help
them; and so I got the Articles,
and brought them to my Master,
and that cost me more amongst the
Commons that day than 27^s.

Whereupon I came to my Master
Fastolf, and brought him the Arti-
cles, and informed him of all the
matter, and counselled him to put
away all his habiliments of war, and
the old Soldiers, and so he did, and
went himself to the Tower, and all
his meny [*family*] with him, but
Betts and one Matthew Brayn;
and had not I been, the Commons
would have brenned [*burnt*] his
Place, and all his Tenuries; where
though it cost me of my own pro-
per goods at that time more than
six marks [4*l*.] in meat and drink,
and [*yet*] notwithstanding the Cap-
tain that same time, let take me at
the White Hart in Southwark, and
there commanded Lovelace to de-
spoil me out of mine aray, and so
he did; and there he took a fine
gown of Muster' devillers furred
with fine beavers, and one pair of
* Brigandines covered with blue
velvet and gilt nails, with leg-har-
ness; the value of the Gown and
the Brigandines 8*l*.

Item, the Captain sent certain of
his meny to my Chamber in your

* A Coat of Mail, consisting of many jointed and scale-like plates, &c.

† Milan, a City in Italy, famous for its works in iron and steel, &c.

ryd w^t Mart'ns and ij Gounes one
furryd w^t bogey and j nother lyned
w^t fryse and y^r wolde have smetyn
of myn hede wh'n yt they had dys-
poyled me atte White Harte and
y^r my Maist' Pynyns and my
Friends savyd me and so I was put
up tyll at nyght y^t the † bat'yle was
at London Brygge and yan atte-
nyght the Capteyn put me oute into
the batayle atte brygge and y^r I
was won'dyt and hurte nere hand
to deth, and y^r I was vj oures in
the batayle and myght nevyr come
oute y^rof and iiij tymes befor' y^t
tyme I was caryed abought thorought
Kent and Soufex and y^r they wolde
have smetyn of my hede and in
Kent y^r as my wyse dwellyd they
toke away alloure godes mevabyll
y^t we had and y^r wolde have hongyd
my wyse and v of my chyltern and
lestie her no mor' gode but her kyr-
tyll and her smook and a none af-
tyr y^t Hurlyng the Byfshop § Rosse
apechyd me to the Quene and so I
was arefkyd by the Quenes co-
m'audent in to the Marchalsy and
y^r was in rygt grete durasse and
fer' of myn lyf and was thretenyd
to have ben hongyd drwē and qu'r-
t'yed and so wolde have made me to
have pechyd my Maist' Fastolf of
|| Treson and by cause y^t I wolde
not yey had me up to Westm' and
y^r wolde have sent me to the Gole

rents, and there (they) broke up
my Chest, and took away one Oblig-
ation of mine, that was due unto
me of 36*l.* by a Priest of Paul's,
and one other Obligation, of one
knight of 10*l.* and my purse with
five Rings of gold, and 17*s.* 6*d.* of
gold and silver; and one harness
complete of the touch of † Milan;
and one Gown of fine Perfe blue,
furred with Martens; and two
Gowns, one furred with Bogey,
[Budge,] and one other lined with
trieze; and there would have smit-
ten off mine head, when that they
had despoiled me at (the) White
Hart; and there my Master Poy-
nyngs, and my Friends saved me,
and so I was put up, till at night
that the † Battle was at London
Bridge; and then at night the Cap-
tain put me out into the battle at
the Bridge, and there I was wound-
ed, and hurt near hand to death;
and there I was six hours in the
battle, and might never come out
thereof; and four times before that
time, I was carried about through-
out Kent and Suffex, and there they
would have smitten off my head;
and in Kent there as [where] my
Wife dwelled, they took away all
our Goods moveable that we had;
and there would have hanged my
Wife, and five of my Children, and
left her no more goods but her Kir-

† The battle at the Bridge was fought, according to our Historians, on the
8th of July, 1400; but on a paper, amongst this collection of Letters, marked
with the Bull's Head and Star, and on which are recorded several Events of
the reign of Henry VI. is the following Note:

"Jack Cade, proditor de Kent fugit de le Blakheth xxij die Junij Anno
23 H. VI.—Julij mense decapitat' fuit."

If therefore Cade fled from Blackheath on the 22d of June, the battle at
the Bridge must have been fought then, and not in July.

§ John Lowe, a learned Divine.

|| Why this attempt was made upon him to accuse his Master Sir John Fas-
tolf of Treason I cannot conceive, unless it was, because Sir John left his
House, &c. in Southwark, and retired to the Tower, instead of resisting and
attacking the Rebels.

house

House at Wyndfor but my wyves
and j Coseyn of myn nounce yt wer'
yomen of ye Croune yey went to
the Kyng and gote grafe and j
Chartyr of p'don.

Per le vr'e,

J. Payn.

11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 16 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Paper Mark.

YHS surrounded with a
radiated Star of 16 Points.

tle and her Smock; and anon after
that Hurling [*Commotion*], the Bi-
shop of \S Rochester impeached me
to the Queen, and so I was arrested
by the Queen's commandment into
the Marshalsea, and there was in
right great duresis, and fear of mine
life, and was threatened to have
been hanged, drawn, and quarter-
ed; and so (*they*) would have made
me have impeached my Master Fas-
tolf of \parallel Treason, and because that
I would not, they had me up to
Westminster, and there would have
sent me to the Gaol House at Wind-
sor, but my Wife's, and one Cousin
of mine own, that were Yeomen of
the Crown, they went to the King,
and got grace and one Charter of
Pardon.

Per le votre,

J. PAYN.

June and July
1450, 28 H. VI:
but written
1465, 5 E. IV.

A Letter, containing a most curious and authentic Account of the Marriage of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, with Margaret, Daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and Sister of Edward IV. and of the subsequent Diversions exhibited at Bruges in Honour of it, written by John Paston, an Eye-witn'ss, who, with his Brother Sir John Paston, Knight, attended in the Retinue of the Princesses.—From Vol. II. of the same Work.

*To my ryght reu'end and worchepfull
Modyr Margaret Paston dwellyng
at Caster be thys delyu'yd in hast.*

*To my right reverend and worshipful
Mother, Margaret Paston, dwelling
at Caster, be this delivered in haste.*

RYTH reu'end and worchep-
full Modyr I recom'and me
on to you as hmblyly as I can
thynk desyryng most hertly to her
of your welfare and herts ese whyche
I pray God send yow as hastyly as
eny hert can thynk. Ples yt yow to
wete yt at the making of thys byll

RIGHT reverend and worship-
ful Mother, I recommend me
unto you as humbly as I can think,
desiring most heartily to hear of
your welfare and heart's ease, which
I pray God send you as hastily as
any heart can think.

Please it you to weet, that at the

my brodyr and I and all our felaw-
shep wer in good helle blyssyd be
God. As for the gydyng her in
thys contre it is as worchepfull as
all the world can devyse it and
ther wer neu' englyshe men had
so good cher owt of Inghlong that
eu' I herd of.

As for tydyngs her but if it be
of the fest I can non send yow sav-
yng yt my Lady + Margaret was
maryd on Sunday last past at a
towne yt is callyd the Dame iij
myle owt of † Brugys at v of the
clock in the mornyg and sche was
browt the same day to Bruggys to
hyr dener and ther sche was receyvdyd
as worchepfully as all the world
coud devyse as wt preffession wt
Ladys and Lordys best beseyn of
eny pepyll that ever I sye or herd
of many Pagentys wer played in hyr
wey in Bryggys to hyr wel comyng
the best yt eu' I sye And the same
Sunday my Lord the ¶ Bastard took
upon hym to answere xxiiij knyts
and Gentylnmen wt in viij dayes at
Jostys of pefe and when yt they wer
answeryd they xxiiij and hym selve
schold torney wt othyr xxv the next
day aftyr whyche is on monday next
comyg and they that have jostyd wt
hym into thys day have ben as
rychely beseyn and himselve also
as clothe of gold and sylk and syl-
vyr and goldsmiths werk myght
mak hem for of syche ger and gold
and perle and stanyys they of the
Dwyks coort neythyr Gentylnmen
nor Gentylnwomen they want non
for wt owt yt they have it by wythys

making of this bill, my Brother,
and I, and all our Fellowship, were
in good heele [*healt*], blessed be
God.

As for the Guiding here in this
Country, it is as worshipful as all
the world can devise, and there were
never Englishmen had so good
cheer out of England, that ever I
heard of.

As for Tidings here, but if [*aw-
less*] it be of the Feast, I can none
send you; saving, that my Lady
+ Margaret was married on Sunday
last past at a Town that is called
The Dame, three miles out of
† Bruges, at five of the clock in the
morning; and she was brought the
same day to Bruges to her dinner;
and there she was received as wor-
shipfully as all the world could de-
sire; as with proceffion with La-
dies, and Lords, best beseen of any
people, that ever I saw or heard of.
Many Pageants were played in her
way in Bruges to her welcoming,
the best that ever I saw; and the
same day my Lord, the ¶ Bastard,
took upon him to answer 24 Knights
and Gentlemen, within 8 days at
Justs of Peace; and when that they
were answered, they 24 and him-
self should turney with other 25 the
next day after, which is on Monday
next coming; and they that have
justed with him into this day, have
been as richly beseen, and himself
also, as cloth of Gold, and Silk,
and Silver, and Goldsmiths work,
might make them; for of such
Gear, and Gold, and Pearl, and

† Margaret Plantagenet, Sister of Edward IV. according to this Account,
was married on Sunday the 3d of July, 1468, 8 E. IV.

‡ A City and Port Town in Flanders.

¶ Anthony, Count de la Roche, called the Bastard of Burgundy, was a na-
tural Son of Duke Philip the Good, by Johanna of Prulles, famous for his wit,
courage, and polite accomplishments. He was born in 1421, and died in
1504.

by

by my trowthe I herd nevyr of so gret plente as ther is:

Thys day my Lord * Scalys justyd w^t a Lord of thys contre but not w^t the Bastard for they mad promyse at London that non of them bothe should never dele w^t othyr in armys but the Bastard was on^t of the Lords y^t browt the Lord Scalys in to the feld and of mysfortwne an horse strake my Lord Bastard on the lege and hathe hurt hym so fore that I can thynk he shalbe of no power to accomplyshe up hys armys and that is gret pete for by my trowthe I trow God mad neu^t a mor worchepfull knyrt. And as for the Dwkys coort as of Lords Ladys and Gentylwomen Knyts Sqwyers and Gentylmen I hert neu^t of non lyek to it save Kyng Artourys cort and by my trowthe I have no wyt nor remebrans to wryte to yow half the worchep that is her but y^t lakyth as it comyth to mynd I shall tell yow when I come home whyche I tryft to God shal not belong to for we depart owte of Brygys homward on twysday next comyng and all folk y^t cam w^t my Lady of Burgoyn owte of Ingland except syche as shall abyde her styll w^t hyr whyche I wot well shall be but fewe. We depart the soner for the † Dwk hathe word that the ‡ frenshe Kyng is

Stones, they of the Duke's Court neither Gentlemen nor Gentlewomen, they want none; for without [*unless*] that they have it by wishes, by my truth, I heard never of so great plenty as here is.

This day my Lord * Scales justed with a Lord of this country, but not with the Bastard; for they made (a) promise at London, that none of them both should never deal with other in arms; but the Bastard was one of the Lords, that brought the Lord Scales into the field; and of misfortune an horse struck my Lord Bastard on the leg, and hath hurt him so fore, that I can think he shall be of no power to accomplish up his arms; and that is great pity, for by my truth I trow [*think*] God made never a more worshipful Knight.

And as for the Duke's Court, as of Lords, Ladies and Gentlewomen, Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, I heard never of none like to it, save King Arthur's Court. And by my truth, I have no wit nor remembrance, to write to you, half the worship that is here; but what lacketh, as it cometh to mind I shall tell you, when I come home, which I trust to God shall not be long tofore. We depart out of Bruges homeward on Tuesday next p^rposed

* Anthony Widville, or Woodville, Lord Scales, &c. and afterwards Earl Rivers, Son of Sir Richard Widville, by Jaqueline of Luxemburg, Duchess Dowager of Bedford, and Brother of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV. was born about 1441, and became the most distinguished Warrior, Statesman, and most learned Gentleman, of his time. In the 7 Edward IV. he challenged and vanquished the Bastard of Burgundy in a grand and solemn Joust in Smithfield; at which time the promise mentioned in this Letter was made. This accomplished Nobleman was beheaded at Pomfret, in June 1483, by the command of the Protector, Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

† Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was born in 1433, and was slain in battle, near Nancy, in Lorraine, in 1477.

‡ Charles VII. It is worthy of remark how cautious the Writers of these times

p'posed to mak wer upon hym hastily and that he is wⁱⁿ iiij or v dayis jorney of Brugys and the Dwk rydyth on twysday next comyng forward to met w^t hym God geve hym good sped and all hys for by my trowthe they are the goodlyest felawshyp the eu^r I cam among and best can behave them and most lyek Gentylmen.

Othyr tydyngs have we non her but that the Dwke of || Som^rset and all hys bands depertyd welbefyn owt of Brugys a day befor that my Lady the Dwches cam thedyr and they sey her that he is to Qwen Margaret y^t was and shal no mor come her ayen nor be holpyn by the Dwk.

No mor but I besече yow of you, blyssyng as lowly as I can whyche I besече yow forget not to geve me eu^r day onys And Modyr I besече yow y^t ye wolbe good mastras to my lytyll man and to se y^t he go to scole I sent my cosyn Dawheney v^y by Callys man for to bye for hym syche ger as he nedyth and modyr I pray yow thys byll may recomend me to my Su^rysr bothe and to y^e Ma^rtyr my cosyn Dawheney Syr Jamys S^r John Styll and to pray hym to be good Ma^rtyr to lytyll & Jak and to lerne hym well and I pray yow y^t thys byll

coming, and all Folk that came with my lady of Burgoyne [*Burgundy*] out of England, except such as shall abide here still with her, which I wot [*know*] well shall be but few.

We depart the sooner, for the † Duke hath word that the ‡ French King is purposed to make war upon him hastily, and that he is within four or five days journey of Bruges, and the Duke rideth, on Tuesday next coming, forward to meet with him; God give him good speed, and all his; for by my truth they are the goodliest Fellowship that ever I came amongst, and best can behave them, and most like Gentlemen.

Other Tidings have we none here, but that the Duke of || Somerset, and all his Bands departed well befen out of Bruges a day before that my Lady the Duchesse came thither, and they say here, that he is to Queen Margaret that was, and shall no more come here again, nor be holpen by the Duke.

No more, but I beseech you of your blessing as lowly as I can, which I beseech you forget not to give me every day once; and, Mother, I beseech you that ye will be good mistress to my little man and to see that he go to school.

times were not to give the title of King of France to the Ruler of that Kingdom, but to stile him the French King. In this place, (and I have observed it in others) the word "King" (intending to go on with, of France) was written without consideration, and then, on observing it, immediately crossed out, and "Frenshe Kyng" put in its place.

|| Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, an Adherent to Henry VI. and his Queen Margaret, commanded at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471; which being lost, he fled to Sanctuary, whence he was taken and beheaded.

§ This Little John, whose school education, J. Paston seems so anxious about, must have been born before 1464, and most probably died under age, if he was his Son, as Sir William Paston, Knight, who as some pedigrees state was born in 1464, stands in the Pedigree as heir to his Father; but I rather think that J. Paston had not been married at this time, and that this "lytyll man" was not his son.

may recomand me to all your folkys
and my wellwyllers.

And I pray God fend yow your
herts desyr.

Wretyn at Bruggys the fryday
next astyr Seynt * Thom's

Yo^r. Sone and humbyll Servnt,

I Paston, ye yonger.

12 by 21 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Paper Mark,
A Catherine Wheel,

I sent my Cousin Dawbeney ⁵
by Calle's man, for to buy for him
such gear as he needeth; and, Mo-
ther, I pray you this bill may re-
commend me to my Sisters both,
and to the Master, my Cousin Daw-
beney, Sir James, Sir John Styllé,
and to pray him to be good Master
to little \S Jack, and to learn him
well; and I pray you that this bill
may recommend me to all your
Folks, and to my Well Willers;
and I pray God fend you your
heart's desire.

Written at Bruges the Friday
next after Saint * Thomas.

Your Son and humble Servant,
J. PASTON, the Younger,

Bruges,
Friday, 8th of July,
1458, 8 E. IV.

*Curious Specimen of the Celebration
of Marriages at Court in the Be-
ginning of the Reign of James the
First, extracted from a Letter from
Sir Dudley Carlton to Mr Win-
wood.—From the Gentleman's Ma-
gazine for February 1787.*

London, January, 1604.

“ **O**N St. John's day we had the
marriage of Sir Phillip Her-
bert and the Lady Susan performed
at Whitehall, with all the honour
which could be done a great favourite.
The court was great, and for that
day put on the best bravery. The
prince and duke of Holst led the
bride to the church; the queen fol-
lowed her from thence. The king
gave her, and she, in her tresses and

trinkets, bridled and bridled it so
handsomely, and indeed became her-
self so well, that the king said, if
he was unmarried he would not
give her, but keep her himself.
The marriage dinner was kept in
the great chamber, where the prince
and the duke of Holst and the great
lords and ladies accompanied the
bride. The ambassador of Venice
was the only bidden guest of stran-
gers, and he had place above the
duke of Holst, which the Duke took
not well. But after dinner he was
as little pleased himself; for, being
brought into the closet to retire
himself, he was there suffered to
walk out his supper unthought-of.
At night there was a mask in the
hall, which, for conceit and fashion,

* This must mean either the 3d or 7th day of July, the one being the Tran-
slation of St. Thomas the Apostle, the other of St. Thomas a Becket I be-
lieve it means the latter.

was suitable to the occasion. The actors were, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Willoby, Sir Samuel Hays, Sir Thomas Germain, Sir Robert Cary, Sir John Lee, Sir Richard Preston, and Sir Thomas Bager. There was no small loss that night of chains and jewels, and many great ladies were made shorter by the skirts, and were well enough served that they could keep cut no better. The presents of plate, and other things given by the noblemen, were valued at 2500*l.* but that which made it a good marriage was a gift of the king's, of 500*l.* land for the bride's jointure. They were lodged in the council chamber, where the king, in his shirt and night gown, gave them a *veillee matin* before they were up, and spent a good time in or upon the bed, chuse which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the court; and at night there was sewing into the sheet, casting off the bride's left hose, with many other pretty forceries.

New year's day past without any solemnity, and the exorbitant gifts that were wont to be used at that time are so far laid by, that the accustomed presents of the purse and gold was hard to be had without asking.

The next day the king plaid in the presence, and, as good or ill luck seldom comes alone, the bridegroom, that threw for the king, had the good fortune to win 1000*l.* which he had for his pains."

tory of Mexico, translated from the Italian of Saverio Clavigero, by Mr. Cullen.

"THE Mexicans were less singular in their dress than in their food. Their usual habit was quite simple, consisting solely of the *maxtlatl* and *tilmatli* in the men, and of the *cucitl*, and the *buepilli* in the women. The *maxtlatl* was a large belt or girdle, the two ends of which hung down before and behind to cover the parts of shame. The *tilmatli* was a square mantle, about four feet long; the two ends were tied upon the breast, or upon one shoulder, as appears in our figures. The *cucitl*, or Mexican gown, was also a piece of square cloth, in which the women wrapped themselves from their waists down to the middle of the leg. The *buepilli* was a little under vest, or waistcoat, without sleeves.

The dress of the poor people was made of the thread of the maguei, or mountain palm, or at best the cloth of coarse cotton; but those of better station wore the finest cotton, embellished with various colours, and figures of animals, or flowers, or wove with feathers, or the fine hair of the rabbit, and adorned with various little figures of gold and loose locks of cotton hanging about the girdle or *maxtlatl*. The men used to wear two or three mantles, and the women three or four vests, and as many gowns, putting the longest undermost, so as that a part of each of them might be seen. The lords wore in winter waistcoats of cotton, interwoven with soft feathers, or the hair of the rabbit. Women of rank wore, besides the *buepilli*, an upper vest, something

On the Dress and Ornaments of the ancient Mexicans.—From the Hij-

something like the surplice or gown of our ecclesiastics, but larger and with longer sleeves.

Their shoes were nothing but soles of leather, or coarse cloth of the maguei, tied with strings, and only covered the under part of the foot. The kings and lords adorned the strings with rich ribbands of gold and jewels.

All the Mexicans wore their hair long, and were dishonoured by being shaved, or having it clipped, except the virgins consecrated to the service of the temples. The women wore it loose, the men tied in different forms, and adorned their heads with fine plumes, both when they danced and when they went to war.

It would be difficult to find a nation which accompanied so much simplicity of dress, with so much vanity and luxury in other ornaments of their persons. Besides feathers and jewels, with which they used to adorn their clothes, they wore ear-rings, pendants at the under-lip, and many likewise at their noses, necklaces, bracelets for the hands and arms, and also certain rings like collars about their legs. The ear-rings and pendants of the poor were shells, pieces of crystal, amber, or some shining little stone; but the rich wore pearls, emeralds, amethysts, or other gems, set in gold."

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Various Particulars relative to the Religion of the Mexicans.—From the History of Mexico, by Abbè D. F. S. Clavigero, translated from the Original Italian, by C. Cullen, Esq.

First, concerning their different Religious Orders.

"**A**MONGST the different orders or congregations both of men and women, who dedicated themselves to the worship of some particular gods, that of * Quetzalcoatl is worthy to be mentioned. The life led in the colleges or monasteries of either sex, which were devoted to this imaginary god, was uncommonly rigid and austere. The dress of the order was extremely decent; they bathed regularly at midnight, and watched till about two hours before day, singing hymns to their god, and observing many rules of an austere life. They were at liberty to go to the mountains at any hour of the day or night, to spill their blood; this was permitted them from a respect to the virtue which they were all thought to possess. The superiors of the monasteries bore also the name of Quetzalcoatl, and were persons of such high authority, that they visited none but the king when it was necessary. The members of this religious order were destined to it from their infancy. The parents of

the child invited the superior to an entertainment, who usually deputed one of his subjects. The deputy brought the child to him, upon which he took the boy in his arms, and offered him with a prayer to Quetzalcoatl, and put a collar about his neck, which was to be worn until he was seven years old. When the boy completed his second year, the superior made a small incision in his breast, which, like the collar, was another mark of his destination. As soon as the boy attained his seventh year, he entered into the monastery, having first heard a long discourse from his parents, in which they advertised him of the vow which they had made to Quetzalcoatl, and exhorted him to fulfil it, to behave well, to submit himself to his prelate, and to pray to the gods for his parents and the whole nation. This order was called *Ilamacazcoatl*, and the members of it *Ilamacazque*.

Another order, which was called *Telpochiliztli*, or the youths, on account of its being composed of youths and boys, was consecrated to Tezcatlipoca. This was also a destination from infancy, attended with almost the same ceremonies as that of Quetzalcoatl; however, they did not live together in one community, but each individual had his own home. In every district of the city they had a superior, who governed them, and a house where they as-

* *Quetzalcoatl*, or Feathered Serpent, god of the air.

sembled at sun-set to dance and sing the praises of their god. Both sexes met at this dance, but without committing the smallest disorder, owing to the vigilance of the superiors, and the rigour with which all misdemeanors were punished.

Among the Totonacas was an order of monks devoted to their goddess * Centeotl. They lived in great retirement and austeriety, and their life, excepting their superstition and vanity, was perfectly unimpeachable. None but men above sixty years of age, who were widowers, estranged from all commerce with women, and of virtuous life, were admitted into this monastery. Their number was fixed, and when any one died another was received in his stead. These monks were so much esteemed, that they were not only consulted by the common people, but likewise by the first nobility and the high-priest. They listened to consultations, sitting upon their heels, with their eyes fixed upon the ground, and their answers were received like oracles even by the kings of Mexico. They were employed in making historical paintings, which they gave to the high-priest, that he might exhibit them to the people."

Concerning the common Sacrifice of human Victims.

" But the most important duty of the priesthood, and the chief ceremony of the religion of the Mexicans, consisted in the sacrifices which they made occasionally to obtain any favour from Heaven, or in gratitude for those favours which they

had already received. This is a subject which we would willingly pass over, if the laws of history permitted, to prevent the disgust which the description of such abominable acts of cruelty must cause to our readers; for although there has hardly been a nation which has not practised similar sacrifices, it would be difficult to find one which has carried them to so great an excess as the Mexicans appear to have done.

We are ignorant what sort of sacrifices may have been practised by the ancient Toltecas. The Chichimecas continued long without using them, having at first neither idols, temples, nor priests, nor offering any thing to their gods, the Sun and Moon, but herbs, flowers, fruits, and copal. Those nations never thought of sacrificing human victims, until the example of the Mexicans banished the first impressions of nature from their minds. What they report touching the origin of such barbarous sacrifices we have already explained; namely, that which appears in their history concerning the first sacrifice of the four Xochimilcan prisoners which they made when in Colhuacan. It is probable, that at the time when the Mexicans were insulated in the lake, and particularly while they remained subject to the dominion of the Tepanecas, the sacrifice of human victims must have happened very seldom, as they neither had prisoners, nor could purchase slaves for sacrifices. But when they had enlarged their dominions, and multiplied their victories, sacrifices became frequent, and on some festivals the victims were numerous.

* The goddess of the earth, and of corn, called likewise *Topacajobua*, i. e. she who supports us.

The sacrifices varied with respect to the number, place, and mode, according to the circumstances of the festival. In general the victims suffered death by having their breasts opened; but others were drowned in the lake, others died of hunger shut up in caverns of the mountains, and lastly, some fell in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The customary place was the temple, in the upper area of which stood the altar destined for ordinary sacrifices. The altar of the greater temple of Mexico was a green stone (probably jasper) convex above, and about three feet high, and as many broad, and more than five feet long. The usual ministers of the sacrifice were six priests, the chief of whom was the *Tepitlitzin*, whose dignity was pre-eminent and hereditary; but at every sacrifice he assumed the name of that god to whom it was made. For the performance of this function, he was clothed in a red habit, similar in make to the scapulary of the moderns, fringed with cotton; on his head he wore a crown of green and yellow feathers, at his ears hung golden ear-rings and green jewels, (perhaps emeralds), and at his under lip a pendant of turquoise. The other five ministers were dressed in white habits of the same make, but embroidered with black; their hair was wrapped up, their heads were bound with leathern thongs, their foreheads armed with little shields of paper painted of various colours, and their bodies dyed all over black. These barbarous ministers carried the victim entirely naked to the upper area of the temple, and after having pointed out to the bystanders the idol to whom the sacrifice was made, that they might

pay their adoration to it, extended him upon the altar; four priests held his legs and arms, and another kept his head firm with a wooden instrument made in form of a coiled serpent, which was put about his neck; and on account of the altar being convex, the body of the victim lay arched, the breast and belly being raised up and totally prevented from the least movement. The inhuman *Topiltzin* then approached, and with a cutting knife made of flint, dexterously opened his breast and tore out his heart, which, while yet palpitating, he offered to the sun, and afterwards threw it at the feet of the idol; then taking it up again he offered it to the idol itself, and afterwards burned it, preserving the ashes with the utmost veneration. If the idol was gigantic and hollow, it was usual to introduce the heart of the victim into its mouth with a golden spoon. It was customary also to anoint the lips of the idol and the cornices of the door of the sanctuary with the victim's blood. If he was a prisoner of war, as soon as he was sacrificed they cut off his head to preserve the skull, and threw the body down the stairs to the lower area, where it was taken up by the officer or soldier to whom the prisoner had belonged, and carried to his house to be boiled and dressed as an entertainment for his friends. If he was not a prisoner of war, but a slave purchased for a sacrifice, the proprietor carried off the carcase from the altar for the same purpose. They eat only the legs, thighs, and arms, and burned the rest, or preserved it for food to the wild beasts or birds of prey which were kept in the royal palaces. The Otomies, after having killed the victim, tore the

the body in pieces, which they sold at market. The Zapotecas sacrificed men to their gods, women to their goddesses, and children to some other diminutive deities.

This was the most common mode of sacrifice, but often attended with some circumstances of still greater cruelty, as we shall see hereafter; other kinds of sacrifices which they used were much less frequent. At the festival of *Teteonin*, the woman who represented this goddess was beheaded on the shoulders of another woman. At the festival of the arrival of the gods, they put the victims to death by fire. At one of the festivals made in honour of Tlaloc, they sacrificed two children of both sexes by drowning them in a certain place of the lake. At another festival of the same god, they purchased three little boys of six or seven years of age, shut them up inhumanly in a cavern, and left them to die of fear and hunger."

Concerning the Gladiatorian Sacrifice.

"The most celebrated sacrifice among the Mexicans was that called by the Spaniards, with much propriety, *the gladiatorian*. This was a very honourable death, and only prisoners who were renowned for their bravery were permitted to die by it. Near to the greater temple of large cities, in an open space of ground sufficient to contain an immense croud of people, was a round terrace, eight feet high, upon which was placed a large round

stone, resembling a mill-stone in figure, but greatly larger, and almost three feet high, well polished, with figures cut upon it*. On this stone, which was called the *Temalacatl*, the prisoner was placed, armed with a shield and a short sword, and tied by one foot. A Mexican officer or soldier, better accounted in arms, mounted to combat with him. Every one will be able to imagine the efforts made by the desperate victim to defend his life, and also those of the Mexican to save his honour and reputation, before the multitude of people that assembled at such a spectacle. If the prisoner remained vanquished, immediately a priest named *Chalchiubtepobua*, carried him dead or alive to the altar of the common sacrifices, opened his breast, and took out his heart, while the victor was applauded by the assembly, and rewarded by the king with some military honour. But if the prisoner conquered six different combatants, who came successively to fight with him, agreeable to the account given by the conqueror Cortes, he was granted his life, his liberty, and all that had been taken from him, and returned with glory to his native country*. The same author relates, that in a battle between the Cholulans and Huexotzinco, the principal lord of Cholula grew so warm in the contest, that having inadvertently removed to a great distance from his own people, he was made prisoner in spite of his bravery, and conducted to Huexotzinco, where

* Several historians say, that when the first combatant was overcome, the prisoner became free; but we are rather inclined to credit the conqueror; for it is not probable that they would liberate a prisoner for so small a risk, who might still prove destructive to them, or that they would deprive their gods of a victim so acceptable to their cruelty.

being put upon the gladiatorian stone, he conquered seven combatants which were opposed to him, and gained his liberty; but the Huexotzincas foreseeing, that on account of his singular courage he would become the cause of many disasters to them if they granted him his liberty, put him to death contrary to universal custom; by which act they rendered themselves eternally infamous among those nations.

With respect to the number of the victims which were annually sacrificed we can affirm nothing; the opinions of historians on that head being extremely different*. The number of twenty thousand, which is conjectured to approach the nearest to truth, does not appear to us improbable, if we include in it all the victims which were sacrificed throughout the whole empire; but if that number comprehends, as some historians assert, the infants only, or the victims which were sacrificed on the mountain Tepeyacac, or in the capital, we think it altogether incredible. It is certain, that the number of sacrifices was not limited, but always proportion-

ed either to the number of prisoners which were made in war, to the necessities of the state, or the nature of the festivals, as appears from the dedication of the greater temple of Mexico, on which occasion the cruelty of the Mexicans exceeded all bounds of belief. It is not, however, to be doubted, that the sacrifices were very numerous; the conquests of the Mexicans having been extremely rapid, and as their aim in war was not so much to kill as to make prisoners of the enemy for this purpose. If to these victims we add the slaves which were purchased for the same end, and many criminals who were condemned to expiate their crimes by the sacrifice of their lives, we shall find the number greatly exceed that computed by Las Casas, who was too anxious to exculpate the Americans of all the excesses of which they were accused by the Spaniards†. The sacrifices multiplied in *Divine* years, and still more in *Secular* years.

The Mexicans were accustomed at their festivals to clothe the victim in the same dress and badges in which they dressed that god to

* Zumarraga, the first bishop of Mexico, says, in a letter of the 12th of June, 1531, addressed to the general chapter of his order, that in that capital alone twenty thousand human victims were annually sacrificed. Some authors, quoted by Gomara, affirm, that the number of the sacrificed amounted to fifty thousand. Acosta writes, that there was a certain day of the year on which five thousand were sacrificed in different places of the empire; and another day on which they sacrificed twenty thousand. Some authors believe, that on the mountain Tepeyacac alone, twenty thousand were sacrificed to the gods of Tonantzin. Torquemada, in quoting, though unfaithfully, the letter of Zumarraga, says, that there were twenty thousand infants annually sacrificed. But on the contrary, Las Casas, in his refutation of the bloody book, wrote by Dr. Sepulveda, reduces the sacrifices to so small a number, that we are left to believe, they amounted not to fifty, or at most not to a hundred. We are strongly of opinion, that all these authors have erred in the number, Las Casas by diminution, the rest by exaggeration of the truth.

† We cannot account why Las Casas, who, in his writings, makes use of the testimony of Zumarraga, and other churchmen, against the conquerors, should afterwards so openly contradict them respecting the number of the sacrifices.

whom the sacrifice was made; thus habited, the victim went round the city demanding alms for the temple, accompanied with a guard of soldiers. If any one accidentally made his escape, the corporal of the guard was substituted in his stead as a punishment for his carelessness. They used also to feed and fatten the victims, as they did several animals for the table.

The religion of the Mexicans was not confined to these sacrifices; offerings were made of various kinds of animals. They sacrificed quails and falcons to their god Huitzilopochtli, and hares, rabbits, deer, and coyotes to their god Mixcoatl. — They daily make an offering of quails to the sun. Every day as the sun was about to rise, several priests, standing on the upper area of the temple, with their faces towards the east, each with a quail in his hand, saluted that luminary's appearance with music, and made an offering of the quails after cutting off their heads. This sacrifice was succeeded by the burning of incense, with a loud accompaniment of musical instruments.

In acknowledgment of the power of their gods, they also made offerings of various kinds of plants, flowers, jewels, gums, and other inanimate substances. To their gods * Tlaloc and † Coatlicue they offered the first blown flowers; and to Centeotl, the first maize of every year. They made oblations of bread, various pastes, and ready-dressed victuals in such abundance, as to be sufficient to supply all the ministers of the temple. Every morning were seen at the foot of the altars innumerable dishes and porringers of

boiling soup, that the steams arising from them might reach the nostrils of the idols, and nourish their immortal gods.

The most frequent oblation, however, was that of copal. All daily burned incense to their idols; no house was without censers. The priests in the temple, fathers of families in their houses, and judges in their tribunals, whenever they pronounced sentence in an important cause, whether civil or criminal, offered incense to the four principal winds. But incense-offering among the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, was not only an act of religion towards their gods, but also a piece of civil courtesy to lords and ambassadors.

The superstition and cruelties of the Mexicans were imitated by all the nations which they conquered, or that were contiguous to the empire, without any difference, except that the number of sacrifices amongst those nations was less, and that particular circumstances sometimes attended them. The Tlascalans, at one of their festivals, fixed a prisoner to a high cross, and shot arrows at him; and upon another occasion, they tied a prisoner to a low cross, and killed him by the bastinado.

The sacrifices celebrated every fourth year by the Quauhuitlans in honour of the god of fire, were inhuman and dreadful. A day before the festival, they planted six very lofty trees in the under area of the temple, sacrificed two slaves, stripped their skins off, and took out the bones of their thighs. The next day two eminent priests clothed themselves in the bloody skins, took

* The god of water.

† Goddess of flowers.

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the bones in their hands, and descended with solemn steps and dismal howlings, down the stairs of the temple. The people who were assembled in crouds below, called out in a loud voice, "Behold there come our gods." As soon as they reached the lower area, they began a dance to the sound of musical instruments, which lasted the greatest part of the day. In the mean while, the people sacrificed an incredible quantity of quails, the number of them being never less than eight thousand. When these sacrifices were over, the priests carried six prisoners to the tops of the trees, and after tying them there, descended; but they had hardly time to reach the ground, before the unhappy victims were pierced with a multitude of arrows. The priests mounted again to cut down the dead bodies, and let them drop from the height; immediately their breasts were opened, and their hearts torn out, according to the custom of those people. The victims, as well as the quails, were shared among the priests and nobles of that city, for the banquets which crowned their barbarous and detestable festival."

Concerning the Austerities and Fasting of the Mexicans.

"While they were thus cruel to others, it is not wonderful that they likewise practised inhumanity towards themselves. Being accustomed to bloody sacrifices of their prisoners, they also failed not to shed abundance of their own blood, conceiving the streams which flowed from their victims insufficient to

quench the diabolical thirst of their gods. It makes one shudder to read the austerities which they exercised upon themselves, either in atonement of their transgressions, or in preparation for their festivals. They mangled their flesh as if it had been insensible, and let their blood run in such profusion, that it appeared to be a superfluous fluid of the body.

The effusion of blood was frequent and daily with some of the priests, to which practice they gave the name of *Flamacazqui*. They pierced themselves with the sharpest spines of the aloe, and bored several parts of their bodies, particularly their ears, lips, tongue, and the fat of their arms and legs.—Through the holes which they made with these spines, they introduced pieces of cane, the first of which were small pieces, but every time this penitential suffering was repeated, a thicker piece was used.—The blood which flowed from them was carefully collected in leaves of the plant *acxojatl* *. They fixed the bloody spines in little balls of hay, which they exposed upon the battlements of the walls of the temple, to testify the penance which they did for the people. Those who exercised such severities upon themselves within the inclosure of the greater temple of Mexico, bathed themselves in a pond that was formed there, which from being always tinged with blood was called *Exapan*. There was a certain fixed number of canes to be made use of on this occasion, which, after being once used were preserved as attestations of their penitence. Besides those and other austere practices of

* *Acxojatl* is a tree of several upright stems, with long leaves, which are strong and symmetrically disposed. They made formerly, and still make excellent brooms of this plant.

which

which we shall treat shortly, watching and fasting was very frequent amongst the Mexicans. A festival hardly occurred for which they did not prepare themselves with fasting for some days, more or less, according to the prescriptions of their ritual. From all that is to be inferred from their history, their fasting consisted in abstaining from flesh and wine, and in eating but once a day; this some did at mid-day, others after that time, and some tasted nothing till evening. Fasting was generally accompanied with watching and the effusion of blood, and then no person was permitted to have commerce with any woman, not even with his own wife.

Some fasts were general and observed by the whole people; namely, the fast of five days before the festival of Mixcoatl, which was observed even by children; the fast of four days before the festival of Tezcatlipoca, and also, as we suspect, that which was made previous to the festival of the sun*. During this fast the king retired into a certain place of the temple, where he watched and shed blood, according to the custom of his nation. Any other fasts bound only particular individuals, such as that which was observed by the proprietors of victims the day before a sacrifice. The proprietors of prisoners which were sacrificed to the god Xipe, fasted twenty days. The nobles as well as the king had a house within the precincts of the temple, containing numerous chambers, where they occasionally retired to do penance. On one of the festivals, all those per-

sons who exercised public offices, after their daily duty was over, retired there at evening for this purpose. In the third month the Tlamacazqui, or penance doers watched every night; and in the fourth month they were attended in their duty by the nobility.

In Mixteca, where there were many monasteries, the first-born sons of lords, before they took possession of their estates, were subjected to a rigorous penance during a whole year. They conducted the heir with a numerous attendance to a monastery, where they stripped off his garments, and clothed him in rags daubed over with *elli*, or elastic gum, rubbed his face, belly, and back, with stinking herbs, and delivered a small lance of *itzli* to him, that he might draw his blood. They restricted him to a very abstemious diet, subjected him to the hardest labours, and punished him severely for any failure in duty. At the end of the year, after being washed and cleansed by four girls, with sweet-scented water, he was re-conducted to his house with great pomp and music.

In the principal temple of Teohuacan, four priests constantly resided, who were famous for the austerity of their lives. Their dress was the same with that of the common people; their diet was limited to a loaf of maize of about two ounces in weight, and a cup of *atolli*, or gruel, made of the same grain. Every night two of them kept watch, employing their time in singing hymns to their gods, in offering incense, which they did

* The fast which was held in honour of the sun was called *Netonatiubzabualo*, or *Netonatiubzabualitzli*. Dr. Hernandez says, it was held every two hundred, or three hundred days. We suspect that it was kept on the day I Olin, which occurred every two hundred and sixty days.

four times during the night, and in shedding their blood upon the stones of the temple. Their fasting was continual during the four years which they persevered in that life, except upon days of festival, one of which happened every month, when they were at liberty to eat as much as they pleased; but in preparation for every festival, they practised the usual austere rules, boring their ears with the spines of the aloe, and passing little pieces of cane through the holes to the number of sixty, all of which differed in thickness in the manner above mentioned. At the end of four years, other four priests were introduced to lead the same kind of life; and if before the completion of that term any one of them happened to die, another was substituted in his place, that the number might never be incomplete. These priests were so high in respect and esteem as to be held in veneration even by the kings of Mexico: but woe unto him who violated his chastity; for, it after a strict examination the crime was proved, he was killed by bastinado, his body was burned, and his ashes scattered to the winds.

Upon occasion of any public calamity, the Mexican high-priest always observed a most extraordinary fast. For this purpose he retired to a wood, where he constructed a hut for himself, covered with branches, which were always fresh and green; as whenever the first became dry, new ones were spread in their place. Shut up in this hut he passed nine or ten months in constant prayer and frequent effu-

sions of blood, deprived of all communication with men, and without any other food than raw maize and water. This fast was not indispensable, nor did all the high-priests observe it; nor did those who attempted it ever do it more than once in their lives; and certainly it is not probable, that those who survived so rigorous and long an abstinence, were ever able to repeat it."

Concerning the Rites observed by the Mexicans upon the Birth of their Children.—From the same Work.

"AS soon as a child was born, the midwife, after cutting the navel-string, and burying the secundine, bathed it, saying these words; *Receive the water; for the goddess* Chalchiuhcueje is thy mother. May this bath cleanse the spots which thou bearest from the womb of thy mother, purify thy heart, and give thee a good and perfect life.* Then addressing her prayer to that goddess, she demanded in similar words the same favour from her; and taking up the water again with her right hand, she blew upon it, and wet the mouth, head, and breast of the child with it, and after bathing the whole of its body, she said: *May the invisible God descend upon this water, and cleanse thee of every sin and impurity, and free thee from evil fortune:* and then turning to the child, she spoke to it thus: *Lovely child, the gods† Ometecuilli and Omecihuatl have created thee in the highest place of heaven, in order to send*

* Goddess of water, and companion to Tlaloc, mentioned in page 123 ante.

† The former was a god and the latter a goddess, who they pretended dwelt in a magnificent city in heaven, abounding with delights, and there watched over the world, and gave to mortals their wishes: the first to men, the latter to women.

thee into the world; but know that the life on which thou art entering is sad, painful, and full of uneasiness and miseries: nor wilt thou be able to eat thy bread without labour: May God assist thee in the many adversities which await thee. This ceremony was concluded with congratulations to the parents and relations of the child. If it was the son of the king, or of any great lord, the chief of his subjects came to congratulate the father, and to wish the highest prosperity to his child*.

When the first bathing was done, the diviners were consulted concerning the fortune of the child, for which purpose they were informed of the day and hour of its birth. They considered the nature of the sign of that day, and the ruling sign of that period of thirteen days to which it belonged, and if it was born at midnight, two signs concurred, that is, the sign of the day which was just concluding, and that of the day which was just beginning. After having made their observations, they pronounced the good or bad fortune of the child.— If it was bad, and if the fifth day after its birth-day, on which the second bathing was usually performed, was one of the *dies infaufti*, the ceremony was postponed until a more favourable occasion. To the second bathing, which was a more solemn rite, all the relations and friends, and some young boys, were

invited; and if the parents were in good circumstances, they gave great entertainments, and made presents of apparel to all the guests. If the father of the child was a military person, he prepared for this ceremony a little bow, four arrows, and a little habit, resembling in make that which the child, when grown up, would wear. If he was a countryman, or an artist, he prepared some instruments belonging to his art, proportioned in size to the infancy of the child. If the child was a girl, they furnished a little habit, suitable to her sex, a small spindle, and some other little instruments for weaving. They lighted a great number of torches, and the midwife taking up the child, carried it through all the yard of the house, and placed it upon a heap of the leaves of sword-grass, close by a basin of water, which was prepared in the middle of the yard, and then undressing it, said: *My child, the gods Omecmeteuctli and Omecihuatl, lords of heaven, have sent thee to this dismal and calamitous world. Receive this water which is to give thee life.* And after wetting its mouth, head, and breast, with forms similar to those of the first bathing, she bathed its whole body, and rubbing every one of its limbs, said, *Where art thou ill Fortune? In what limb art thou bid? Go far from this child.* Having spoke this, she raised up the child to offer it to the gods,

* In Guatemala, and other surrounding provinces, the births of male children were celebrated with much solemnity and superstition. As soon as the son was born, a turkey was sacrificed. The bathing was performed in some fountain, or river, where they made oblations of copal, and sacrifices of parrots. The navel-string was cut upon an ear of maize, and with a new knife, which was immediately after cast into the river. They sowed the seeds of that ear, and attended to its growth with the utmost care, as if it had been a sacred thing. What was reaped from this seed was divided into three parts, one of which was given to the diviner; of another part they made pap for the child, and the rest was preserved until the same child should be old enough to be able to sow it.

praying them to adorn it with every virtue. The first prayer was offered to the two gods before named, the second to the goddesses of water, the third to all the gods together, and the fourth to the sun and the earth. *You sun, she said, father of all things that live upon the earth, our mother, receive this child, and protect him as your own son; and since he is born for war (if his father belonged to the army), may he die in it, defending the honour of the gods; so may he enjoy in heaven the delights which are prepared for all those who sacrifice their lives in so good a cause.* She then put in his little hands the instruments of that art which he was to exercise, with a prayer addressed to the protecting god of the same. The instruments of the military art were buried in some fields, where, in future, it was imagined the boy would fight in battle, and the female instruments were buried in the house itself, under the stone for grinding maize. On this same occasion, if we are to credit Boturini, they observed the ceremony of passing the boy four times through the fire.

Before they put the instruments of any art into the hands of the child, the midwife requested the young boys who had been invited, to give him a name, which was generally such a name as had been suggested to them by the father.—The midwife then clothed him, and laid him in the *cozoli*, or cradle, praying Joalticiti, the goddess of cradles, to warm him and guard him in her bosom, and Joalteutli, god of the night, to make him sleep.

The name which was given to boys, was generally taken from the sign of the day on which they were born (a rule particularly prac-

tised among the Mixtecas), as *Naxochitl*, or IV Flower, *Macuicoult*, or V Serpent, and *Omecalli*, or II House. At other times the name was taken from circumstances attending the birth; as for instance, one of the four chiefs who governed the republic of Tlascala, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, received the name of *Citalpopoca*, smoking star; because he was born at the time of a comet's appearance in the heavens. The child born on the day of the renewal of the fire, had the name of *Molpilli*, if it was a male; if a female she was called *Xiubnanel*, alluding in both names to circumstances attending the festival. Men had in general the names of animals; women those of flowers; in giving which, it is probable, they paid regard both to the dreams of the parents, and the counsel of diviners.—For the most part they gave but one name to boys; afterwards it was usual for them to acquire a surname from their actions, as Montezumad, on account of his bravery, was given the surnames of *libuacamina* and *Tlacaeli*.

When the religious ceremony of bathing was over, an entertainment was given, the quality and honours of which corresponded with the rank of the giver. At such seasons of rejoicing, a little excess in drinking was permitted, as the disorderliness of drunken persons extend not beyond private houses. The torches were kept burning till they were totally consumed, and particular care was taken to keep up the fire all the four days, which intervened between the first and second ceremony of bathing, as they were persuaded that an omission of such a nature would ruin the fortune of the child.

These

These rejoicings were repeated when they weaned the child, which they commonly did at three years of age*."

Concerning their Nuptial Rites.

" With respect to the marriages of the Mexicans, although in them, as well as in all their customs, superstition had a great share, nothing, however, attended them which was repugnant to decency or honour. Any marriage between persons related in the first degree of consanguinity or alliance, was strictly forbidden, not only by the laws of Mexico, but also by the laws of Michuacan, unless it was between cousins †. The parents were the persons who settled all marriages, and none were ever executed without their consent. When a son arrived at an age capable of bearing the charges of that state, which in men was from the age of twenty to twenty-two years, and in women from sixteen to eighteen, a suitable and proper wife was singled out for him; but before the union was concluded on, the diviners were consulted, who, after having considered the birthday of the youth, and of the young

girl intended for his bride, decided on the happiness or unhappiness of the match. If from the combination of signs attending their births, they pronounced the alliance unpropitious, that young maid was abandoned, and another sought. If, on the contrary, they predicted happiness to the couple, the young girl was demanded of her parents by certain women amongst them called *Cibuatlanque*, or solicitors, who were the most elderly and respectable amongst the kindred of the youth. These women went the first time at midnight to the house of the damsel, carried a present to her parents, and demanded her of them in a humble and respectful style. The first demand was, according to the custom of that nation, infallibly refused, however advantageous and eligible the marriage might appear to the parents, who gave some plausible reasons for their refusal. After a few days were past, those women returned to repeat their demand, using prayers and arguments also, in order to obtain their request, giving an account of the rank and fortune of the youth, and of what he would make the dowry of his wife, and also gaining

* In Guatemala it was usual to make rejoicings as soon as the child began to walk, and for seven years they continued to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

† In the ivth book, tit. 2. of the third provincial council of Mexico, it is supposed that the Gentiles of that new world married with their sisters; but it ought to be understood, that the zeal of those fathers was not confined in its exertions to the nations of the Mexican empire, among whom such marriages were not suffered, but extended to the barbarous Chechemecas, the Panuchese, and to other nations, which were extremely uncivilized in their customs. There is not a doubt, that the council alluded to those barbarians, who were then (in 1585), in the progress of their conversion to Christianity, and not to the Mexicans and the nations under subjection to them, who many years before the council were already converted. Besides, in the interval of four years, between the conquest of the Spaniards and the promulgation of the gospel, many abusive practices had been introduced among those nations never before tolerated under their kings, as the religious missionaries employed in their conversion attest.

information of that which he could bring to the match on her part. The parents replied to this second request, that it was necessary to consult their relations and connections, and to find out the inclinations of their daughter, before they could come to any resolution. These female solicitors returned no more; as the parents themselves conveyed, by means of other women of their kindred, a decisive answer to their party.

A favourable answer being at last obtained, and a day appointed for the nuptials, the parents, after exhorting their daughter to fidelity and obedience to her husband, and to such a conduct in life as would do honour to her family, conducted her, with a numerous company and music, to the house of her father-in-law; if noble, she was carried in a litter. The bridegroom, and the father and mother-in-law, received her at the gate of the house, with four torches borne by four women. At meeting, the bride and bridegroom reciprocally offered incense to each other; then the bridegroom taking the bride by the hand, led her into the hall, or chamber which was prepared for the nuptials. They both sat down upon a new and curiously wrought mat, which was spread in the middle of the chamber, and close to the fire which was kept lighted. Then a priest tied a point of the *buepilli*, or gown of the bride, with the *tilnatli*, or mantle of the bridegroom, and in this ceremony the matrimonial contract chiefly consisted. The wife now made some turns round the fire, and then returning to her mat, she, along with her husband, offered copal to their gods, and exchanged presents with each other.

The repast followed next. The married pair eat upon the mat, giving mouthfuls to each other alternately and to the guests in their places. When those who had been invited were become exhilarated with wine, which was freely drank on such occasions, they went out to dance in the yard of the house, while the married pair remained in the chamber, from which, during four days, they never stirred, except to obey the calls of nature, or to go to the oratory at midnight to burn incense to the idols, and to make oblations of eatables. They passed these four days in prayer and fasting, dressed in new habits, and adorned with certain ensigns of the gods of their devotion, without proceeding to any act of less decency, fearing that otherwise the punishment of Heaven would fall upon them. Their beds on these nights were two mats of rushes, covered with small sheets, with certain feathers, and a gem of *Chalcibiuist* in the middle of them. At the four corners of the bed green canes and spines of the aloe were laid, with which they were to draw blood from their tongues and their ears in honour of their gods. The priests were the persons who adjusted the bed to sanctify the marriage; but we know nothing of the mystery of the canes, the feathers, and the gem. Until the fourth night the marriage was not consummated; they believed it would have proved unlucky, if they had anticipated the period of consummation. The morning after they bathed themselves and put on new dresses, and those who had been invited, adorned their heads with white, and their hands and feet with red feathers. The ceremony was concluded by making

making presents of dresses to the guests, which were proportioned to the circumstances of the married pair; and on the same day they carried to the temple the mats, sheets, canes, and the eatables which had been presented to the idols.

The forms which we have described, in the marriages of the Mexicans, were not so universal through the empire, but that some provinces observed other peculiarities. In Icheatlan, whoever was desirous of marrying presented himself to the priests, by whom he was conducted to the temple, where they cut off a part of his hair before the idol which was worshipped there, and then pointing him out to the people, they began to exclaim, saying, *this man wishes to take a wife*. Then they made him descend, and take the first free woman he met, as the one whom Heaven destined to him. Any woman who did not like to have him for a husband, avoided coming near to the temple at that time, that she might not subject herself to the necessity of marrying him: this marriage was only singular therefore in the mode of seeking for a wife.

Among the Otomies, it was lawful to use any free woman before they married her. When any person was about to take a wife, if on the first night he found any thing about his wife which was disagreeable to him, he was permitted to divorce her the next day; but if he shewed himself all that day content with having her, he could not afterwards abandon her. The contract being thus ratified, the pair retired to do penance for past offences twenty or thirty days, during which period they abstained from most of the pleasures of the senses, drew blood

from themselves, and frequently bathed.

Among the Miztecas, besides the ceremony of tying the married pair together by the end of their garments, they cut off a part of their hair, and the husband carried his wife for a little time upon his back.

They permitted polygamy in the Mexican empire. The kings and lords had numerous wives; but it is probable, that they observed all the ceremonies with their principal wives only, and that with the rest the essential rite of tying their garments together was sufficient.

The Spanish theologists and canonists who went to Mexico immediately after the conquest, being unacquainted with the customs of those people, raised doubts about their marriages; but when they had learnt the language, and properly examined that and other points of importance, they acknowledged such marriages to be just and lawful. Pope Paul III. and the provincial council of Mexico, ordered, in conformity to the sacred canons and the usage of the church, that all those who were willing to embrace Christianity, should keep no other wife but the one whom they had first married."

Concerning their Funeral Rites and Sepulchres.

"However superstitious the Mexicans were in other matters, in the rites which they observed at funerals they exceeded themselves. As soon as any person died, certain masters of funeral ceremonies were called, who were generally men advanced in years. They cut a number of pieces of paper, with which they dressed the dead body, and took a

glass of water with which they sprinkled the head, saying, that that was the water used in the time of their life. They then dressed it in a habit suitable to the rank, the wealth, and the circumstances attending the death of the party. If the deceased had been a warrior, they clothed him in the habit of Huitzilopochtli; if a merchant, in that of Jacatuetli; if an artist, in that of the protecting god of his art or trade: one who had been drowned was dressed in the habit of Tlaloc; one who had been executed for adultery, in that of Tlazolteoti; and a drunkard in the habit of Tezcatzoncatl, god of wine. In short, as Gomara has well observed, they wore more garments after they were dead than while they were living.

With the habit they gave the dead a jug of water, which was to serve on the journey to the other world, and also at successive different times, different pieces of paper, mentioning the use of each. On consigning the first piece to the dead, they said: *By means of this you will pass without danger between the two mountains which fight against each other.* With the second they said: *By means of this you will walk without obstruction along the road which is defended by the great serpent.* With the third: *By this you will go securely through the place, where there is the crocodile Xochitonal.* The fourth was a safe passport through the eight deserts; the fifth through the eight hills; and the sixth was given in order to pass without hurt through the sharp wind; for they pretended that it was necessary to pass a place called *Itehecajan*, where a wind blew so violently as to tear up rocks, and so sharp that it cut like a knife; on which account they

burned all the habits which the deceased had worn during life, their arms, and some household goods, in order that the heat of this fire might defend them from the cold of that terrible wind.

One of the chief and most ridiculous ceremonies at funerals was the killing a *techichi*, a domestic quadruped, which we have already mentioned, resembling a little dog, to accompany the deceased in their journey to the other world. They fixed a string about its neck, believing that necessary to enable it to pass the deep river of *Chiuhnabua-pa*, or New Waters. They buried the *techichi*, or burned it along with the body of its master, according to the kind of death of which he died. While the masters of the ceremonies were lighting up the fire in which the body was to be burned, the other priests kept singing in a melancholy strain. After burning the body, they gathered the ashes in an earthen pot, amongst which, according to the circumstances of the deceased, they put a gem of more or less value; which they said would serve him in place of a heart in the other world. They buried this earthen pot in a deep ditch, and fourscore days after made oblations of bread and wine over it.

Such were the funeral rites of the common people; but at the death of kings, and that of lords, or persons of high rank, some peculiar forms were observed that are worthy to be mentioned. When the king fell sick, says Gomara, they put a mask on the idol of Huitzilopochtli, and also one on the idol of Tezcatlipoca, which they never took off until the king was either dead or recovered; but it is certain that the idol of Huitzilopochtli had always two masks.

of Mexico happened to die, his death was published in great form, and all the lords who resided at court, and also those who were but a little distant from it were informed of the event, in order that they might be present at the funeral. In the mean time they laid the royal corpse upon beautiful curiously wrought mats, which was attended and watched by his domestics. Upon the fourth or fifth day after, when the lords were arrived, who brought with them rich dresses, beautiful feathers, and slaves to be presented, to add to the pomp of the funeral, they clothed the corpse in fifteen, or more, very fine habits of cotton of various colours, ornamented it with gold, silver, and gems, hung an emerald at the under lip, which was to serve in place of a heart, covered the face with a mask, and over the habits were placed the ensigns of that god, in whose temple or area the ashes were to be buried. They cut off some of the hair, which, together with some more which had been cut off in the infancy of the king, they preserved in a little box, in order to perpetuate, as they said, the memory of the deceased. Upon the box they laid an image of the deceased, made of wood, or of stone. Then they killed the slave who was his chaplain, who had had the care of his oratory, and all that belonged to the private worship of his gods, in

same office in the other world.

The funeral procession came next, accompanied by all the relations of the deceased, the whole of the nobility, and the wives of the late king, who testified their sorrow by tears and other demonstrations of grief.—The nobles carried a great standard of paper, and the royal arms and ensigns. The priests continued singing, but without any musical instrument. Upon their arrival at the lower area of the temple, the high-priest, together with their servants, came out to meet the royal corpse, which, without delay, they placed upon the funeral pile, which was prepared there for that purpose of odoriferous resinous woods, together with a large quantity of copal, and other aromatic substances.—While the royal corpse, and all its habits, the arms and ensigns were burning, they sacrificed at the bottom of the stairs of the temple a great number of slaves of those which belonged to the deceased, and also of those which had been presented by the lords. Along with the slaves, they likewise sacrificed some of the irregularly formed men, whom the king had collected in his palaces for his entertainment, in order that they might give him the same pleasure in the other world; and for the same reason they used also to sacrifice some of his wives*. The number of the victims was proportioned to the grandeur of the

* Acosta says (lib. v. cap. 8.) that at the funerals of lords, all the members of his family were sacrificed. But this is grossly false, and in itself incredible; for had this been the case, the nobles of Mexico would have soon been exterminated. There is no record in the History of Mexico, that at the death of the king of Mexico, any of his brothers were sacrificed, as this author would intimate. How is it possible they could practise such cruelty when the new king was usually elected from among the brothers of the deceased?

several historians affirm, to two hundred. Among the other sacrifices the techichi was not omitted; they were firmly persuaded, that without such a guide it would be impossible to get through some dangerous ways which led to the other world.

The day following the ashes were gathered, and the teeth which remained entire; they sought carefully for the emerald which had been hung to the under lip, and the whole were put into the box with the hair, and they deposited the box in the place destined for his sepulchre. The four following days they made oblations of eatables over the sepulchre; on the fifth, they sacrificed some slaves, and also some others on the twentieth, fortieth, sixtieth, and eightieth day after. From that time forward, they sacrificed no more human victims; but every year they celebrated the day of the funeral with sacrifices of rabbits, butterflies, quails, and other birds, and with oblations of bread, wine, copal, flowers, and certain little reeds filled with aromatic substances, which they called *acajetl*. This anniversary was held for four years.

The bodies of the dead were in general burned; they buried the bodies entire of those only who had been drowned, or had died of dropsy, and some other diseases; but what was the reason of these exceptions we know not.

There was no fixed place for burials. Many ordered their ashes to

altar, some in the fields, and others in those sacred places of the mountains where sacrifices used to be made. The ashes of the kings and lords were, for the most part, deposited in the towers of the temples*, especially in those of the greater temple. Close to Teotihuacan, where there were many temples, there were also innumerable sepulchres. The tombs of those whose bodies had been buried entire, agreeable to the testimony of the anonymous conqueror who saw them, were deep ditches, formed with stone and lime, within which they placed the bodies in a sitting posture upon *icpalli*, or low seats, together with the instruments of their art or profession. If it was the sepulchre of any military person, they laid a shield and sword by him; if of a woman, a spindle, a weaver's shuttle, and a *xicalli*, which was a certain naturally formed vessel, of which we shall say more hereafter. In the tombs of the rich they put gold and jewels, but all were provided with eatables for the long journey which they had to make.

The Spanish conquerors, knowing of the gold which was buried with the Mexican lords in their tombs, dug up several, and found considerable quantities of that precious metal. Cortes says in his letters, that at one entry which he made into the capital, when it was besieged by his army, his soldiers found fifteen hundred *Castellanos*†, that is, two hun-

* Solis, in his History of the Conquest of Mexico, affirms, that the ashes of the kings were deposited in Chapultepec; but this is false, and contradicts the report of the conqueror Cortes, whose panegyric he wrote, of Bernal Dias, and other eye-witnesses of the contrary.

† The Spanish goldsmiths divide the pound weight of gold into two *Marchi*, or into sixteen ounces, or a hundred *Castellanos*; consequently, an ounce contains 64 *Castellanos*.

one sepulchre, which was in the tower of a temple. The anonymous conqueror says also, that he was present at the digging up of another sepulchre, from which they took about three thousand Castellanos.

The caves of the mountains were the sepulchres of the ancient Chechemecas; but, as they grew more civilized, they adopted in this and other rites, the customs of the Acolhuan nation, which were nearly the same with those of the Mexicans.

The Mitztecas retained in part the ancient usage of the Chechemecas, but in some things they were singular in their customs. When any of their lords fell sick, they offered prayers, vows, and sacrifices for the recovery of his health. If it was restored, they made great rejoicings. If he died, they continued to speak of him as if he was still alive, and conducted one of his slaves to the corpse, dressed him in the habits of his master, put a mask upon his face, and for one whole day, paid him all the honours which they had used to render to the deceased. At midnight, four priests carried the corpse to be buried in a wood, or in some cavern, particularly in that one where they believed the gate of paradise was, and at their return they sacrificed the slave, and laid him, with all the ornaments of his transitory dignity, in a ditch; but without covering him with earth.

Every year they held a festival in honour of their last lord, on which they celebrated his birth, not his death, for of it they never spoke.

The Zapotecas, their neighbours, embalmed the body of the principal

lord of their nation. Even from the time of the first Chechemecan kings aromatic preparations were in use among those nations to preserve dead bodies from speedy corruption; but we do not know that these were very frequent.

*As the present Government of Egypt is chiefly in the hands of the Mamlouks, we have extracted the following particular account of that body, from Mons. Volney's *Travels in Egypt and Syria*.*

Military Constitution of the Mamlouks.

THE Mamlouks, on obtaining the government of Egypt, adopted measures which seem to secure to them the possession of the country. The most efficacious is the precaution they have taken to degrade the military corps of the Azabs and Janissaries: these two bodies, which were formerly the terror of the Pacha, are now as insignificant as himself. Of this the corrupt and wretched government of the Turks has alone been the cause; for, previous to the insurrection of Ibrahim Kiaya, the number of Turkish troops, which should consist of forty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, had been reduced to less than half that number, by the avarice of their officers, who diverted the pay to their own use. After Ibrahim, Ali Bey completely destroyed their consequence. He first displaced all the officers who gave him umbrage; left unfilled the places that became vacant; deprived the commanders of all influence; and so degraded all the Turkish troops, that at this day the Janissaries, the Azabs, and the five other,

other corps are only a rabble of citizens and vagabonds, who guard the gates of those who pay them, and tremble in the presence of the Mamlouks, as much as the populace of Cairo. The whole military force of Egypt really consists in the Mamlouks. Some hundreds of these are dispersed throughout the country, and in the villages, to maintain the authority of their corps, collect the tributes, and improve every opportunity of extortion; but the main body continually remains at Cairo. From the computation of well-informed persons, it appears, their number cannot exceed eight thousand five hundred men, reckoning Beys and Cachefs, common freedmen, and Mamlouks, who are still slaves. In this number there are a multitude of youth under twenty and twenty-two years of age.

The most powerful house is that of Ibrahim Bey, who has about six hundred Mamlouks. Next to him is Mourad, who has not above four hundred, but who, by his audacity and prodigality, forms a counterpoise to the insatiable avarice of his rival: the rest of the Beys, to the number of eighteen or twenty, have each of them from fifty to two hundred. Besides these, there is a great number of Mamlouks who may be called *individual*, who being sprung from houses which are extinct, attach themselves sometimes to one, and sometimes to another, as they find it their interest, and are always ready to enter into the service of the best bidder. We must reckon

likewise some servants, a sort of domestics on horseback, who carry the orders of the Beys; but the whole together does not exceed ten thousand horse. No mention is here made of infantry, which is neither known nor esteemed in Turkey, especially in the Asiatic provinces. The prejudices of the ancient Persians, and of the Tartars, still prevail in those countries, where war, consisting only in flight and pursuit, the horseman, who is best qualified for both these, is reputed the only soldier; and as, among barbarians, the warrior alone is the man of distinction; to walk on foot is held to be degrading, and is, for that reason, reserved for the common people. The Mamlouks, therefore, permit the inhabitants of Egypt to be carried only by mules or asses*, reserving to themselves the exclusive privilege of riding on horseback; and of this they make sufficient use; for whether they are in town or the country, or if they only make a visit to the next door, they are never seen but on horseback. Their dress, as well as the support of their dignity, obliges them to this. This dress, which does not differ from that of every other person in easy circumstances in Turkey, deserves to be described.

Dress of the Mamlouks.

First, they have a wide shirt of thin cotton, of a yellowish colour, over which they wear a sort of gown of Indian linen, or the light stuffs

* The Franks of all nations are subjected to the same humiliating restrictions, but, by proper management, and liberal presents, this may be got over by strangers of consequence, who come only to visit the country. Lord Algernon Percy, now Lord Louvaine, and the Earl of Charlemont, obtained permission to ride on horseback in 1776.—See Colonel Capper's excellent little work, p. 31. T.

of Damascus and Aleppo. This robe, called *autari*, descends from the neck to the ancles, and folds over the fore-part of the body, towards the hips, where it is fastened by two strings. Over this first covering is a second, of the same form and width, the ample sleeves of which descend likewise to the finger ends. This is called a *costan*, and is usually made of silk stuff, richer than the former. Both these are fastened at the waist by a long belt, which divides the whole dress into two bundles. Above them is a third, which is called *djouba*, which is of cloth without lining, and is made nearly in the same manner, only the sleeves are cut at the elbow. In winter, nay frequently even in summer, this *djouba* is lined with fur, and is converted into a pelisse. Lastly, over these three wrappers, they put on an outer garment, called the *beniche*. This is the cloak or robe of ceremony, and completely covers the whole body, even the ends of the fingers, which it would be deemed highly indecent to suffer to appear before the great. The whole habit, when the *beniche* is on, has the appearance of a long sack; from out of which is thrust a bare neck, and a bald head, covered with a turban. The turban of the Mamlouks, called a *Kaouk*, is of a cylindrical shape, yellow, and turned up on the outside with a roll of muslin artificially folded. On their feet, they wear a sock of yellow leather, which reaches up to the heels, and slippers without quarters, always liable to be left on the road. But the most singular part of this dress is a sort of pantaloons, or trousers, so long as to reach up to the chin; and so wide, that each of the

legs is large enough to contain the whole body, and made of that kind of Venetian cloth which the French call *faillie*, which, although as pliant as the *d'Elbauf* cloth, is thicker than the *burre* of Rouen; and that they may walk more at their ease, they fasten, with a running sash, all the loose parts of the dress I have been describing. Thus swaddled, we may imagine the Mamlouks are not very active walkers; and those who are not acquainted by experience with the prejudices of different countries, will find it scarcely possible to believe, what however is the fact, that they look on this dress as exceedingly commodious. In vain may we object that it hinders them from walking, and encumbers them, unnecessarily, on horseback, and that in battle a horseman, once dismounted, is a lost man. They reply, *It is the custom*, and every objection is answered.

Horse accoutrements of the Mamlouks.

Let us now examine whether their horse accoutrements are more rational. Since the Europeans have had the good sense to examine the principles of every art, they have found that the horse, in order to move freely under his rider, should be as little harnessed as the solidity necessary would permit. This improvement, which has taken place among us in the eighteenth century, is still very far from being adopted by the Mamlouks, who have scarcely arrived at the knowledge of the ninth. Continually the slaves of custom, the horse's saddle among them is a clumsy frame, loaded with wood, leather, and iron, on which a trussquin rises behind, eight inches in height

height above the hips of the horseman. A pommel before projects four or five inches, so as to endanger his breast, should he stoop. Under the saddle, instead of a stuffed frame, they spread three thick woollen coverings, and the whole is fastened by a furlingle, which, instead of a buckle, is tied with leather thongs, in very complicated knots, and liable to slip. They use no crupper, but have a large martingale, which throws them on the shoulders of the horse. Each stirrup in a plate of copper longer and wider than the foot, with circular edges, an inch high in the middle, and gradually declining toward each end; the edges are sharp, and are used, instead of spurs, to make long wounds in the horse's sides. The common weight of a pair of these stirrups is between nine and ten pounds, and frequently exceeds twelve or thirteen. The saddle and saddle-cloths do not weigh less than five-and-twenty; thus the horse's furniture weighs above six-and-thirty pounds, which is so much the more ridiculous, as the Egyptian horses are very small.

The bridle is equally ill contrived; it is a kind of snaffle, but without a joint, and with a curb, which, being only an iron ring, binds the jaw so as to lacerate the skin, so that the bars are injured, and the horse absolutely has no mouth. This necessarily results from the practice of the Mamlouks, who, instead of managing the mouth, like us, destroy it by violent and sudden checks, which they employ particularly in a manœuvre peculiar to them. This consists in putting the horse on a full gallop, and suddenly stopping him, when at his highest speed. Checked thus by the

bit, the horse bends in his hind legs, stiffens the fore, and slides along like a horse of wood. How much this manœuvre must injure the legs and mouth may easily be conceived; but the Mamlouks think it graceful, and it is adapted to their mode of fighting. Notwithstanding however their short stirrups, and the perpetual motion of their bodies, it cannot be denied that they are firm and vigorous horsemen, and that they have a warlike appearance, which pleases the eye even of a stranger; it must also be allowed, they have shewn more judgment in the choice of their arms.

Arms of the Mamlouks.

Their principal weapon is an English carbine about thirty inches long, and of so large a bore as to discharge ten or twelve balls at a time, which, even without skill, cannot fail of great execution.— They besides carry at their belt two large pistols, which are fastened to some part of their garments by a silk string. At the bow of the saddle sometimes hangs a heavy mace, to knock down their enemy, and on the left thigh is suspended by a shoulder-belt, a crooked sabre, of a kind little known in Europe; the length of the blade, in a right line, from the hilt to the point, is not more than twenty-four inches, but measured in the curve is at least thirty. This form, which appears whimsical to us, has not been adopted without motives; experience teaches us, that the effect of a straight blade is limited to the place and moment of its fall, as it acts merely from pressure: a crooked blade, on the contrary, presenting its edge in retiring

arm, and continues its action longer. The barbarians, who generally apply themselves most to the destructive arts, have not suffered this observation to escape them; and hence the use of scymetars, so general and so ancient in the Eastern world. The Mamlouks commonly procure theirs from Constantinople, and from Europe; but the Beys rival each other in Persian blades, and in sabres of the ancient steel of Damascus*, for which they frequently pay as high as forty or fifty pounds sterling. The qualities they esteem in them are lightness, the equality and ring of the temper, the waving of the iron, and, above all, the keenness of the edge, which it must be allowed is exquisite; but these blades have the defect of being as brittle as glass.

Education and Exercises of the Mamlouks.

The art of using these arms constitutes the education of the Mamlouks, and the whole occupation of their lives. Every day, early in the morning, the greater part of them resort to a plain, without Cairo, and there, riding full speed, exercise themselves in drawing out their carbine expeditiously from the bandoleer, discharging it with good aim, and then throwing it under their thigh, to seize a pistol, which they fire and throw over their shoulders; immediately firing a second, and throwing it in the same manner, trusting to the string by which they are fastened, without losing time to return them to their place. The Beys

and whoever breaks the earthen vessel which serves by way of butt, receives great recommendations and money, as a recompence. They practise also the management of the sabre, and especially the *coup de revers* which cuts upwards, and is the most difficult to parry. Their blades are so keen, and they handle them so well, that many of them can cut a clew of wet cotton, like a piece of butter. They likewise shoot with bows and arrows, though they no longer use them in battle; but their favourite exercise is throwing the *djerid*: this word, which properly means a reed, is generally used to signify any staff thrown by the hand, after the manner of the Roman pilum. Instead of a staff, the Mamlouks make use of branches of the palm-tree, fresh stripped. These branches, which have the form of the stalk of an artichoke, are four feet long, and weigh five or six pounds. Armed with these, the cavaliers enter the lists, and, riding full speed, throw them at each other from a considerable distance. The assailant, as soon as he has thrown, turns his horse, and his antagonist pursues, and throws his in his turn. The horses, accustomed to this exercise, second their masters so well, that they seem also to share in the pleasure. But this pleasure is attended with danger; for some can dart this weapon with so much force, as frequently to wound, and sometimes mortally. Ill-fated was the man who could not escape the *djerid* of Ali Bey! These sports, which to us seem barbarous, are intimately connected with the poli-

* I say ancient, for steel is now no longer made there.

tical state of nations. Not three centuries ago they existed among ourselves, and their being laid aside is less owing to the accident of Henry the Second, or to a spirit of philosophy, than to the state of internal peace which has rendered them useless. Among the Turks and Mamlouks, on the contrary, they are retained, because the anarchy in which they live continues to render whatever relates to the art of war absolutely necessary. Let us now consider whether their progress in this art be proportionate to their practice.

Military Skill of the Mamlouks.

In Europe, when we hear of troops, and of war, we immediately figure to ourselves a number of men distributed into companies, battalions, and squadrons; with uniforms well fitted, and of different colours, ranks and lines formed, combinations of particular manœuvres, or general evolutions; and, in a word, a complete system of operations founded on established principles. These ideas are just, relative to ourselves, but, when applied to the countries of which we are treating, are erroneous indeed. The Mamlouks know nothing of our military arts; they have neither uniforms, nor order, nor discipline, nor even subordination. Their troops are a mob, their march a riot, their battles duels, and their war a scene of robbery and plunder, which ordinarily begins even in the very city of Cairo; and, at the moment when there is the least reason to expect it. A cabal gathers together, the Beys mount on horseback, the alarm spreads, and their adversaries appear: they charge

each other in the street, sabre in hand; a few murders decide the quarrel, and the weakest or most timid is exiled. The people are mere cyphers in these affrays. Of what importance is it to them that their tyrants cut each others throats? But it must not be imagined that they stand by indifferent spectators, that would be too dangerous in the midst of bullets and scymetars: every one makes his escape from the scene of action till tranquillity is restored. Sometimes the populace pillage the houses of the exiled, which the conquerors never attempt to prevent. And it will not be improper here to observe, that the phrases employed in the European Gazettes, such as "*The Beys have raised recruits, the Beys have excited the people to revolt, the Beys have favoured one party,*" are ill calculated to furnish accurate ideas. In the differences of the Beys, the people are never any thing more than mere passive instruments.

Sometimes the war is transferred to the country, but the art and conduct of the combatants is not more conspicuous. The strongest, or most daring party pursues the other. If they are equal in courage, they wait for each other, or appoint a rendezvous, where, without regarding the advantage of situation, the respective troops assemble in platoons, the boldest marching at their head. They advance towards their enemies, mutual defiance passes, the attack begins, and every one chooses his man: they fire, if they can, and presently fall on with the sabre: it is then the manageableness of the horse and dexterity of the cavalier are displayed. If the former fails, the destruction of the latter is inevitable. In defeats, the valets, who

who are always present, remount their masters; and if there are no witnesses near, frequently knock them on the head to obtain the sequins they never fail to carry. The battle is often decided by the death of two or three of the combatants. Of late years, especially, the Mamlouks seem convinced, that as their patrons are the persons principally interested, they ought to encounter the greatest dangers, and therefore presently leave them the enjoyment of that honour. If they gain the advantage, so much the better for all concerned; if they are overcome, they capitulate with the conqueror, who frequently makes his conditions before hand. There is nothing to be gained but by remaining quiet; they are sure of finding a master who pays, and they return to Cairo to live at his expence until some new revolution takes place.

Discipline of the Mamlouks.

The interested and inconstant character of this militia, is a necessary consequence of its origin and constitution. The young peasant, sold in Mingrelia or Georgia, no sooner arrives in Egypt, than his ideas undergo a total alteration. A new and extraordinary scene opens before him, where every thing conduces to awaken his audacity and ambition; though now a slave, he seems destined to become a master, and already assumes the spirit of his future condition. He calculates how far he is necessary to his patron, and obliges him to purchase his services and his zeal; these he measures by the salary he receives, or that which he expects; and as in such states money is the

only motive, the chief attention of the master is to satisfy the avidity of his servants, in order to secure their attachment. Hence that prodigality of the Beys, so ruinous to Egypt, which they pillage; that want of subordination in the Mamlouks, so fatal to the chiefs whom they despoil; and those intrigues, which never cease to agitate the whole nation. No sooner is a slave enfranchised than he aspires to the principal employments; and, who is to oppose his pretensions? In those who command, he discovers no superiority of talents which can impress him with respect; in them he only sees soldiers like himself, arrived at power by *the decrees of fate*, and if it please fate to favour him, he will attain it also, nor will he be less able in the art of governing, which consists only in taking money, and giving blows with the sabre.

From this system also has arisen an unbridled luxury, which, indulging the gratification of every imaginary want, has opened an unlimited field to the rapacity of the great. This luxury is so excessive, that there is not a Mamlouk, whose maintenance costs less than twenty-five hundred livres (a hundred and four pounds) annually, and many of them cost double that sum. At every return of the Ramadan, they must have a new suit, French and Venetian cloths, and Damascus and India stuffs. They must often likewise be provided with new horses and harness. They must have pistols and sabres from Damascus, gilt stirrups, and saddles and bridles plated with silver. The chiefs, to distinguish them from the vulgar, must have trinkets, precious stones, Arabian horses of two or three hundred pounds value, shawls of

Cashmere,

Cashmere, worth from five-and-twenty to fifty pounds each, and a variety of pelisses, the cheapest of which cost above twenty pounds*. The women have rejected the ancient custom of wearing sequins on the head and breast, as not sufficiently splendid and costly, and in their stead have substituted diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and the finest pearls; and to their fondness of shawls and furs, have added a passion for Lyons stuffs and laces. When such luxuries are become the necessities of those whose authority is without controul, and who neither respect the rights of property, nor the life of their inferiors, it is easy to conceive what must be the condition of their subjects who are obliged to furnish them with whatever their caprice may require.

they commit, perfidious from frequent cabals, seditious from tumults, and base, deceitful, and corrupted by every species of debauchery. They are, above all, addicted to that abominable wickedness which was at all times the vice of the Greeks and of the Tartars, and is the first lesson they receive from their masters. It is difficult to account for this taste, when we consider that they all have women, unless we suppose they seek, in one sex, that poignancy of refusal which they do not permit the other. It is however very certain, that there is not a single Mamlouk but is polluted by this depravity; and the contagion is spread among the inhabitants of Cairo, and even the Christians of Syria who reside in that city.

Manners of the Mamlouks.

The manners of the Mamlouks are such, that though I shall strictly adhere to truth, I am almost afraid I shall be suspected of prejudice and exaggeration. Born for the most part in the rites of the Greek church, and circumcised the moment they are bought, they are considered by the Turks themselves as renegadoes, void of faith and of religion. Strangers to each other, they are not bound by those natural ties which unite the rest of mankind. Without parents, without children, the past has done nothing for them, and they do nothing for the future. Ignorant and superstitious from education, they become ferocious from the murders

Government of the Mamlouks.

Such are the men who at present govern and decide the fate of Egypt: a few lucky strokes of the sabre, a greater portion of cunning, or audacity, have conferred on them this pre-eminence; but it is not to be imagined that in changing fortune these upstarts change their character; they have still the meanness of slaves, though advanced to the rank of monarchs. Sovereignty with them is not the difficult art of directing to one common object the various passions of a numerous society, but only the means of possessing more women, more toys, horses, and slaves, and satisfying all their caprices. The whole administration, internal and external,

* The European Merchants, who have adopted this luxury, do not think they have a decent wardrobe, unless its value exceeds twelve or fifteen thousand livres (five or six hundred pounds.)

is conducted on this principle. It consists in managing the court of Constantinople, so as to elude the tribute or the menaces of the sultan; and in purchasing a number of slaves, multiplying partisans, countermining plots, and destroying their secret enemies by the dagger, or by poison. Ever tortured by the anxiety of suspicion, the chiefs live like the ancient tyrants of Syracuse. Morad and Ibrahim sleep continually in the midst of carbines and sabres, nor have they any idea of police or public order*. Their only employment is to procure money; and the method considered as the most simple, is to seize it wherever it is to be found, to wrest it by violence from its possessor, and to impose arbitrary contributions every moment on the villages and on the custom-house, which, in its turn, levies them again upon commerce.

A particular account of the government of the Druzes, a People of Syria.—From the same Work.

THE Druzes, as well as the Maronites, may be divided into two classes, the common people, and the people of eminence and property, distinguished by the title of Shaiks and Emirs, or descendants of princes. The greater part are cultivators, either as farmers or proprietors; every man

lives on his inheritance, improving his mulberry-trees and vineyards; in some districts they grow tobacco, cotton, and some grain, but the quantity of these is inconsiderable. It appears that, at first, all the lands were, as formerly in Europe, in the hands of a small number of families. But to render them productive, the great proprietors were forced to sell part of them, and let leases, which subdivision is become the chief source of the power of the state, by multiplying the number of persons interested in the public weal: there still exists, however, some traces of the original inequality, which even at this day produces pernicious effects. The great property possessed by some families, gives them too much influence in all the measures of the nations; and their private interests have too great weight in every public transaction. Their history, for some years back, affords sufficient proofs of this; since all the civil or foreign wars in which they have been engaged have originated in the ambition and personal views of some of the principal families, such as the Lesbaks, the Djabelats, the Ismaels of Solyma, &c. The Shaiks of these houses, who alone possess one tenth part of the country, procure creatures by their money, and, at last, involved all the Druzes in their dissensions. It must be owned, however, that, possibly, to this conflict between

*When I was at Cairo, some Mamlouks carried off the wife of a Jew, who was passing the Nile with her husband. The Jew having complained to Morad, that Bey replied in his rough tone of voice: *Well let the young folks amuse themselves!* In the evening the Mamlouks acquainted the Jew that they would restore him his wife if he would pay them one hundred piastres for their trouble; and to this he was obliged to submit. This instance is the more in point, since in this country women are held more sacred than life itself.

contending

contending parties the whole nation owes the good fortune of never having been enslaved by its chief.

This chief, called *Hakem*, or governor, also Emir, or Prince, is a sort of a king, or general, who unites in his own person the civil and military powers. His dignity is sometimes transmitted from father to son, sometimes from one brother to another, and the succession is determined by force rather than any certain laws. Females can in no case pretend to this inheritance. They are already excluded from succession in civil affairs, and, consequently, can still less expect it in political: in general, the Asiatic governments are too turbulent, and their administration renders military talents too necessary to admit of the sovereignty of women. Among the Druzes, the male line of any family being extinguished, the government devolves to him who is in possession of the greatest number of suffrages and resources. But the first step is to obtain the approbation of the Turks, of whom he becomes the vassal and tributary. It even happens, that not unfrequently to assert their supremacy, they name the *Hakem* contrary to the wishes of the nation, as in the case of Ismael Hasbeya, raised to that dignity by Djezzar; but this constraint lasts no longer than it is maintained by that violence which gave it birth. The office of the governor is to watch over the good order of the state, and to prevent the Emirs, Shaiks, and villages, from making war on each other; in case of disobedience, he may employ force. He is also at the head of the civil power, and names the Cadis, only, always reserving to

himself the power of life and death. He collects the tribute, from which he annually pays to the Pacha a stated sum. This tribute varies, in proportion as the nation renders itself more or less formidable: at the beginning of this century, it amounted to one hundred and sixty purses, (eight thousand three hundred and thirty pounds), but Melhem forced the Turks to reduce it to sixty. In 1784, Emir Yousef paid eighty and promised ninety. This tribute, which is called *Miri*, is imposed on the mulberry-trees, vineyards, cotton, and grain. All sown land pays in proportion to its extent; every foot of mulberries is taxed at three Medins, or three Sols, nine Deniers, (not quite twopence). A hundred feet of vineyard pays a Piafter, or forty Medins, and fresh measurements are often made, to preserve a just proportion. The Shaiks and Emirs have no exemption in this respect, and it may be truly said, they contribute to the public stock in proportion to their fortune. The collection is made almost without expence. Each man pays his contingent at Dair-el-Kamer, if he pleases, or to the collectors of the prince who make a circuit round the country after the crop of silks. The surplus of this tribute is for the prince, so that it is his interest to reduce the demands of the Turks, as it would be likewise to augment the impost; but this measure requires the sanction of the Shaiks, who have the privilege of opposing it. Their consent is necessary, likewise, for peace and war. In these cases, the Emir must convoke general assemblies, and lay before them the state of his affairs. There, every Shaik,

Shaikh, and every peasant who has any reputation for courage or understanding, is entitled to give his suffrage, so that this government may be considered as a well proportioned mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Every thing depends on circumstances: if the governor be a man of ability, he is absolute; if weak, a cypher. This proceeds from the want of fixed laws; a want common to all Asia, and the radical cause of all the disorders in the governments of the Asiatic nations.

Neither the chief, nor the individual Emirs, maintain troops; they have only persons attached to the domestic service of their houses, and a few black slaves. When the nation makes war, every man, whether Shaikh or Peasant, able to bear arms, is called upon to march. He takes with him a little bag of flour, a musket, some bullets, a small quantity of powder, made in his village, and repairs to the rendezvous appointed by the governor. If it be a civil war, as sometimes happens, the servants, the farmers, and their friends, take up arms for their patron, or the chief of their family, and repair to his standard. In such cases, the parties irritated, frequently seem on the point of proceeding to the last extremities; but they seldom have recourse to acts of violence, or attempt the death of each other; mediators always interpose, and the quarrel is appeased the more readily as each patron is obliged to provide his followers with provisions and ammunition. This system, which produces happy effects in civil troubles, is attended with great inconvenience in foreign wars, as sufficiently appeared in that of 1784. Djeddar, who knew that the whole

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army lived at the expense of the Emir Youssef, aimed at nothing but delay, and the Druzes, who were not displeased at being fed for doing nothing, prolonged the operations; but the Emir, wearied of paying, concluded a treaty, the terms of which were not a little rigorous for him, and eventually for the whole nation, since nothing is more certain than that the interests of a prince and his subjects are always inseparable.

The ceremonies to which I have been a witness on these occasions, bear a striking resemblance to the customs of ancient times. When the Emir and the Shaiks had determined on war, at Dair-el-Kamar, criers in the evening ascended the summits of the mountain; and there began to cry with a loud voice: *To war, to war; take your guns, take your pistols: noble Shaiks, mount your horses; arm yourselves with the lance and sabre; rendezvous to-morrow at Dair-el-Kamar. Zeal of God! zeal of combats!* This summons heard from the neighbouring villages, was repeated there, and, as the whole country is nothing but a chain of lofty mountains and deep vallies, the proclamation passed in a few hours to the frontiers. These voices, from the stillness of the night, the long resounding echoes, and the nature of the subject, had something awful and terrible in their effect. Three days after, fifteen thousand armed men rendezvoused at Dair-el-Kamar, and operations might have been immediately commenced.

We may easily imagine the troops of this kind no way resemble our European soldiers; they have neither uniforms, nor discipline, nor order. They are a crowd of peasants with short coats, naked legs,

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and muskets in their hands; differing from the Turks and Mamlouks, in that they are all foot; the Shaiks and Emirs alone having horses, which are of little use from the rugged nature of the country. War there can only be a war of posts.—The Druzes never risk themselves in the plain, and with reason, for they would be unable to stand the shock of cavalry, having no bayonets to their muskets. Their whole art consists in climbing rocks, creeping among the bushes and blocks of stone, from whence their fire is the more dangerous; as they are covered, fire at their ease, and by hunting, and military sports, have acquired the habit of hitting a mark with great dexterity. They are accustomed to sudden inroads, attacks by night, ambuscades, and all these *coups de main*, which require to fall suddenly on, and come to close fight with the enemy. Ardent in improving their success, easily dispirited, and prompt to resume their courage; daring even to temerity, and sometimes ferocious, they possess, above all, two qualities essential to the excellency of any troops; they strictly obey their leaders, and are endowed with a temperance and vigour of health, at this day unknown to most civilized nations.—In the campaign of 1784, they passed three months in the open air, without tents, or any other covering than a sheep-skin; yet were there not more deaths or maladies than if they had remained in their houses. Their provisions consisted, as at other times, of small loaves baked on the ashes, or on a brick,

raw onions, cheese, olives, fruits, and a little wine. The table of the chiefs was almost as frugal, and we may affirm, that they subsisted a hundred days, on what the same number of Englishmen or Frenchmen would not have lived ten.—They have no knowledge of the science of fortification, the management of artillery, or encampments, nor, in a word, any thing which constitutes the art of war. But, had they among them a few persons versed in military science, they would readily acquire its principles, and become a formidable soldiery. This would be the more easily effected, as their mulberry plantations and vineyards do not occupy them all the year, and they could afford much time for military exercises*.

By the last estimates, it appears the number of men able to bear arms was forty thousand, which supposes a total population of a hundred and twenty thousand; no addition is to be made to this calculation, since there are no Druzes in the cities or on the coast. As the whole country contains only one hundred and ten square leagues, there results for every league one thousand and ninety persons; which is equal to the population of our richest provinces. To render this more remarkable, it must be observed that the soil is not fertile, that a great many eminences remain uncultivated, that they do not grow corn enough to support themselves three months in the year, that they have no manufactures, and that all their exportations are confined

* In this leisure time, when the crop of silk is over in Lebanon, a great many peasants, like our inhabitants of the Limousin, leave the mountains to get in the harvests in the plains.

to silks and cottons, the balance of which exceeds very little the importation of corn from the Hauran, the oils of Palastine, and the rice and coffee they procure from Bairout.—Whence arises then such a number of inhabitants, within so small a space? I can discover no other cause, than that ray of liberty which glimmers in this country. Unlike the Turks, every man lives in a perfect security of his life and property. The peasant is not richer than in other countries; but he is free, “he fears not,” as I have often heard them say, “that the Aga, the Kaimmakam, or the Pachas, should send their Digendis*, to pillage his house, carry off his family, or give him the bastinado.” Such oppressions are unknown among these mountains. Security, therefore, has been the original cause of population, from that inherent desire which all men have to multiply themselves wherever they find an easy subsistence. The frugality of the nation, which is content with little, has been a secondary, and not less powerful reason; and a third, is the emigration of a number of Christian families, who daily desert the Turkish provinces to settle in Mount Lebanon, where they are received with open arms by the Maronites, from similarity of religion, and by the Druzes from principles of toleration, and a conviction how much it is the interest of every country to multiply the number of its cultivators, consumers, and allies. They all live quietly together; but I cannot help adding, that the Christians frequently display an indiscreet and med-

dling zeal, too well calculated to disturb this tranquillity.

The comparison, which the Druzes often having an opportunity of making, between their situation and that of other subjects of the Turkish government, has given them an advantageous opinion of their superiority, which, by a natural effect, has an influence on their personal character. Exempt from the violence and insults of despotism, they consider themselves as more perfect than their neighbours, because they have the good fortune not to be equally debased. Hence they acquire a character more elevated, energetic, and active; in short a genuine republican spirit. They are considered throughout the Levant as restless, enterprising, hardy, and brave even to temerity. Only three hundred of them have been seen to enter Damascus in open day, and spread around them terror and carnage. It is remarkable, that though their form of government is nearly similar, the Maronites do not possess these qualities to the same degree. Enquiring the reason, one day in a company where this observation was made, in consequence of some recent events, an old Maronite, after a moment's silence, taking his pipe from his mouth, and curling his beard round his fingers, made answer, “Perhaps the Druzes would be more afraid of death, did they believe in a future state.” Nor are they great preachers of that morality which consists in pardoning injuries. No people are more nice than they with respect to the point of honour; any offence of that kind, or open

* Soldiers.

insult, is instantly punished by blows of the kandjur or the musket; while among the inhabitants of the towns, it only excites injurious retorts. This delicacy has occasioned in their manners and discourse, a reserve, or, if you will, a politeness, which one is astonished to discover among peasants. It is carried even to dissimulation and falsehood, especially among the chiefs, whose greater interests demand greater attentions. Circumspection is necessary to all, from the formidable consequences of that retaliation of which I have spoken. These customs may appear barbarous to us; but they have the merit of supplying the deficiency of regular justice, which is necessarily tedious and uncertain in these disorderly and almost anarchical governments.

The Druzes have another point of honour: that of hospitality. Whoever presents himself at their door in the quality of a suppliant or passenger, is sure of being entertained with lodging and food, in the most generous and unaffected manner. I have often seen the lowest peasants give the last morsel of bread they had in their houses to the hungry traveller; and when I observed to them that they wanted prudence, their answer was: "God is liberal and great, and all men are brethren." There are, therefore, no inns in this country, any more than in the rest of Turkey. When they have once contracted with their

guests, the sacred engagement of *bread and salt*, no subsequent event can make them violate it: various instances of this are related, which do honour to their character. A few years ago, an Aga of the Janissaries, having been engaged in a rebellion, fled from Damascus, and retired among the Druzes. The Pacha was informed of this, and demanded him of the Emir, threatening to make war on him in case of refusal. The Emir demanded him of the Shaik Talhouk, who had received him; but the indignant Shaik replied, "When have you known the Druzes deliver up their guests? Tell the Emir, that, as long as Talhouk shall preserve his beard, not a hair of the head of his suppliant shall fall!" The Emir threatened him with force; Talhouk armed his family. The Emir, dreading a revolt, adopted a method practised as juridical in that country. He declared to the Shaik, that he would cut down fifty mulberry-trees a day, until he should give up the Aga. He proceeded as far as a thousand, and Talhouk still remained inflexible. At length, the other Shaiks, enraged, took up the quarrel, and the commotion was about to become general, when the Aga, reproaching himself with being the cause of so much mischief, made his escape, without the knowledge even of Talhouk*.

The Druzes have also the prejudices

* I have found in an Arabic manuscript, another anecdote, which, though foreign to my present subject, I think too excellent to be omitted.

"In the time of the Califs," says the author, "when Abdalah, the *shedder of blood*, had murdered every descendant of Ommiah within his reach, one of that family, named Ibrahim, the son of Soliman, son of Abd-el-Malek, had the good fortune to escape, and reach Koufa, which he entered in disguise. Knowing no person in whom he could confide, he sat down under the portico of a large

judices of the Bedquins respecting birth; like them, they pay great respect to the antiquity of families; but this produces no essential inconveniencies. The nobility of the Emirs and Shaiks does not exempt them from paying tribute, in proportion to their revenues. It confers on them no prerogatives, either in the attainment of landed property, or public employments. In this country, no more than in all Turkey, are they acquainted with game-laws, or glebes, or feigniorial, or ecclesiastical tithes, franc fiefs or alienation fines; every thing is held, as I have said, in freehold: every man, after paying his miri and his rent, is master of his property. In short, by a particular privilege, the Druzes and Maronites pay no fine for their succession; nor does the Emir, like the Sultan, arrogate to himself original and universal property: there exists, nevertheless, in the law of in-

heritance, an imperfection which produces disagreeable effects. Fathers have, as in the Roman law, the power of preferring such of their children as they think proper; hence it has happened, in several families of the Shaiks, that the whole property has centered in the same person, who has perverted it to the purpose of intriguing and caballing, while his relations remain, as they well express it, *princes of olives and cheese*; that is to say, poor as peasants.

In consequence of their prejudices, the Druzes do not choose to make alliances out of their own families. They invariably prefer their relation, though poor, to a rich stranger; and poor peasants have been known to refuse their daughters to merchants of Saïde and Bairout, who possessed from twelve to fifteen thousand piastres. They observe also, to a certain degree, the custom of the Hebrews, which directed that a brother

“ a large house. Soon after the master arriving, followed by several servants, alighted from his horse, entered, and, seeing the stranger, asked him who he was. I am an unfortunate man, replies Ibrahim, and request from thee an asylum. God protect thee, said the rich man; enter, and remain in peace. Ibrahim lived several months in this house, without being questioned by his host. But, astonished to see him every day go out on horseback, and return, at the same hour, he ventured one day to enquire the reason—I have been informed, replied the rich man, that a person named Ibrahim, the son of Soliman, is concealed in this town; he has slain my father, and I am searching for him to retaliate.—Then I knew, said Ibrahim, that God had purposely conducted me to that place; I adored his decree, and resigning myself to death, I answered,—God has determined to avenge thee, offended man; thy victim is at thy feet. The rich man, astonished, replied,—O! stranger! I see thy misfortunes have made thee weary of life; thou seekest to lose it, but my hand cannot commit such a crime.—I do not deceive thee, said Ibrahim; thy father was such a one; we met each other in such a place, and the affair happened in such and such a manner.” A violent trembling then seized the rich man; his teeth chattered as if from intense cold; his eyes alternately sparkled with fury and overflowed with tears. In this agitation, he remained a long time; at length, turning to Ibrahim—To-morrow, said he, destiny shall join thee to my father, and God will have retaliated. But as for me, how can I violate the asylum of my house? Wretched stranger, fly from my presence! There, take these hundred sequins: be-gone quickly, and let me never behold thee more!

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should espouse his brother's widow ; but this is not peculiar to them ; for they retain that as well as several other customs of that ancient people, in common with other inhabitants of Syria, and all the Arab tribes.

In short, the proper and distinctive character of the Druzes is, as I have said, a sort of republican spirit, which gives them more energy than any other subjects of the Turkish government, and an indifference for religion, which forms a striking contrast with the zeal of the Mahometans and Christians. In other respects, their private life, their customs and prejudices, are the same with other Orientals. They may marry several wives, and repudiate them when they chuse ; but, except by the Emir and a few men of eminence, that is rarely practised. Occupied with their rural labours, they experience neither artificial wants, nor those inordinate passions, which are produced by the idleness of the inhabitants of cities and towns. The veil, worn by their women, is of itself a preservative against those desires which are the occasion of so many evils in society. No man knows the face of any other woman than his wife, his mother, his sister, and sisters-in-law. Every man lives in the bosom of his own family, and goes little abroad. The women, those even of the Shaiks, make the bread, roast the coffee, wash the linen, cook the victuals, and perform all domestic offices. The men cultivate their lands and vineyards, and dig canals for watering them. In the evening they sometimes assemble in the court, the tea, or house of the chief of the village or family. There seated in a circle, with legs crossed,

pipes in their mouths, and poinards at their belts, they discourse of their various labours, the scarcity, or plenty of their harvests, peace or war, the conduct of the Emir, or the amount of the taxes ; they relate past transactions, discuss present interests, and form conjectures on the future. Their children, tired with play, come frequently to listen ; and a stranger is surprised to hear them, at ten or twelve years old, recounting, with a serious air, why Djezzar declared war against the Emir Youséf, how many purses it cost that prince, what augmentation there will be of the miri, how many muskets there were in the camp, and who had the best mare. This is their only education. They are neither taught to read the psalms, as among the Maronites, nor the Koran, like the Mahometans ; hardly do the Shaiks know how to write a letter. But if their mind be destitute of useful or agreeable information, at least, it is not pre-occupied by false and hurtful ideas ; and, without doubt, such natural ignorance is well worth all our artificial folly. This advantage results from it, that their understandings being nearly on a level, the inequality of conditions is less perceptible. For, in fact, we do not perceive among the Druzes that great distance which, in most other societies, degrades the inferior, without contributing to the advantage of the great. All, whether Shaiks or peasants, treat each other with that rational familiarity, which is equally remote from rudeness and servility. The grand Emir himself is not a different man from the rest : he is a good country gentleman, who does not disdain admitting to his table the meanest farmer. In a word,

word, their manners are those of ancient times, and that rustic life, which marks the origin of every nation; and prove the people among whom they are still found are, as yet, only in the infancy of the social state.

Remarkable Speech of Logan, a Min-go Chief to Lord Dunmore, when Governor of Virginia.—Extracted from Mr. Jefferson's Observations on Buffon's remarks on the Indians of North America.

In order to the better understanding of the following Speech, Mr. Jefferson introduces it by first stating the following Circumstances which gave Rise to it.

“ **I**N the spring of the year 1774, a robbery and murder were committed on an inhabitant of the frontiers of that state, by two Indians of the Shawanee tribe. The neighbouring whites, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Col. Cresap, a man infamous for the many murders he had committed on those much-injured people, collected a party, and proceeded down the Kanhaway in quest of vengeance. Unfortunately a canoe of women and children, with one man only, was seen coming from the opposite shore, unarmed, and unsuspecting a hostile attack from the whites. Cresap and his party concealed themselves on the bank of the river, and the moment the canoe reached the shore, singled out their objects, and, at one fire, killed every person in it.—This happened to be the family of Logan, who had long been distinguished as a friend of the whites. This

unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year, a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated, and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be seen among the suplicants. But, lest the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent by a messenger the following speech, to be delivered to Lord Dunmore.”

‘I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan’s cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, ‘Logan is the friend of white men.’ I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man, Col. Cresap, the last spring in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance.—For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life.—Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one.’

The Story of Angelica.—From a philosophical, historical, and moral Essay on Old Maids, by a Friend to the Sisterhood.

“**A**NGELICA was the only child of a worthy gentleman, who having lost his wife, and dying himself during the infancy of his daughter, left her, with an estate of about a thousand a year, to the care of his most intimate friend, a man of great integrity and benevolence, with a moderate fortune and a numerous family. Angelica grew up in the most affectionate intimacy with all the children of her excellent guardian; but her favourite friend was his eldest daughter, whom we will call Faustina. She was born in the same year with Angelica, and possessed the same intelligent sweetness of temper, with the additional advantages of a beautiful countenance and a majestic person. Angelica had never any claim to either of these perfections: her stature was rather below the common size, and her features, though softened by modesty, and animated by a lively understanding, were neither regular nor handsome; but, from the tenor of her life, it may be questioned, if any female ever possessed a more beautiful soul. At the age of twenty-three she continued to reside in the house of her guardian, when a young man of a pleasing person and most engaging manners, to whom we will give the name of Eumenes, became a very assiduous visitor at the house. He was a man of the fairest character, but of a narrow fortune; and many good people, who supposed him enamoured of Angelica's estate, began to censure the guardian of that lady for encouraging the preliminary steps to so

unequal a match; they even foretold, as Eumenes was particularly attentive to Angelica, and often alone with her, that the young gentleman would soon settle himself in life, by eloping with the heiress. Her guardian, who governed all his household by gentleness and affection, had too much confidence in his ward to apprehend such an event: but he began to think, that a serious and mutual passion was taking root in the bosom of each party; an opinion in which he was confirmed, by observing, that while his daughter was engaged in a distant visit of some weeks, Eumenes continued to frequent the house with his usual assiduity, and seemed to court the society of Angelica. The old gentleman was, however, mistaken in one part of his conjecture; for Eumenes only sought the company of Angelica as the sensible and pleasing friend of his absent favourite: but as he had not yet confessed his love, the gentle Angelica, like her guardian, misinterpreted his assiduity, and conceived for him the tenderest affection; which with her usual frankness, she determined to impart to her dear Faustina, as soon as she returned. From this resolution she was accidentally diverted by a joyous confusion, which, discovered itself both in the features and behaviour of Faustina, who, on the very day of her return, eagerly put a letter into the hand of Angelica, and requested her to read it in her chamber, while she flew to converse in private with her father on its important contents. The letter was from Eumenes. It contained a passionate declaration of his attachment to Faustina, and a very romantic plan to facilitate their speedy marriage. What the feelings of Angelica

lica must have been in the perusal of this letter, I shall leave the lively female imagination to suppose, and only say, that, having subdued all traces of her own painful emotion before Faustina had finished her conference with her father, she entered their apartment. She found her friend in tears, and the benevolent old gentleman endeavouring to make his agitated daughter smile again, by treating the proposal as a jest, and declaring that he would consent to the union of two tender romantic lovers, as soon as they could marry without a prospect of starving; which, he said, from the expectations of Eumenes, they might possibly accomplish in the course of twenty years. The generous Angelica instantly became the patroness of Eumenes and Faustina; she interceded for their being immediately allowed to form the happiness of each other, and, to obviate every parental objection to the match, she insisted on settling half her fortune upon them, with a proposal of becoming a part of their family.

The guardian of Angelica treated her romantic idea with a mixture of admiration and ridicule: Eumenes and Faustina regarded it with the most serious gratitude, but at the same time rejected the too generous offer, with a resolution so noble and sincere, that it increased the ardent desire which Angelica felt, to make her own easy fortune the sole instrument of their general happiness: but all her liberal efforts for this purpose were as liberally opposed, and all she could obtain was a promise from her guardian, to allow the lovers to cherish their affection for each other, and to marry as soon as

Eumenes, who had just taken orders, should obtain preferment sufficient to support a wife. This, however, was an event which the worthy father of Faustina had not the happiness of seeing: he died in the following year; and Angelica, who had no longer any controller to apprehend in the management of her fortune, renewed her former generous proposal to her friends. They persevered in their magnanimous refusal of her bounty, though some family circumstances made them peculiarly anxious to settle together as soon as possible, on any slender provision. An event, however, soon happened, which enabled them to marry without any trespass on the rules of economical discretion. Eumenes was unexpectedly presented to one of the most valuable livings in the kingdom, by a nobleman, who professed to give it him in consequence of a juvenile and almost forgotten friendship with his deceased father. This surprising stroke of good fortune made the lovers and their sympathetic friend completely happy. The wedding was soon adjusted. Angelica settled herself in a pleasant villa, within a few miles of the wealthy rector; who was surrounded in a few years with a very promising family: she shared, and contributed not a little to the happiness of her friends, being frequently at their house; and when she returned to her own, being constantly accompanied by one or two of the little ones. She had a peculiar delight, and was singularly skilful in the cultivation of young minds. She rejected several offers of marriage, and her general answer was, that she would never change her state, because she already enjoyed the highest pleasure that human life can

can bestow, in the share which her friends allowed her to take in the education of their lovely children. Eumenes and Faustina vied with each other in doing justice to the virtues and talents of this admirable woman, and, through many years of the most familiar and friendly intercourse with her, they continued to regard her with increasing esteem; yet she had some secret merits, to which they were utter strangers, till death had robbed them for ever of her engaging society.

About four years ago the excellent Angelica contracted an epidemical fever, and departed to a better world, at the age of forty-seven. She left the bulk of her fortune to be divided equally among the children of Faustina; and there was found, in a little cabinet which contained her will, the following extraordinary letter to that lady:

“ My very dear friend,

“ Having enjoyed your entire confidence from our infancy, I think myself bound to apologize to you, for having returned it, during several years, with disguise and delusion. Be not startled at this surprising intelligence—but why do I say startled? the moments for such terror will be past, and you will be able to feel only a melancholy tenderness towards your beloved Angelica, when you read this paper, as it is not to reach you till she is no more: perhaps it may never reach you; yet I hope it will. I pray to Heaven that you may survive me, and in that comfortable expectation I shall here pour forth to you my whole heart.

You may remember, that when we were first enlivened by the acquaint-

tance of Eumenes, I was frequently rallied on his attention to me: as that attention was sufficient to mislead the vanity of any girl, I need not blush in confessing to you its effect upon me—I forgot, in your absence, the superiority of your attractions, and, credulously supposing that the affection of Eumenes was settled on myself, I hastily gave him my heart. As I never designed, however, that this foolish heart should hide any of its foibles from my Faustina, I was preparing to tell you the true state of it, when you imparted to me the surprising important letter, which declared the wiser choice of Eumenes. Yes, my dear, I say sincerely, the wiser choice, and shall prove it so. Remember that I am now speaking as from the grave, and you will not suspect me of flattery. But to return to that heart-searching letter. I will confess to you, that I wept bitterly for some minutes, as soon as I had first perused it. I felt as foolish as a child, who, having built for the first time a castle of cards, sees it suddenly overthrown. But my heart soon corrected the errors of my vain imagination: I began to commune with my own soul; I said to myself, why am I thus mortified? what is my wish? is it not to see and to make Eumenes happy? and is not this still in my power? not, indeed, as a wife, since he has judiciously chosen a lovely girl, much more likely to succeed in that character; but still as the friend of two excellent creatures, formed for each other, and equally dear to me. It was thus I reasoned with myself. My benevolence and my pride were highly flattered in this self-debate; and it gave me spirit to act towards you both

both in the manner you well remember. It hurt me much to find, that my darling proposal for your speedy union was thwarted so long, shall I say, by your nobleness or nature, or by your false delicacy? I believe I called it at the time by the latter name, being thoroughly persuaded, that in your condition I would have accepted from you the offer which I made. At length, however, the time arrived, in which I was enabled to accomplish, in a manner unknown to you, the darling object of my ambition.

Allow me, my dearest friends, to boast in this paper, that I have been the invisible architect of the happiness which we have now enjoyed together for many years. It was the unseen hand of your Angelica, that made you the happy wife of Eumenes, by placing him in that preferment to which his virtues have given him so just a title. How I was fortunately enabled to make, and to conceal, so desirable a purchase, you will perfectly comprehend, from the collection of papers which I shall leave in the cabinet with my will and this letter. As long as the discovery could wound your honest pride, by a load of imaginary obligation, I determined never to make it; but, so strange is human pride! we are never hurt by the idea of obligation to the dead; and remember, as I said once before, that I am now speaking from the grave. By this conduct I am humouring, at one and the same time, both your pride and my own; for I will here avow, that I am very ambitious of increasing, after my death, that pure and perfect regard which ye have both shewn, through the course of many social years, to your living

Angelica. But, while I am thus soliciting an increase of your affection, let me guard that very affection from one painful excess. I know you both so well, that I am almost sure you will exclaim together, on first reading these papers, Good God, what a generous creature, to make such a sacrifice of herself for our sakes! But, affectionate as these expressions may be, they will be far from just. Be assured, my dear friends—and I now speak the language of sober reason—I have made *no sacrifice*; so far from it, I am convinced, from a long and serious survey of human life, that the most selfish and worldly being could not have pursued any system more conducive to their own private interest and advantage than mine has been. You will agree with me in this truth, when I impart to you some of my own philosophical remarks. I will begin with one of the most important, and it will surprise you; it is this—I am thoroughly convinced, that I should not have been happy, had I been, what I once ardently hoped to be, the wife of Eumenes. Hear my reason, and subscribe to its truth. Amiable as he is, he is a little hasty in his temper; and this circumstance would have been sufficient to make us unhappy; for, even supposing I had been able to treat it with the indulgent good sense of his gentle Faustina, yet all the good-humour that I could have put, on such occasions, into my homely visage, would have had but a slow effect in suppressing those frequent sparks of irritation, which are extinguished in a moment by one of her lovely smiles. Take it, my dear, as one of my maxims, that every man of hasty spirit ought to have a very handsome wife; for, although

although sense and good temper in the lady may be the essential remedies for this masculine foible; yet, believe me, their operation is quickened tenfold by their heart-piercing light of a beautiful countenance. I was led to this remark by a very painful scene, which once passed between Eumenes and me: he was angry with me for taking the part of his son Charles, in a little dispute between them; and, though I argued the point with him very calmly, he said sharply, after the boy had quitted the room, that I shewed, indeed, much fondness to the child, but no true friendship to the father. The expression stung me so deeply, that I no longer retained a perfect command over my own temper; and, to convince him of the truth and the extent of that friendship, which he arraigned so unjustly, I should certainly have betrayed the darling secret of my life, which I had resolved to keep inviolate to the end of my days, had not the sudden appearance of my dear Faustina suggested to me all the affectionate reasons for my secrecy, and thus restored me to myself. Her smiles now shewed their very great superiority over my arguments; for, almost without the aid of words, but with a sweetness of manner peculiar to herself, she reconciled, in a few minutes, the too hasty father, not only to poor Charles, but to the more childish Angelica. This, I believe, was the only time that I was in danger of betraying a secret, which I had, I think, judiciously imposed upon myself; for my disguise on this point, as it equally consulted our mutual pride and delicacy (whether true or false delicacy no matter) has, I conceive, been very favourable to

our general happiness; to my own I am sure it has. In all those moments of spleen or depression, to which, I believe, every mortal is in some degree subject, nothing has relieved me so much as the animating recollection, that I have been the unknown architect of my friends felicity. There is something angelic in the idea, supremely flattering to the honest pride of a feeling heart. Yet, pleased as I have ever been with the review of my own conduct, which the world might deride as romantic, I would by no means recommend it to another female in my situation; not from an idea that she might not be as disinterested as myself, but lest in her friend she should not find a Faustina; for it has not been my own virtue, but the virtues of my lovely inimitable friend, which have given the full success to my project. Had my Faustina and Eumenes lived, like many other married folks, in scenes of frequent bickering or debate, I should, I doubt not, like many other good spinsters, who are witnesses of such connubial altercation, have entertained the vain idea that I could have managed the temper of the lordly creature much better, and, of course, should have been very restless that I was not his wife: but, to do full justice to the uncommon merits of my incomparable Faustina, I here most solemnly declare to her, I never, since her marriage, beheld or thought of her and Eumenes, without a full persuasion that Heaven had made them for each other. But it is high time to finish this singular confession, in which, perhaps, I have indulged myself too long. I will only add my prayers, that Heaven may continue health and human happiness to

to my friends, beyond the period assigned to my mortal existence; and that, whenever I may cease to enjoy their friendship on earth, they will tenderly forget all the foibles, and mutually cherish the memory, of

their affectionate

ANGELICA."

This generous Old Maid displayed also in her will, which she composed herself, many touching marks of her affectionate spirit.—The house in which she resided, she left as a little legacy to Faustina, and requested her friends to remove into it upon her decease, that Faustina might not be exposed to a more painful removal, if she should happen to survive her husband. As she knew that a compliance with this request would lead her friends into some depressive sensations, she contrived to furnish them with an engaging though melancholy occupation, by requesting them to build a kind of monument to herself, under the form of a little temple to Friendship, on a favourite spot in the garden.

Nothing, perhaps, can equal the uncommon generosity of Angelica, but the tender and unaffected sorrow with which her loss has been lamented. The most trivial of her requests has been religiously observed, and the whole family of Eumenes seem to think no pleasure equal to that of doing justice to her merit, and proclaiming their unexampled obligations to their departed friend."

Two Letters from Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, copied literally from the original MS, and directed as

*follows:—"for Doctor Clarke at
"his house near St James' Church."*

Saturday

I GIVE you my thanks for the favour of your letter to me, and am glad I did not hear of the poor Bishop of Bangors illness till the danger is over, I have never seen La fun: since I came out of Town, but I expect him here to day at dinner, I wish I may have any thing to say from him that is worth troubling either of you with, but you will be gone before my letter can come to you, and therefore I will write to the Bishop, the surgeons assure me that they see no danger in the Duke of Marlborough's shoulder however they will not yet consent that hee shall goe to Woodstock, I suspect that caution may proceed from their knowing that one of them must bee always with us when we are at such a distance from London, and therefore they will defer our going as long as they can to attend their other business, I do and have told them that I will buy them at their own rates, and I have known but very few ministers or favorites that were not to bee bought, which must be done in this case, for when they shall come and tell me that his shoulder may be dressed by any body, I can't sleep fifty mile from London, if one of the best surgeons does not lye in the house, by this account I am apt to think at your return upon the 22d of August you will find us here, but where ever I shall happen to bee you are sure of being always wellcome to your most faithfull

humble servant and friend

S. Marlborough.

my humble serviss
to Mrs Clarke

having

having this opportunity of writing to you by the Surgeon which will come to you before you leave London, I have a mind to tell you that my Lord Sunderland was here as I expected, I had a great deal of discourse with him upon the B. of Bangor and your affaires, tis impossible for me to write all the particulars, but hee professes all the value and esteem imaginable for you both, he assures me that the B. of Bangor is to be B. of Bath and Wells when it falls, but he only fix's him there because it is the most probable to be vacant first, but if any other should fall before that, except some of the very great ones hee will be for the B. of Bangor having it, what he continues to think of for you is a very good thing which Doctor Younger has at St Paul's, which is consistent with what you have, and when I spoake of what you wished for your brother hee expressed as much pleasure in doing that for him, as you could have in it yourself, and said hee knew him

and ownd that he was a very good man and had a grete deal of merritt, hee added that he design to get a thousand pound in the winter of the King for the B. of Bangor to help him tell somthing happend that was better than what he has, hee appeared to me to be very desirous of serving you both in any thing that should happen to be in his power, and I do really believe that he thinks himself that men of your abillitys, would be of so much use to him, that he sincerely wish's that you would help him to ease som things which makes it more difficult to compass what I desire then perhaps you will beleive, tho I hope you will never doubt of my being with all the truth imaginable your most faithful friend and humble servant

S: Marlborough.

Sunday the 26 of July
windfor lodge

I hope you will give the B. of Bangor an account of the substance of this letter,

P O E T R Y.

P O E T R Y.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1787.

By T. WARTON, *Esq. Post-Laureat.*

I.

IN rough magnificence array'd,
When ancient Chivalry display'd
The pomp of her heroic games;
And crested chiefs, and tissued dames,
Assembled, at the clarion's call,
In some proud castle's high-arch'd hall,
To grace romantic glory's genial rites:
Associate of the gorgeous festival,
The Minstrel struck his kindred string,
And told of many a steel-clad king,
Who to the turney train'd his hardy knights;
Or bore the radiant redcross shield
Mid the bold peers of Salem's field;
Who travers'd pagan climes to quell
The wizard foe's terrific spell;
In rude affrays untaught to fear
The Saracen's gigantic spear—
The listening champions felt the fabling rhyme
With fairy trappings fraught, and shook their plumes sublime.

II.

Such were the themes of regal praise
Dear to the Bard of elder days;
The songs, to savage virtue dear,
That won of yore the public ear!
Ere Polity, sedate and sage,
Had quench'd the fires of feudal rage,
Had stemm'd the torrent of eternal strife,
And charm'd to rest an unrelenting age.—
No more, in formidable state,
The Castle shuts its thundering gate;
New colours suit the scenes of soften'd life;

No

No more, bestriding barbed steeds,
 Adventurous Valour idly bleeds :
 And now the Bard in alter'd tones,
 A theme of worthier triumph owns ;
 By social imagery beguil'd,
 He moulds his harp to manners mild ;
 Nor longer weaves the wreath of war alone,
 Nor hails the hostile forms that grac'd the Gothic Throne.

III.

And now he tunes his plausible lay
 To Kings, who plant the civic bay ;
 Who choose the patriot sovereign's part,
 Diffusing commerce, peace, and art ;
 Who spread the virtuous pattern wide,
 And triumph in a nation's pride :
 Who seek coy Science in her cloister'd nook,
 Where Thames, yet rural, rolls an artless tide ;
 Who love to view the vale divine,
 Where revel Nature and the Nine,
 And clustering towers the tufted grove o'erlook ;
 To Kings, who rule a filial land,
 Who claim a People's vows and pray'rs,
 Should Treason arm the weakest hand !
 To These, his heart-felt praise he bears,
 And with new rapture hastes to greet
 This festal morn, that longs to meet,
 With luckiest auspices, the laughing spring :
 And opens her glad career, with blessings on her wing !

ODE on his MAJESTY'S Birth-Day, June 4, 1787.

By T. WARTON, Esq. Poet-Laureat.

I.

THE noblest Bards of Albion's choir
 Have struck of old this festal lyre.
 Ere Science, struggling oft in vain,
 Had dar'd to break her Gothic chain,
 Victorious Edward gave the vernal bough
 Of Britain's bay to bloom on Chaucer's brow :
 Fir'd with the gift, he chang'd to sounds sublime.
 His Norman minstrelsy's discordant chime ;
 In tones majestic hence he told
 The banquet of Cambuscan bold ;
 And oft he sung (howe'er the rhyme
 Has moulder'd to the touch of time)

His martial master's knightly board,
And Arthur's ancient rites restor'd;
The prince in sable steel that sternly frown'd,
And Gallia's captive king, and Cressy's wreath renown'd.

II.

Won from the shepherd's simple meed,
The whispers wild of Mulla's reed,
Sage Spenser wak'd his lofty lay
To grace Eliza's golden sway:
O'er the proud theme new lustre to diffuse,
He chose the gorgeous allegoric Muse,
And call'd to life old Uther's elfin tale,
And rov'd thro' many a necromantic vale,
Pourtraying chiefs that knew to tame
The goblin's ire, the dragon's flame,
To pierce the dark enchanted hall,
Where Virtue fate in lonely thrall.
From fabling Fancy's inmost store
A rich romantic robe he bore;
A veil with visionary trappings hung,
And o'er his virgin-queen the fairy texture flung.

III.

At length the matchless Dryden came,
To light the Muses' clearer flame;
To lofty numbers grace to lead,
And strength with melody to blend;
To triumph in the bold career of song,
And roll th' unwearied energy along.
Does the mean incense of promiscuous praise,
Does servile fear, disgrace his regal bays?
I spurn his panegyric strings,
His partial homage, tun'd to kings!
Be mine, to catch his manlier chord,
That paints th' impassion'd Persian lord,
By glory fir'd, to pity su'd,
Rouz'd to revenge, by love subdu'd;
And still, with transport new, the strains to trace
That chant the Theban pair, and Tancred's deadly vase.

IV.

Had these blest Bards been call'd, to pay
The vows of this auspicious day,
Each had confess'd a fairer throne,
A mightier sovereign, than his own!
Chaucer had bade his hero-monarch yield
The same of Agincourt's triumphal field

That braid the sceptre with the patriot's palm:
 His chaplets of fantastic bloom,
 His colourings, warm from Fiction's loom,
 Spenser had cast in scorn away,
 And deck'd with truth alone the lay;
 All real here—the Bard had seen
 The glories of his pictur'd Queen!
 The tuneful Dryden had not flatter'd here,
 His lyre had blameless been, his tribute all sincere?

ODE to a LADY going abroad.—From vol. 3d of THE LOUNGER.

I.

FAR, far from me my Delia goes,
 And all my pray'rs, my tears, are vain;
 Nor shall I know one hour's repose,
 Till Delia bless these eyes again.

Companion of the wretched, come,
 Fair Hope! and dwell with me awhile;
 Thy heavenly presence gilds the gloom,
 While happier scenes in prospect smile.

Oh! who can tell what Time may do?
 How all my sorrows yet may end?
 Can she reject a love so true?
 Can Delia e'er forsake her friend?

Unkind and rude the thorn is seen,
 No sign of future sweetness shows;
 But time calls forth its lovely green,
 And spreads the blushes of the rose.

Then come, fair Hope, and whisper peace,
 And keep the happy scenes in view,
 When all these cares and fears shall cease,
 And Delia bless a love so true.

II.

Hope, sweet deceiver, still believ'd,
 In mercy sent to soothe our care:
 Oh! tell me, am I now deceiv'd,
 And wilt thou leave me to despair?

Then hear, ye Powers, my earnest pray'r,
 This pang unutterable save;
 Let me not live to know despair,
 But give me quiet in the grave!

Why

Why should I live to hate the light,
Be with myself at constant strife,
And drag about, in nature's spite,
An-ufeless, joyless, load of life?

But far from her all ills remove,
Your favourite care let Delia be,
Long blest in friendship, blest in love,
And may she never think on me.

III.

But if, to prove my love sincere,
The fates awhile this trial doom;
'Then aid me, Hope, my woes to bear,
Nor leave me till my Delia come;

Till Delia come, no more to part,
And all these cares and fears remove,
Oh, come! relieve this widow'd heart,
Oh, quickly come! my pride, my love!

My Delia come! whose looks beguile,
Whose smile can charm my cares away;—
Oh! come with that enchanting smile,
And brighten up life's wintry day;

Oh, come! and make me full amends
For all my cares, my fears, my pain;
Delia, restore me to my friends,
Restore me to myself again.

On the late Improvements at Nuneham, the Seat of the Earl of HARCOURT.

By the late W. WHITEHEAD, Esq.

DAME Nature, the Goddess, one very bright day,
In strolling through Nuneham, met *Brown* in her way;
And bless me, she said with an insolent sneer,
I wonder that fellow will dare to come here.
What more than I *did* has your impudence plann'd?
The lawn, wood, and water, are all of my hand;
In my very best manner with Themis's scales,
I lifted the hills, and I scoop'd out the vales;
With Sylvan's own umbrage I grac'd ev'ry brow,
And pour'd the rich Thames thro' the meadows below.
I grant it, he cry'd; to your sov'reign command
I bow as I ought.—Gentle Lady, your hand:

M 2

'The

The weather's inviting, so let us move on ;
 You know what you *did*, and now see what I've done.
 I with gratitude own you have reason to plead
 That to these happy scenes you were bounteous indeed :
 My lovely materials were many and great !
 (For sometimes, you know, I'm oblig'd to create);
 But say in return, my adorable dame,
 To all you see here can you lay a just claim ?
 Were there no slighter parts, which you finish'd in haste,
 Or left, like a friend, to give scope to my taste ?
 Who drew o'er the surface, did you, or did I,
 The smooth-flowing outline, that steals from the eye*,
 The soft undulations, both distant and near,
 That heave from the lawns, and yet scarcely appear ?
 (So bends the ripe harvest the breezes beneath,
 As if earth was in slumber and gently took breath)
 Who thinn'd, and who group'd, and who scatter'd those trees,
 Who bade the slopes fall with that delicate ease,
 Who cast them in shade, and who plac'd them in light,
 Who bade them divide, and who bade them unite ?
 The ridges are melted, the boundaries gone :
 Observe all these changes, and candidly own
 I have cloath'd you when naked, and, when o'erdress'd,
 I have stripp'd you again to your boddice and vest ;
 Conceal'd ev'ry blemish, each beauty display'd,
 As Reynolds would picture some exquisite maid,
 Each spirited feature would happily place,
 And shed o'er the whole inexpressible grace.

One question remains. Up the green of yon steep
 Who threw the bold walk with that elegant sweep ?
 —There is little to see, till the summit we gain :—
 Nay, never draw back, you may climb without pain,
 And, I hope, will perceive how each object is caught,
 And is lost, in exactly the point where it ought.
 That ground of your moulding is certainly fine,
 But the swell of that knoll, and those openings, are mine.
 The prospect, wherever beheld, must be good,
 But has ten times its charms when you burst from this wood,
 A wood of my planting. The goddesses cried, Hold!
 'Tis grown very hot, and 'tis grown very cold.

* The two last words in this couplet have identical rather than corresponding sounds, and therefore only appear to rhyme. This defect, however, may easily be removed by transposing the two verses, and reading them thus:

That sweet flowing outline, that steals from the view,
 Who drew o'er the surface, did I, or did you ? M.

she laugh'd, and the music; he laugh'd;
Inclin'd to be angry, inclin'd to be pleas'd;
Half smil'd, and half pouted—then turn'd from the view,
And dropp'd him a curt'sie, and blushing withdrew.

Yet soon recollecting her thoughts, as she pass'd,
“ I may have my revenge on this fellow at last :
“ For a lucky conjecture comes into my head,
“ That, whate'er he has done, and whate'er he has said,
“ The world's little malice will balk his design :
“ Each fault they'll call his, and each excellence mine*.”

Verses on the Duchess of Rutland; supposed to be written by
Sir H. LANGUISH.

AS poor Anacreon bleeding lies,
From the first glance of Stella's eyes,
Too weak to fly, too proud to yield,
Or leave an undisputed field;
He rallies, rests upon his arms,
And reconnoitres all her charms.
Vainly he fancies that by peeping,
Through all the beauties in her keeping,
He may in such a store collect
The healing balm of one defect;
One feeble part, one faulty spot,
That Nature's forming hand forgot,
Or left, in mercy, a defence
Against her wide omnipotence,
Which spares philosopher nor sage,
Nor tender youth, nor cautious age:
He view'd her *stature*, tow'ring high;—
The liquid lustre of her *eye*;—
The various wonders of her *mouth*,
Diffusing sweetness, like the South;
Where everlasting raptures grow,
Where violets breathe and roses glow;
Where pearls in splendid order meet,
And tune the lapse of accents sweet;
As pebbles shed their silver beam,
Brighten, and harmonize the stream,

* Altho' the personification of NATURE has been common to several Poets, when they mean to compliment an artist that rivalled her, yet the idea of making her behave herself like that most unnatural of all created Beings, A MODERN FINE LADY, must be allowed to be a thought both very bold and truly original; and the Poet has, I think, executed it with much genuine humour. M.

He view'd her whole array of charms,
The waving plumes, and polish'd arms;
He look'd through every rank and file,
Through every grace, and every smile;
But saw no single spot neglected;—
The *front* secure, the *rear* protected,
The *centre* form'd with double care,
For the *supreme command* was there:
There hid, mysterious from the day,
The consecrated banners lay:
No advantageous pass was lost,
No beauty sleeping on its post;
But all was order, all was force:
A look was victory of course.

On objects from the fight precluded
He by analogy concluded;
By faith in what had been reveal'd,
He judg'd of all that lay conceal'd;
That heav'n, to which our fancies stray
Through fleecy cloud, and milky way:—
But he could speculate, or spy
Nothing, to change his destiny.

At length an incident arose,
That flatter'd him with lesser woes.
The bold intrusion of a fly
Had clos'd the lustre of one eye,
And gave him hopes that, thus bereft
Of half her splendour, what was left
He could resist, or could evade,
Or could retire behind the shade.

But whilst he triumphs in these fancies,
A new auxiliary advances.
The *snowy arm's* sublime display
Was rais'd to chase that cloud away,
Which seem'd the lightning to abate,
And yet awhile suspend his fate.
But, ah! how frail is hope! how vain!
The vanquish'd lustre came again,
And living ivory supply'd
That splendour which her eye deny'd.
So Alpine snowy cliffs arise,
Pervade the clouds, and touch the skies;
Scatter around the silver ray,
And give new brightness to the day.

Thus disappointed in his dream
Of imperfection in her frame,
He meditates yet to explore
One desperate expedient more,

Where

" Where shall I go a fault to find?—
 " Have I no refuge in her mind!
 " Can't I one healing *error* trace,
 " To cure the mischiefs of her face?
 " One tax, one countervailing duty,
 " To balance her account of beauty?
 " One saving foible, balmy fault,
 " One impropriety of thought,
 " To lend its medicinal aid,
 " And cure the wounds her eyes have made?
 " Presumptuous hope!—I view'd once more
 " The blaze that dazzled me before,
 " And saw! those very eyes impart
 " A soul, that sharpen'd every dart;
 " With every rich endowment fraught,
 " The tender care, the generous thought.
 " The sense of each exalted duty,
 " 'That mingled worth with every beauty;
 " And a prevailing wish impress'd
 " To make *all* happy; and *one* bless'd.
 " Her soul through every feature spoke—
 " There was a virtue in each look:
 " The whole was gentleness and love—
 " Her arrows feather'd from the dove;
 " And every glance that charm'd the sight
 " Was as benevolent as bright,
 " Finding no possible retreat,
 " I yield contented to my fate—
 " I unreluctant drag the chain,
 " And in the *passion* lose the *pain*—
 " For her sweet bondage is so light,
 " And all her fetters are so bright,
 " That, vain and vanquish'd, I must own
 " I cannot wish to lay them down,
 " Nor idly struggle to be free,
 " Nor change my lot for liberty."

The Three VERNONS*.

By the Hon. HORACE WALPOLE.

HENRIETTA's † serious charms
 Awe the breast her beauty warms:
 See she blushes! Love presumes;
 See she frowns! he drops his plumes.

* Daughters of Richard Vernon, Esq.
 † New Countess of Warwick.

M 4

Dancing

Dancing lighter o'er the ocean
Was not *Cytherea's* motion ;
Speaking, Art repines to see
The triumph of simplicity.

Lips that smile a thousand meanings,
Humid with Hyblean gleanings ;
Eyes that glitter into wit,
Wanton mirth with fancy smit ;
Arch *naïveté* that wanders
In each dimpling cheek's meanders ;
Shedding roses, shifting graces,
In a face that's twenty faces,
Sweet assemblage, all combine
In pretty playful CAROLINE.

Sober as the matron's air,
Humble as the cloister'd fair,
Patient till new Springs disclose
The bud of promis'd beauty's rose,
Waving flattery's perfum'd breath,
Ensures it young ELIZABETH.
Lovely Three ; whose future reign,
Shall sing some younger, sweeter swain ;
For me, suffice in *Amptbill* groves,
Cradle of Graces and of Loves,
I first announc'd, in artless page,
The glories of a rising age ;
And promis'd, where my *Anna* shone,
Three *Offsprs* as bright as one.

PROLOGUE to the Tragedy of JULIA.

Written by EDMOND MALONE, Esq.

Spoken by Mr. KEMBLE.

FROM Thespis' days to this enlighten'd hour,
The stage has shewn the dire abuse of power ;
What mighty mischief from ambition springs !
The fate of heroes, and the fall of kings.
But these high themes, howe'er adorn'd by art,
Have seldom gain'd the passes of the heart ;
Calm we behold the pompous mimic woe,
Unmov'd by sorrows we can never know.
Far other feelings in the soul arise,
When private griefs arrest our ears and eyes ;
When the false friend, and blameless suffering wife,
Reflect the image of domestic life ;

And still more wide the sympathy, more keen,
 When to each breast responsive is the scene;
 And the fine cords that every art entwine,
 Dilated, vibrate with the glowing line.—
 Such is the theme that now demands your ear,
 And claims the silent plaudit of a tear.
 One tyrant passion all mankind must prove;
 The balm or poison of our lives—is Love.
 Love's sovereign sway extends o'er every clime,
 Nor owns a limit or of space or time.
 For love, the generous fair-one hath sustain'd
 More poignant ills than ever poet feign'd.
 For love, the maid partakes her lover's tomb,
 Or pines long life out, in sad soothless gloom.
 Ne'er shall oblivion shroud the Grecian wife*,
 Who gave her own, to save a husband's life.
 With her contending, see our Edward's bride,
 Imbibing poison from his mangled side.
 Nor less, though proud of intellectual sway,
 Does haughty man the tyrant power obey:
 From youth to age by love's wild tempest tost,
 For love, e'en mighty kingdoms has he lost.
 Vain—wealth, and fame, and fortune's fostering care †.
 If no fond breast the splendid blessings share;
 And, each day's bustling pageantry once past,
There, only there, his bliss is found at last.
 For woes fictitious oft your tears have flow'd;
 Your cheek for wrongs imaginary glow'd:
 To-night our Poet means not to assail
 Your throbbing bosoms with a fancy'd tale.
 Scarce sixty suns their annual course have roll'd
 Since all was real that our scenes unfold.
 To touch your breasts with no unpleasing pain,
 The Muse's magic bids it live again:
 Bids mingled characters, as once in life,
 Resume their functions, and renew their strife;
 While pride, revenge, and jealousy's wild rage,
 Rouse all the genius of th' impassion'd stage.

* —*Speſtant ſubeuntem fata mariti,*
Alceſtem.

Juv.

† “Thou art a ſlave, whom fortune's tender arm
 “With favour never claſp'd.”

Timon of Athens.

EPILOGUE.

EPILOGUE.

Written by JOHN COURTNEY, Esq:

And spoken by Mrs. SIDDONS.

THOUGH tender sighs breathe in the tragic page,
 What lover now complains—but on the stage?
 No suitor now attempts his rival's life,
 But lets him take that cordial balm—a wife;
 And yet, to prove his pure and constant flame,
 Still loves his mistress in the wedded dame;
 Still courts his friend, and still devoutly bows
 At the fair shrine where first he breath'd his vows.
 For love, she knows some gratitude is due,
 Searches her heart, and finds there's room for two;
 And often sees, her coy reluctance o'er,
 Good cause to prize her *caro sposa* more.
 Thus modish wives, with sentimental spirit,
 May go astray, to prove their husbands' merit,
 Or ope the door, in this commodious age,
 Without death's aid, t' escape the wedlock's cage.
 Abjuring rules, that soon will seem romance,
 Love's gayer system we import from France;
 Rescind politely our old English *duty*,
 And take off all restraints from wine and beauty;
 While lighter manners cheer our native gloom,
 As Spanish wool refines the British loom.

Had fashion's law of old such influence shed,
 The raptur'd Claudio ne'er had timeless bed:
 His bliss with joy Mentevole had seen,
 And Julia's favourite Ciccibé had been.
 Th' affidious lover, and the husband bland,
 Like Brentford kings, had still walk'd hand in hand:
 Together still had shone at Park and play,
 Quaffing the fragrance of the same bouquet.

Our varlet Poet, with licentious speech,
 Thus far our injur'd sex has dar'd *impeach*.
 The Female character thus rudely flurr'd,
 'Tis fit, at last, that I should have a word.
 First then, without rejoinder or dispute,
 This *virtuous* circle might each *charge* refute.
 That 'tis a *nuptial age*, I sure may say,
 With their own wives when husbands run away.—
 But truce with jest. Howe'er the wits may rail,
 The cause of truth and virtue must prevail.

Of

I see the verdict's ours; you smile applause;
So, with your leave, again I'll plead your cause:
New triumphs nightly o'er this railer gain,
And to the last our female rights maintain.

By ROBERT BURNS.

MILTON.

Whyles, rangin' like a roarin' lion,
For prey, a' holes and corners tryin' ;

Why Ise,

Whyles, on the strong-wing'd Tempest flyin,
 a Tirlin the kirks;
 Whyles, in the human bosom pryin,
 Unseen thou lurks.

I've heard my reverend *Grannie* say,
 In lanely glens ye like to stray;
 Or where auld, ruin'd castles, gray,
 Nod to the moon,
 Ye fright the nightly wand'rer's way,
 Wi' b eldritch croon c.

When twilight did my *Grannie* summon,
 To say her pray'rs, douce, honest woman!
 Aft yont the dyke she's heard you bummin,
 Wi' d eerie drone;
 Or, rustlin, thro' the s boortries comin,
 Wi' heavy groan.

Ae dreary, windy, winter night,
 The stars shot down wi' sklentlin light,
 Wi' you, mysel, I gat a fright,
 Ayont the lough;
 Ye, like a rash-buff, stood in fight,
 Wi' waving fugh.

The cudgel in my nieve did shake,
 Each bristl'd hair stood like a stake,
 When wi' an eldritch, f stoor quaick, quaick,
 Amang the springs,
 Awa ye squatter'd like a drake,
 On whistling wings.

Let s *warlock* grim, an' wither'd *bags*,
 Tell how wi' you on ragweed nags,
 They skim the muirs an' dizzy crags,
 Wi' wicked speed;
 And in kirk-yards renew their leagues,
 Owre h howkit dead.

Thence, countra wives, wi' toil an' pain,
 May plunge an' plunge the kirk in vain;
 For, O! the yellow treasure's taen
 By witching skill;
 An' i dawtit', h twal-pint *Hawkie's* gaen
 As i yell's the Bill m.

a Uncovering. b frightful. c a hollow continued moan. d frightened.
 e the shrub elder. f strong and hoarse. g wizards. h digged. i carested.
 k twelve pint. l barren, that gives no milk. m bull.

Thence,

Thence, mystic knots mak great abuse,
 On young Guidmen, fond, keen, an' crouse a;
 When the best wark-lume i' the house,
 By b cantrip wit,
 Is instant made no worth a louse,
 Just at the bit.

When thowes dissolve the snawy hoord,
 An' float the jinglin icy-boord,
 Then, c *Water-kelpies* haunt the foord,
 By your direction,
 An' nighted Trav'lers are allur'd
 To their destruction.

An' aft your moss-traversing *Spunkies*
 Decoy the wight that late an' drunk is:
 The bleezin, curst, mischievous monkie
 Delude his eyes,
 Till in some miry slough he sunk is,
 Ne'er mair to rise.

When *Masons* mystic word an' grip,
 In storms an' tempests raise you up,
 Some cock or cat your rage maun stop,
 Or, strange to tell!
 The youngest Brother ye wad whip
 Aff straught to h-ll.

Lang syne, in *Eden's* bonie yard,
 When youthfu' lovers first were pair'd,
 An' all the Soul of Love they shar'd,
 The raptur'd hour,
 Sweet on the fragrant, flow'ry fwaird,
 In shady bow'r:

Then you, ye auld, a snick-drawing dog!
 Ye cam to Paradise incog.
 An' play'd on man a curst brogue e,
 (Black be your fa' l!)
 An' gied the infant warld a flog,
 'Maist ruin'd a'.

D'ye mind that day, when in a bizz f,
 Wi' reekit duds g, and reestit gizz h,
 Ye did present your smootie phiz,
 'Mang better folk,
 An' i sklent on the *man of Uzz*
 Your spitefu' joke?

An'

a Cheerful. b having a charm. c water-spirits. d trick-contriving. e trick.
 f bustle. g rage. h withered periwig. i ran obliquely.

An' how ye gat him i' your thrall,
 An' brak him out o' house an' hal',
 While scabs an' botches did him gall,
 Wi' bitter claw,
 An' lows'd his ill-tongu'd, wicked ScawJ,
 Was warst ava?

But a' your doings to rehearse,
 Your wily snares an' fechtin fierce,
 Sin' that day *Michael** did you pierce,
 Down to this time,
 Wad ding a' Lallan tongue, or Erse,
 In prose or rhyme.

An' now, auld *Cloot*, I ken ye're thinkin,
 A certain Bardie's rantin, drinkin,
 Some luckless hour will send him linkin a,
 To your black pit;
 But faith! he'll turn a corner jinkin b,
 An' cheat you yet.

But, fare you weel, auld *Nickie ben*!
 O wad ye tak a thought an' men'!
 Ye c aiblins might—I dinna ken—
 Still hae a *flake*—
 I'm wae to think upo' yon den,
 Ev'cn for your sake!

*A Dedication to G**** H*****, Esq.—From the same.*

EXPECT na, Sir, in this narration,
 A d fleechin, e fleth'rin Dedication,
 To roose you up, an' ca' you guid,
 An' sprung o' great an' noble bluid;
 Because ye're surnam'd like *His Grace*,
 Perhaps related to the race;
 Then when I'm tir'd—and fae are ye,
 Wi' monie a fulsome, sinfu' lie,
 Set up a face, how I stopt short,
 For fear your modesty be hurt.

This may do—maun do, Sir, wi' them wha
 Maun please the Great Folk for a wamefou f;
 For me! fae laigh I need na bow,
 For, LORD be thankit, *I can plough*;
 And when I downa yoke a naig,
 Then, LORD be thankit, *I can beg*;
 Sae I shall say, an' that's nae flatt'rin,
 It's just *sic Poet* an' *sic Patron*.

* Vide MILTON, Book VI.

a Tripping. b dodging. c perhaps. d supplicating. e flattering. f belly full.
 The

The Poet, some guid Angel help him,
Or else, I fear, some ill ane skelp him!
He may do weel for a' he's done yet,
But only—he's no juist begun yet.

The Patron, (Sir, ye maun forgie me,
I winna lie, come what will o' me)
On ev'ry hand it will allow'd be,
He's juist—nae better than he shou'd be.

I readily and freely grant,
He downa see a poor man want;
What's no his ain, he winna tak it;
What ance he says, he winna break it;
Ought he can lend he'll no refus't,
Till aft his guidness is abus'd;
And rascals whyles that do him wrang,
Ev'n *that*, he does na mind it lang:
As Master, Landlord, Husband, Father,
He does na fail his part in either.

But then, nae thanks to him for a' that;
Nae *godly symptom* ye can ca' that;
It's naething but a milder feature
Of our poor, sinfu', corrupt Nature:
Ye'll get the best o' moral works,
'Mang black Gentoos, and Pagan Turks,
Or hunters wild on *Ponotaxi*,
Wha never heard of Orth-d-xy.
That he's the poor man's friend in need,
The *Gentleman* in word and deed,
It's no thro' terror of D-mn-t—on;
It's juist a carnal inclination.

Morality, thou deadly bane,
Thy tens o' thousands thou hast slain!
Vain is his hope, whase stay an' trust is
In *moral* Mercy, Truth, an' Justice!

No—stretch a point to catch a plack;
Abuse a Brother to his back;
Steal thro' the *winnock* fra a wh-re,
But point the Rake that takes the *door*;
Be to the Poor like onie whunstone,
And haud their noses to the grunstone;
Ply ev'ry art o' *legal* thieving:
No matter—stick to *sound believing*.

Learn three-mile pray'rs, an' half-mile graces,
Wi' weel-spread looves an' lang, wry faces;
Grunt up a solemn, lengthen'd groan,
And damn a' Parties but your own;
I'll warrant then, ye're nae Deceiver,
A steady, sturdy, staunch Believer,
A Window.

O ye

O ye wha leave the springs o' *C-lo-n*,
 For a *gumtie dabs* b of your ain delvin!
 Ye sons o' Hæresy and Error,
 Ye'll some day squeel in quaking terror!
 When Vengeance draws the sword in wrath,
 And in the fire throws the sheath;
 When Ruin, with his sweeping *besom*,
 Just frets till Heav'n commission gies him;
 While o'er the *Harp* pale Mis'ry moans,
 And strikes the ever-deep'ning tones,
 Still louder shrieks, and heavier groans!

Your pardon, Sir, for this digression,
 I maist forgot my *Dedication*;
 But when Divinity comes cross me,
 My readers still are sure to lose me.

So, Sir, you see 'twas nae daft vapour,
 But I maturely thought it proper,
 When a' my works I did review,
 To dedicate them, Sir, to *You*:
 Because (ye need not tak it ill)
 I thought them something like yoursel.

Then patronize them wi' your favor,
 And your Petitioner shall ever——

I had amaisht said, *ever pray*,
 But that's a word I need na say:
 For prayin I hae lit-le skill o't;
 I'm baith c dead-sweer, an' wretched ill o't;
 But I'll repeat each poor man's *pray'r*,
 That kens or hears about you, Sir——

• May ne'er Misfortune's d growling bark,
 • Howl thro' the dwelling o' the *Clerk*!
 • May ne'er his gen'rous honest heart,
 • For that same gen'rous spirit smart!
 • May K*****'s far-honour'd name
 • Lang beet his hymeneal flame,
 • Till H*****'s, at least a diz'n,
 • Are frae their nuptial labors risen;
 • Five bonie Lassies round their table,
 • And sev'n brave Fellows, stout an' able
 • To serve their King an' Country weel,
 • By word, or pen, or pointed steel!
 • May Health and Peace, with mutual rays,
 • Shine on the ev'ning o' his days;
 • Till his wee, curlic *John*'s ier-oe,
 • When ebbing life nae mair shall flow,
 • The last, sad, mournful rites bestow!

I will not wind a lang conclusion,
 With complimentary effusion;

a Muddy. b small ponds. c very averse. d howling.

But whilst your wishes and endeavours
Are blest with Fortune's smiles and favours,
I am, dear Sir, with zeal most fervent,
Your much indebted, humble servant.

But if (which Pow'r above prevent !)
That iron-hearted Carl, *Want*,
Attended, in his grim advances,
By sad mistakes, and black mischances,
While hopes, and joys, and pleasures fly him,
Make you as poor a dog as I am,
Your *humble servant* then no more ;
For who would humbly serve the Poor ?
But, by a poor man's hopes in Heav'n !
While recollection's pow'r is giv'n,
If, in the vale of humble life,
The victim sad of Fortune's strife,
I, thro' the tender-gushing tear,
Should recognize my *Master dear*,
If friendless, low, we meet together,
Then, Sir, your hand—my *Friend and Brother* !

S O N G.

From Poems on various Subjects, by ANN YEARSLEY.

WHAT sills my heart when thou art nigh ?
Why heaves the tender rising sigh ?
Ah, Delia, is it love ?

My breath in shorten'd pauses fly ;
I tremble, languish, burn, and die ;
Dost thou those tremors prove ?

Does thy fond bosom beat for me ?
Dost thou my form in absence see,
Still wishing to be near ?

Does melting languor fill thy breast ?
That something, which was ne'er express'd,
Ah ! tell me—if you dare.

But tho' my soul, soft, fond, and kind,
Could in thy arms a refuge find,
Secur'd from ev'ry woe ;
Yet, strict to Honour's louder strains,
A last adieu alone remains,
'Tis all the Fates bestow.

Then blame me not, if doom'd to prove
The endless pangs of hopeless love,

And live by thee unblest :
 My joyless hours fly fast away ;
 Let them fly on, I chide their stay,
 For sure 'tis Heav'n to rest.

ODE, *translated from the Persian of the Poet HAFIZ.*
By Sir WILLIAM JONES.

SWEET Maid, if thou would'st charm my sight,
 And bid these arms thy neck enfold,
 That rosy cheek, that lily hand,
 Would give thy poet more delight,
 Than all Becara's vaunted gold,
 Than all the gems of Samarcand.

Boy, let yon liquid ruby flow,
 And bid thy pensive heart be glad.
 Whate'er the frowning zealots say,
 Tell them their Eden cannot shew,
 A stream so clear as Rœnabad,
 A bower so sweet as Mosellay.

Oh! when these fair perfidious maids,
 Whose eyes our secret haunts infect,
 Their dear destructive charms display ;
 Each glance my tender breast invades,
 And robs my wounded soul of rest,
 As Tartars seize their destin'd prey.

In vain with love our bosoms glow :
 Can all our tears, can all our sighs,
 New lustre to those charms impart ?
 Can cheeks where living roses blow,
 Where Nature spreads her richest dyes,
 Require the borrow'd gloss of art?

Speak not of fate—ah !—change the theme,
 And talk of odours, talk of wine,
 Talk of the flowers that round us bloom ;
 'Tis all a cloud, 'tis all a dream !
 To love and joy thy thoughts confine,
 Nor hope to pierce the sacred gloom.

Beauty has such resistless power,
 That even the chaste Egyptian dame
 Sigh'd for the blooming Hebrew boy :
 For her how fatal was the hour,
 When to the banks of Nilus came
 A youth so lovely and so coy !

But ah! sweet maid, my counsel hear,
(Youth should attend when those advise
Whom long experience renders sage)
While music charms the ravish'd ear,
While sparkling cups delight our eyes,
Be gay and scorn the frowns of age.

What cruel answer have I heard!
And yet, by Heav'n I love thee still:
Can ought be cruel from thy lip?
Yet say, how fell that bitter word
From lips which streams of sweetness fill,
Which nought but drops of honey sip?

Go boldly forth, my simple lay,
Whose accents flow with artless ease,
Like Orient pearls at random strung:
Thy notes are sweet, the damsels say;
But, oh! far sweeter, if they please
The nymph for whom these notes are sung.

SOFTLY, *an Ode from the same.*

By the late Captain THOMAS FORD.

DISGUISED, last night, I rush'd from home,
'To seek the palace of my soul:
I reach'd by silent steps the dome,
And to her chamber *softly* stole.

On a gay various couch reclin'd,
In sweet repose I saw the maid;
My breast, like aspens to the wind,
To love's alarum *softly* play'd.

Two fingers, then, to half expanse,
I trembling op'd—with fear oppress'd,
With these I pull'd her veil askance,
Then *softly* drew her to my breast.

“Who art thou, wretch!” my angel cry'd;
Whisp'ring, I said—, Thy slave:—thy swain:
“But hush, my love!—forbear to chide:
“Speak *softly*, lest some hear the strain.”

Trembling with love, with hope, and fear,
At length her ruby lips I press'd:
Sweet kisses oft—mellifluous—dear—
Softly I snatch'd—was *softly* blest'd,

N 2

“O let

“ O let me,” now inflam’d I said,
 “ My idol clasp within these arms ;”
 “ Remove the light”—deep-sigh’d the maid—
 “ Come *softly*, come—prevent alarms.”

Now by her side with bliss I glow’d,—
 Swift flew the night in amorous play :
 At length the morning’s herald crow’d ;—
 When *softly* thence I bent my way.

EPIGRAM *on this Question :*

“ Which is the more eligible for a Wife, a Widow or an Old Maid ?”

From the Essay on Old Maids.

YE, who to wed the sweetest wife would try,
 Observe how men a sweet Cremona buy !
 New violins they seek not from the trade,
 But one, on which some good musician play’d :
 Strings never try’d some harshness will produce ;
 The fiddle’s harmony improves by use.

IMPROMPTU *on the preceding Epigram.*

ONE rule will Wives and Fiddles fit,
 Is falsely said, I fear, by wit,
 To sad experience blind :
 For woman’s an *Æolian* harp,
 Whose every note, or flat or sharp,
 Depends upon the wind.

A Reply to the Two Epigrammatists.

FIDDLES and harps no more compare
 (Improper symbols !) to the fair,
 However they attract !
 Ye wits ! for woman let me see,
 If music will not yield to me,
 Justly to grace
 The female race,
 An image more exact !
 Woman, I say, or dame or lass,
 Is an *Harmonica of glass*,

Celestial and complete :
 If new, or by some trials known,
 It matters not
 A single jot ;
 When rightly touch'd, its every tone
 Is ravishingly sweet.

Written at Nice, August 1743.

By the Right Hon. HENRY FOX, late Lord HOLLAND.

O Where are all the winds ? O ! who will seize
 And bear me gasping to some northern breeze ?
 Or westward to yon Pyrenæans go,
 Lay me where lies the yet unmelted snow.
 O ! my soul's panting wish in mid-day dreams !
 O ! native soil ! O ! verdure, woods, and streams,
 Where are ye ? And thou ! lovely Redlynch ! where
 Thy grassy prospects, and thy vernal air ?
 O ! send thy spacious waters to my aid,
 Lend me thy lofty elm's protecting shade ;
 Henceforth within thy limits let me live.
 Oh ! England ! injur'd climate ! I forgive
 Thy spleen-inflicting mists, thy gloomy days,
 I'll think thy clouds but intercept such rays
 As now rage here, before whose hostile blaze
 The waters shrink, withers herb, fruit, and grain,
 And the blood throbs in the disemper'd vein.
 So shall I pleas'd behold thy low'ring skies,
 Contented see thy thickest fogs arise,
 For e'en to thy November's arms, to shun
 This painful heat, with transport would I run.

* A T E N E M E N T *to be let.*

O YEZ ! This is, that all may learn,
 Whom it may happen to concern,
 To any lady, not a wife,
 Upon a lease, to last for life,
 By auction will be let this day,
 And enter'd on some time in May,
 A vacant heart ; not ornamented
 On plans by Chesterfield invented,

* These verses, with many similar advertisements in prose, were spoken at a private masquerade, in the character of a Town Cryer.

N 3

A plain

A plain, old-fashion'd habitation,
Substantial without decoration,
Large, and with room for friends to spare;
Well-situate, and in good repair.

Also the furniture; as sighs,
Hopes, fears, oaths, pray'rs, and some few—lies;
Odes, sonnets, elegies, and songs,
With all that to th' above belongs.

Also,—what some might have been glad
Tho' in a sep'rate lot to have had,—
A good rich soil of hopeful nature,
Six measur'd acres (het) of stature.

Likewise another lot—an heap
Of tatter'd modesty, quite cheap.
This with the rest would have been sold
But that by several we were told,
If put up with the heart, the price
Of that it much might prejudice.

Note well; th' estate, if manag'd ably,
May be improv'd considerably.
Love is our money, to be paid
Whenever entry shall be made;
And therefore have we fix'd the day
For entering, in the month of May.
But if the buyer of the above
Can on the spot pay ready love,
Hereby the owner makes profession,
She instantly shall have possession,
The highest bidder be the buyer.
You may know further of **THE CRYER**.

* R O N D E A U.

YOURS, Jenny, yours in every thought,
At length this fickle heart is caught:
This heart that broke kind Kitty's chain;
Tho' studious to prevent my pain,
What you deny, she gave unsought.
And, if to my embrace were brought
She, for whom Greece and Ilion fought,
Ev'n her for you would I disdain,

Yours, Jenny, yours!

* This is the only *legitimate* Rondeau, in the language. It was written at the request of a friend to exemplify the system of rhymes, the division of stanzas, and the laws of the return, according to the practice of Voiture, and the other French writers, who have most excelled in this laborious kind of trifling.

Then

Then meet my passion, as you ought;
 Nor aim, in vain coquetry taught,
 By coy caprice to fix your reign,
 If I whole months must sue, to gain
 What can in every street be bought;

Yours, Jenny, yours!

A S I M I L E.

YOU say, Sir, once a wit allow'd

A lady to be like a cloud;
 Then take a Simile as soon
 Between a Woman and the Moon;
 For Jet mankind say what they will,
 The sex are heav'nly bodies still

Grant me (to mimic mortal life)
 The Sun and Moon are man and wife,
 Whate'er kind Sol affords to lend her,
 Madam displays in midnight splendor;
 For while to rest he lays him down,
 She's up and star'd at thro' the town;
 From him her beauties close confining,
 And only in his absence shining.
 Or else she looks like fullen tapers;
 Or else is fairly in the vapours;
 Or owns at once a wife's ambition,
 And fully glares in opposition.—
 Say, is not this a modish pair,
 Where each for other feels no care.
 Whole days in separate coaches driving,
 Whole nights to keep afunder striving;
 Both in the dumps in gloomy weather,
 And lying once a month together?
 In one sole point unlike the case is,
 On her own head the horns she places,

I M P R O M P T U,

*By Bishop ATTERBURY, on a Challenge to the Bishop to dictate something
 in praise of a Goose-Quill; from the Words, "Despise not the Worth of
 those Things that are small."*

"The words of the wise man thus preach'd to us all,
 "Despise not the worth of those things that are small."

THE quill of the Goose is a very slight thing,
 Yet it feathers the arrow that flies from the string;

N 4

Makes

Makes the bird it belongs to rise high in its flight,
 And the jack it has oil'd against dinner go right.
 It brightens the floor, when turn'd to a broom,
 And brushes down cobwebs at the top of the room;
 Its plumage by age into figures is wrought,
 It's soft as the hand, and as quick as the thought.
 It warms in a muff, and cools in a screen;
 It is good to be felt, it is good to be seen.
 When wantonly waving, it makes a fine show
 On the crest of the warrior, or hat of the beau.
 The quill of the goose (I shall never have done,
 If thro' all its perfections and praises I run)
 Makes the harpsichord vocal, which else would be mute,
 And enlivens the sound, the sweet sound of the flute;
 Records what is written in verse or in prose,
 By *Ramsay*, by *Cambray*, by *Boyle*, or *Despreaux*.
 Therefore well did the wise man thus preach to us all—
 “Despise not the worth of those things that are small.”

I M P R O M P T U.

*By a Gentleman of the Temple, on the Sight of one of the Croydon Belles,
 in the Court at Kingston, during the Assizes.*

WHILST petty offences and felonies smart,
 Is there no jurisdiction for stealing the heart?
 You, my fair one, may cry “Laws and Court I defy you;”
 Concluding no *Peers* can be summon'd to try you.
 But think not, fair *Sborgey*, this plea will ensure you,
 Since the *Graces* and *Muses* will just make a jury.

S O N G.

By Captain MORRIS.

THOU' *BACCHUS* may boast of his care-killing bowl,
 And Folly in thought-drowning revels delight;
 Such worship, alas! hath no charms for the soul,
 When softer devotions the senses invite.

To the arrow of Fate, or the canker of Care,
 His potions oblivious a balm may bestow:
 But, to Fancy that feeds on the charm of the fair,
 The death of Reflection's the birth of all Woe.

What

What hour that's poised o'er a dream so divine,
With riot would bid the sweet vision begone?
For the tear that bedews Sensibility's shrine,
Is a drop of more worth than all Bacchus's tun.

The tender excess that enamours the heart,
To few is imparted, to millions deay'd;
'Tis the brain of the victim that tempers the dart,
And Fools jest at that, for which Sages have dy'd:

Each change and excess hath through life been my doom,
And well can I speak of its joy and its strife;
The bottle affords us a glimpse through the gloom,
But Love's the true sunshine that gladdens our life.

Come then, rosy VENUS, and spread o'er my fight
The magic illusions that ravish the soul!
Awake in my breast the soft dream of delight,
And drop from thy myrtle one leaf in my bowl.

Then deep will I drink of the nectar divine,
Nor e'er, jolly God, from thy banquet remove,
But each tube of my heart ever thirst for the wine
That's mellow'd by Friendship, and sweeten'd by Love.

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1787.

Mary Queen of Scots vindicated. By John Whitaker, B. D. *Autor of the History of Manchester, and Rector of Ruan-Langhorne, Cornwall.* In three volumes, 8vo,

TO vindicate the character of injured innocence, and by detecting the arts of successful oppression, to restore it to that fair fame, of which it ought never to have been deprived, has been always considered as one of the noblest privileges of the pen of history. This privilege the author of the work before us seems to have exerted in its full extent; and it is only to be lamented, that he has so often allowed the warmth of his zeal to hurry his style so much beyond the decent bounds of cool and deliberate investigation. In a work of this nature, where, as he himself allows, the force of the whole must arise from an accumulation of parts, and where, of course, our whole conviction depends upon every link of the chain's being preserved entire, it is unwise at least to distract our attention by an intemperate warmth of expression, and to be constantly appealing to our feelings, when we know he ought to be convincing our understandings. And this is the more to be lamented in the present instance, because, added to a considerable degree of dili-

gence in his researches, there is no doubt but our author possesses also a great share of sound and critical penetration. He has made many discoveries respecting the famous letters, sonnets, and contracts, which had hitherto escaped the vigilance of those who have gone before him in this enquiry; and he has at the same time, with a great deal of candour, given up many of those points which the former advocates of the queen of Scots have insisted on, but which do not appear to him to be proved to his entire satisfaction.

To those who have not hitherto paid much attention to this point of history, it may not be uninteresting to know, that it was not till the year 1754 that there was any thing like a doubt existing of the complete guilt of this amiable and unfortunate queen, with respect to almost every crime of which her enemies had accused her. All the arts, as well as all the authority of government, having been exerted, both before and after her death, to overwhelm her unprotected reputation, it is not to be wondered at that the public opinion respecting her became fixed, and that she was soon abandoned even by the few advocates she had to disgrace and infamy.

It is much to the credit of the present age, that at the time above mentioned

mentioned a revolution began to take place in the history of the evidences by which her reputation had been destroyed, and her life cruelly sacrificed. Mr. Goodall, (as the author informs us in his preface) keeper of the advocate's library at Edinburgh, stepped forward with a courage, that seemed to border upon rashness, to prove them mere forgeries, and to disabuse the deceived public. He was a man very conversant with records: he was therefore in the habit of referring assertions to authorities. He was also actuated by a spirit of party, as a party had then been formed in the nation concerning the point. Something more vigorous than the abstracted love of truth is generally requisite to every arduous undertaking. But whatever were his motives, his enterprize was honourable, and his execution powerful. He entered into the examination of the papers with considerable spirit. He went through it with considerable address. He even proved the letters to be forgeries in so clear a manner, that one is astonished it had never been done before. *This* shows, indeed, the little attention which had been paid to the subject, in care to substantiate, or in zeal to destroy the fundamental credit of the whole. And *that* forms one of those grand discoveries, which must necessarily be very rare in the history of any nation, and therefore reflect a peculiar honour upon the individual who makes them.—Yet such was the factious credulity then generally prevailing in the island, that this work, one of the most original and convincing which ever were

published, made its way very slowly among us. Even some of our first-rate writers presumed to set themselves against it. Dr. Robertson, a disciple of the old school of slander, wrote a formal dissertation in opposition to it.—Even Mr. Hume, who in history had learned to think more liberally than the doctor, in some incidental notes to his History of England, still professed and defended his adherence to the ancient error. And the nation stood suspended between the authority of great names, and the prejudices of the million, upon one side; and a new name, new arguments and demonstration on the other.—Then Mr. Tytler arose. He generally took the same ground which Mr. Goodall had taken before him. He generally made use of his weapons. He brightened up some. He strengthened others. With both, and with his own, he drove the enemy out of the field.—Dr. Robertson quitted it directly. Mr. Hume rallied, after a long interval of eleven or twelve years. He rallied with a seeming ferocity of spirit, and with a real imbecility of exertion. He, who never replied to an adversary before, now replied to Mr. Tytler, in a note to a new edition of his history. He laid himself out there in reproaches against Mr. Tytler, and in vindications of himself.—But he touched upon the cause of Mary, in a single point only: and his efforts of proving in all were slight in their aim, and feeble in their operation. Mr. Tytler, however, very properly advanced upon him again in a postscript to a new edition of his own work; and Mr. Hume retired finally

amely with Dr. Robertson. Mr. Tytler deservedly gained great honour by the contest. His work is candid, argumentative, acute, and ingenious. Only his success seems to have injured his master's reputation. The glory was in no small measure Mr. Goodall's own; yet such is the capriciousness of fame conferred by men, that the laurels are still shading the brow of Mr. Tytler, while the original proprietor is almost forgotten. It is a justice due to the memories of illustrious masters, not to let their names be lost in the succeeding splendour of their scholars, when a large share of that splendour is derived from the masters themselves.

In this state of the controversy the nation continued for many years. The new truths were gradually gaining ground. None opposed them: numbers embraced them; and at last, in the natural progress of conviction, Dr. Stuart appeared about four years ago, with a regular history of Mary's reign, modelled upon the authority of records, and therefore vindicating the character of the queen. He even challenged Dr. Robertson, as the preceding historian of her reign, to leave the retreat which he had kept so long, to come forward from his covert at last, and either justify or retract his slanders against her. This was fair, bold, and manly. It was in the true spirit of historical gallantry, advancing to the rescue of an oppressed queen. But the doctor was too prudent to accept the challenge. He had gained his first honours in historical composition from that very history: these indeed had withered on his

head; but he might not think entirely, in attempting to freshen them. The nation was no longer in that high state of faction, in which it stood when he published first. And to retract what he had said, could not be expected from that measure of generosity which ordinarily falls to the share of a man.

It was the perusal of Dr. Stuart's spirited and judicious history, in the second edition of it, that put me upon examining the evidences, on which the whole is founded. I had formerly read the controversy, just as thousands must necessarily have read it, with a transient attention to the cited records, and with a full conviction on the side of Mary. But I now resolved to go deeper. The result was, that I quickly saw some particulars concerning the letters, sonnets, and contracts, as I thought, which had not yet been opened with sufficient clearness, which had not yet been pressed with sufficient vigour, or had been totally overlooked hitherto. These would serve, I saw, to vindicate more fully the character of a queen, to whom the nation owes so much in reparation, for two centuries of unremitted obloquy. And these have been so successfully continued from point to point since, that they have at last, I find, embraced the whole history and evidence of the writings, within their ample circle.

Yet in justice to my own candour, I ought to acknowledge, that, in doing this, I have found myself compelled at times to avoid the ground which the preceding

ceding champions for Mary have generally occupied. From a prudential regard for myself, I have been careful not to take any that was untenable. From a more dignified respect for facts, I have been upon my guard, against that generosity of compassion, for a highly injured woman, which is so apt to steal over the spirits, and to impose upon the judgment of an honest man. And while I profess myself a warm friend to Mary, I wish to be considered as a much warmer one to the truth of history in writing, and to the exercise of integrity in life."

Animated by these sentiments, of the truth of which nothing but the vehement and unjustifiable warmth of his style could make his readers doubt for a moment, our author enters immediately into his subject, and investigates, in the first volume, all those very important facts, in the history of the letters, contracts, and sonnets, which (as he says himself) carry their own power of conviction with them, speak with energy to every mind, and go with an irresistible decisiveness to the very heart and centre of the cause."

It is not in our power to give our readers a better idea of what these facts are, and of the consequences he has drawn from them, than by reporting in the author's own words, a kind of summary abstract of the evidence, which he has given us by way of conclusion to this first volume. We shall be sorry to be convinced (but convinced we cannot fail to be) that so many characters, to which we have been used to look up with respect and admiration, upon a nearer inspection sink very low

indeed in our esteem; and that many of those, whom we have been long accustomed to consider as able and upright statesmen, were, upon many occasions, much less than honest men. Such, however, is the hard condition upon which we must receive the truths now offered to us; and we must be content to accept them (as we often do many other good things, with certain causes of regret) accompanied with all the unpleasant reflections they cannot fail to excite in the mind of every reader.

I began (says our author) with the conduct of Elizabeth and Murray, as acting in confederacy together. This was so well known in some of its parts, and stood forth to the eye so prominent in all, that it arrested my attention first, and was therefore the best calculated to fasten first on my readers. In the detail of this conduct, regularly as I have authenticated it, not merely by reference to the proving passages, but by an actual production of the passages themselves; we have seen Murray and Elizabeth behaving in a most dishonourable manner. Elizabeth particularly appears in a light, that must shock her numerous admirers greatly. Yet, *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*. The low adulations of her own age, and the consenting flatteries of succeeding times, have united to throw a blaze of glory around the head of this political saint, to which she has as little claim as many of the religious saints in the calendar of Rome to their's. I admire her abilities, but I despise her principles. I admire her sagacity of understanding,

her

her comprehension of policy,
 and her vigour of resolution.
 But I detest her habits of swearing, her habits of hypocrisy, her rancorous jealousy, and her murderous malignity. Elizabeth indeed appears in her worst light, while she is seen in her transactions with Mary. On this worst part of her history have I been obliged to dwell. Nor should I have done justice to an injured queen, if I had not stated this part of the history, in its full glare of enormity; before the eye. The generality of mankind are undignified enough in their own spirit to pay their respect to understanding at the expense of morality; to ennoble persons who are only great from their powers, their situations, and their success; and to sink from view the profligacy with which these powers were exerted, these situations were improved, and this success was insured. But let not such as aspire to lead the opinions of the public, be content to practise the vice of the vulgar. The interests of virtue should be the object of every writer; and one single grain of virtue, it should be for ever considered, is worth more in the estimate of reason and of God, than all the mass of intellect, that is diffused through the universe.

But having, with the just severity of truth, I trust, laid open the behaviour of Elizabeth and Murray during the conferences in England; I then proceeded to show the grounds and causes of all this, in the wretched state of the forgeries themselves. I have shown the letters peculiarly, that

main substance of all the forgeries; to have been changed and altered in a most wonderful manner. Throgmorton, who had received an account of the first letters from the very formers of them, could not possibly have recognized them again in the last. Like the ship of Athens, or the stockings of Sir John Cutler, they had scarcely one particle of their original materials left behind. Yet, like those stockings and that ship, they pretended to be still the same; and what was infinitely more, they pretended to be the undarned, the unrepaired same from the very beginning.

The letters of Throgmorton's days I have shown to be merely ideal at the time, though they were realized afterwards. But a new set was soon formed upon a new principle. Even this was superseded afterwards. A new principle again took possession of the mind; and a new set again appeared upon the stage. The murder was the object of the *first*: the adultery had no share in it. The adultery and the murder became joint objects of the *second*. The murder was still principal, but the adultery showed itself of nearly equal magnitude with it. And at last, in the *third*, the adultery became principal, and the murder was only hinted at.

Both the second and the third I have also shown to have undergone many alterations of another nature. They appeared subscribed by Mary on the 4th of December 1567. They appeared not subscribed on the 15th—29th of the same month. They were subscribed

scribed to Bothwell originally; yet they appeared not superscribed afterwards. They were all dated both in time and place, before and during their appearance at York, but not after it. There were also *ten* in number with the parliament of Scotland; *six* at York; *five* at Westminster on the 8th of December, *eight* afterwards, *ten* on the 7th December, and actually *eighteen* in the months of December and January 1589, and on the 22d January 1571.

Nor is this all. The evidence against Mary was merely the letters at first. For nearly fifteen months from the asserted seizure of Mary's casket, it had disclosed nothing but letters against her. But, being properly put to the torture, it gave up twelve sonnets, and two contracts of marriage, to impeach her reputation. And then these pretended to have been equally found with the letters, at first.

But what is most astonishing, amid all these successive scenes of astonishment, is the change of the language in the letters. They appeared as Scotch, before the council and the parliament of Scotland, in December 1567. Yet Murray asserted them to be in French, by a message to Elizabeth in June following. But they still appeared in Scotch to the commissioners at York, in the ensuing month of October. And after all, they re-appeared in French, to the very same commissioners, only a few weeks afterward at Westminster. What is even more surprising, they appeared some of them in French and some in Scotch;

they published eight in French, and both pretending equally to be Mary's writing.

All these variations sufficiently vindicate the conduct of Elizabeth and of Murray, for the policy, though not for the probity of it; in the tricks and stratagems, in the frauds and evasions, which we have seen this couple of political jugglers exhibiting before. They both knew of the forgery. They both knew of those striking signatures of it. They both knew particularly of the changes and re-changes in the language of the letters. And their knowledge will combine with their conduct, I fear, to speak in a bolder language against them both, than any which I have used.

But whatever is the fate of these, the innocence of Mary must now be admitted by all, I think. The witnesses against her have been tried in the examination of the letters, sonnets, and contracts. One single variation in their testimony must have been fatal to the whole; but I have found many.

Each of these, in my opinion, forms a strong and lively ray of light to disclose the forgery to every eye. The last of them, I think, forms a ray exceedingly lively and strong. And all together they unite into such a powerful blaze, I apprehend, as lays open the whole forgery from end to end; as enables the most weak-eyed to see, and compels the most incredulous to believe."

Having in the first volume thus gone through the external evidence, the author proceeds in the second to the

the examination of the internal evidence in proof of the forgery of the *letters*, *contracts*, and *sonnets*, and gives us an exact copy of each, in the respective languages in which they were originally published. The letters alone, in Scotch, Latin, and French, with the different notes and criticisms upon them, take up the whole of the second volume. To attempt to follow our author through this minute and critical investigation, would lead us far beyond the bounds prescribed to us on these occasions, and we must therefore content ourselves with remarking in general, that these observations coinciding so well as they evidently do with so many of the circumstantial proofs adduced in the first volume, tend exceedingly to explain and develop the forgery, and to give an additional stability to what indeed seems able, if it were necessary, to support itself, without this new accession of strength. "It has been," says our author, "a tiresome employ to read, transcribe, and comment upon such a mass of impertinence and dullness:"—and it requires also, we must confess, not a small share of patience, and a considerable degree of zeal in the cause, to follow our author with any kind of exactness through the whole of "this tiresome employment." This however, we believe, will in great measure be made up to the attentive reader, by the many new lights it throws on some of the most important circumstances of these times; and the manner in which the enquiry has been prosecuted, certainly reflects very great honour on Mr. Whitaker's industry and penetration.

In the beginning of the third volume, the *sonnets* are brought before us; and as the *letters* were the production of Lethington, so it appears almost equally certain that the *sonnets* owe their existence to the famous Buchanan. That they were originally written in French, there seems to be no doubt; and since they are evidently proved not to have been Mary's, and it does not appear that there was any one man among the usurpers qualified for poetical composition, and capable of undertaking it in the French language, the honour and the disgrace attending these sonnets, must equally belong to him alone. It may not be uninteresting to some of our readers to form their own judgment of these compositions, by an examination of a few of the first stanzas of the first sonnet, which we shall lay before them in French and in English, and which we have taken as they occurred to us, without any particular reason for the selection.

I.

" O Dieux, ayez de moy compassion,
 " Et m'enseigniez quelle preuve certaine
 " Je puis donner, qui ne luy semble vaine,
 " De mon amour et ferme affection.

" Las ! n'est-il pas ja en possession
 " Du corps, du cœur, qui ne refuse peine,
 " Ny deshonneur en la vie incertaine,
 " Offence de parens, ni pire action ?

" Pour lui tous mes amis j'estime moins
 " que rien,
 " Et de mes ennemis je veux esperer bien.

" J'ay hazardé pour luy et nom et con-
 " science ;
 " Je veux pour luy au monde renoncer,
 " Je veux mourir pour le faire avancer :
 " Que reste plus pour prouver ma confiance ?

II. "Entre

"Entre ses mains, et son plein pouvoir,
 "Je mets mon fils, mon honneur, et ma vie,
 "Mon pais, mon subjets; mon ame affub-
 "jetie
 "Est toute a luy, et n'ay autre vouloir
 "Pour mon objet, que sans le decevoir
 "Suivre je veux, malgré toute l'envie
 "Qu'il s'en peut. Car je n'ay autre envie
 "Que de ma foy luy faire appercevoir.
 "Que pour tempeste, ou bonaise, qu'il
 "face,
 "Jamais ne vait changer demeure ou place.
 "Bref, je feray de ma foy telle preuve,
 "Qu'il cognoistra, sans faute, ma constance;
 "Non par mes pleurs, ou feinte obeissance,
 "Comme autres font, mais par diverse
 "espreuve, &c. &c. &c."

I.

"O Goddis, have of me compassion,
 "And schaw quhat certane prufe
 "I may give, quhilk fall not seme to him
 "vane,
 "Of my lufe and fervent affection.
 "Helas! is he not alreddy in possessioun
 "Of my body, of hart, that refusis na pane,
 "Nor dishonour in the lyfe uncertane,
 "Offence of friendis, nor worse afflictioun?
 "For him I esteame all my freindis les
 "than nathing,
 "And I will have gude hope of myne ene-
 "mies.
 "I have put in hasard for him baith fame
 "and conscience;
 "I will for his sake renounce the world,
 "I will die to set him fordwart;
 "Quhat remanis to gif prufe of my con-
 "stancie?"

II.

"In his hands, and in his power,
 "I put my sone, my honour, and my life,
 "My countrie, my subiectis, my saule, all
 "subdewit
 "To him, and hes nane uther will
 "For my scope, quhilk without dissuit
 "I will follow, in spite of all invy
 "That may ensue; for I have na uther
 "desyre
 "But to mak him peissaf my faithfulness.
 "For storme of [or] fair wedder that may
 "cum,
 "Never will it change dwelling or place.
 VOL. XXIX.

"Schortly, I sall give of my trueth sic
 "prufe,
 "That he sall know my constancie without
 "fictioun,
 "Not be my weiping, or fenzeit obedience,
 "As uther have done, bot be uther expe-
 "rience, &c. &c. &c."

The contracts are next examined with the same care; and in the same manner as the letters and sonnets have been described to be; and the author's observation resulting from the whole is, "that as we have seen the letters contradict-
 "ing each other, and the sonnets contradicting the letters, we now see the letters contradicted also by the contracts. The three grand elements of the forgery are thus in a perpetual state of hos-
 "tility between themselves, each laying open the falshood of the other, and all uniting to prove the forgery of all."

The discussion of a very important point; viz. the murder of lord Darnley, closes this interesting work. Of this singular incident (as we are told) the public "has never had any thing but a confused and in-
 "distinct idea." And our author undertakes to give it a clear one, "because the undertaking will ter-
 "minate," he says, "in a still fuller, a still stronger, and a still more pointed vindication of Queen Mary."

Buchanan's confessions concern-
 "ing the murder, published at the end of his Detection, &c. come first under consideration, and seem indeed clearly to be all spurious. Among many other things, a palpable contradiction in the evidence of one William Powrie is too striking to be passed over. On the 23d of June this man swears that he and Patrick Wilkop took "ane carriage of twa
 O "mathe

"maills and ane tronk, and ye
 "uthir an ledderin maill, quilks
 "wer lyand in the said nethir hall,"
 (the lower room of Bothwell's lodgings at Holyrood house) "quilks
 "the deponar and the said Pat put
 "on and chargit upon *two horses*
 "*of my lordis, the ane being his sown*
 "(own) *horse*"—and yet on the
 "3d of July re-swears—"yat the
 "carage of the tronk and mail,
 "contentit in his former deposi-
 "tioun, were carried by him and
 "Pat Wilson," not upon two
 "horses of my lord's, and one of them
 "his own, but "*upon one gray horse*
 "*yat pertained to Herman, page to*
 "*my lord at twa sundry times.*"—
 "But Powrie confirmed his ac-
 "count of the 23d June by this
 "remembered incident, that on
 "their return back out of the yard
 "at Black Friars to the gate, *the*
 "*two horses* (which they had left
 "there, while they carried in the
 "powder) *war away*, and they
 "were obliged to go back to Holy-
 "rood house without them. And
 "he corroborated his account of
 "July 3d by another incident of a
 "contrary nature, and yet equally
 "remembered; which was, "*yat at*
 "*the last horse cariage he bare up*
 "*ane toome* (empty) *pulder barrel*
 "*to the same place yai carriat the*
 "*pulder, and yat he wist not how*
 "*nor be quhome, the same came in*
 "*the erle Buttravell's ludging in the*
 "*Abby.*" Such gross contradic-
 "tions are there in this one man's
 "depositions. But there are still
 "more. In the former, when he
 "came to the gate of the Black
 "Friars, he and Wilson were met
 "by the erle Bothwell, accompa-
 "nit with Robert Ormestoun and
 "Paria, called French Paria, and

"utheris twa quhilks had cloakes
 "about yair faces."—In the latter,
 "quhan the deponar and Pat Will-
 "son come to the Frier zet (gate)
 "with the last convoy, and laid
 "the same down, Robert Ormes-
 "toun came forth and said, &c.—
 "And at the same time that the
 "deponar and Pat Wilson laid
 "down the last cariage at the said
 "Frier gait, the E. Bothwell
 "came unto yame utwith (without)
 "the Frier zet, accompany it with
 "*three* more quhilks had yare
 "cloaks and mulis upon yair feet.
 "And to notice only one more
 "contradiction, the first part of
 "the first deposition asserted him
 "and Wilson to have taken *two*
 "*mails and ane tronk* in one load,
 "and "*an ledderin mail*" in
 "another; but in the succeeding
 "parts the *two mails* are for-
 "gotten, *the saids two charges*
 "being shrunk into the said *maill*
 "*and tronk*; and yet though the
 "second deposition continues at
 "first to speak of *the tronk and*
 "*maill*, it soon changes its tone,
 "and makes up for what it has
 "taken away, by adding *ane toome*
 "*pulder barrel* to the whole. With
 "such a negligent industry have
 "these confessions been put to-
 "gether, that one man, speaking
 "at the distance of only ten days;
 "speaking of a general and a very
 "memorable fact, which happened
 "only four or five months before;
 "and speaking of circumstances,
 "which he must have remembered
 "as well as he remembered his own
 "presence at the whole, violently
 "and repeatedly gives himself the
 "lye.

We could not avoid mentioning
 at full length those particulars, be-
 cause,

cause, with some others nearly as strong, they entirely overthrow the false accounts hitherto given us of the murder. The next thing done is to proceed to the true account, and from the circumstances of this affair, as stated to us by the bishop of Ross, and from the agreement between his testimony and that of Camden, a cotemporary author, employed under the patronage and intrusted with the papers of Cecil himself, we can have very little room to doubt of the murder's having been originally planned by Murray and Morton, whose secret views in this matter are thus disclosed to us by Camden:—"These two above all things thought it best utterly to alienate the queen's mind from the king, their love being not yet well renewed; and to draw Bothwell into their society, who was lately reconciled to Murray, and was in great favour with the queen, *putting him in hope of divorce from his wife and marriage with the queen as soon as she was a widow.* To the performance hereof, and to defend him against all men, they bound themselves under their hands and seals; supposing that if the matter succeeded, they could, with one and the same labour, *make away the king, weaken the queen's reputation among the nobility and commons, tread down Bothwell, and draw unto themselves the whole managing of the state.*"

And most completely indeed did they succeed in their attempts, though the reader will undoubtedly be amazed, on the review of this evidence, to find that such testimonies have not long since settled the reputation of Mary upon a solid

basis, and rendered any farther attempts to vindicate her unnecessary.—"But the bishop's defence," says our author, "was carefully suppressed by the tyranny of the masculine queen. The writing, subscribed by the peers of Scotland, was locked up in the register of Mary, and among the papers in the Cotton library. And as Camden's history of Elizabeth came not out till near half a century had passed over the transactions, and till the slanders against Mary had made a deep impression upon the yielding faith of the nation, so it lay long sequestered from the generality of readers, by being confined to its original Latin."

In this manner it is to be accounted for, in some degree, why the memory of this unfortunate queen has been so long stigmatised with the enormous crimes of which she has hitherto been supposed guilty, and from which her present zealous advocate seems indeed most fully to have exculpated her. The *sonnets, contracts, and letters* he has proved in a very satisfactory manner to have been the works of her enemies; and from the writings of her enemies themselves he has detected their views in the forgery. The murder of Darnley, of which she has been so long supposed an accomplice, is here plainly discovered to have been both planned and executed by her most inveterate foes, some of whom afterwards, in the most awful moments of their lives, acquitted her in the most solemn manner of having had any share in it. And, to conclude this account in the author's own words—"These confessions, made (most of them) so openly to the attending multi-

"tudes, reported (all of them) so
 "openly to us at and near the mo-
 "ment, authenticated by such for-
 "mal and dignified attestations,
 "and ascending upwards through
 "such a scale of witnesses, to such
 "a couple of leaders, carry a won-
 "derful weight with them. They
 "were made by men who were all
 "but one, actors in the deed of
 "murder. They were made by
 "men, who were attached to Both-
 "well particularly. They were
 "made by men, who were all but
 "one, associates in the villainy with
 "Murray, Morton, and Bothwell.
 "They were made even by Both-
 "well himself. And they were
 "even made by Morton himself.
 "They were made by all, when
 "they were awfully standing on the
 "very shore and beach of time,
 "when they were awfully throwing
 "their eyes across the narrow
 "ocean of death before them, and
 "when they were penitentially pre-
 "paring for their reception in the
 "regions of eternity beyond. They
 "thus form an energy of evidence,
 "even superior, I think, if possible,
 "to all the constructive testimonies
 "of history before. They certain-
 "ly speak to the understanding, in
 "conjunction with these, in a voice
 "of power, and with a tone of
 "thunder. And the innocence of
 "Mary, and the guilt of Murray,
 "Moreton, and Bothwell, now stand
 "upon a basis as firm as the pillars
 "of the earth, and now appear to
 "the eye as conspicuous as the arch
 "of heaven."

*Travels through Egypt and Syria, in
 the years 1783, 1784, and 1785 ;
 by M. C. F. Volney.*

EVERY circumstance, however
 minute, concerning Egypt and
 Syria, is unquestionably, from the
 memory of their ancient splendour
 and independence, an object of ra-
 tional curiosity. We need not there-
 fore hesitate to recommend a work
 which, like the present, abounds
 with such a variety of new and in-
 teresting matter relating to those
 countries, in the strongest manner
 to the attention of the reader. Be-
 sides many ingenious and philoso-
 phical observations on the climate
 and natural productions, and an in-
 teresting account of the customs,
 manners, laws, genius, and charac-
 ter of the people; it contains a
 fund of valuable information about
 the state of their revenues, the na-
 ture of their military establishment,
 and the general system of Turkish
 policy in the government of the
 provinces dependent on the Otto-
 man empire. It appears to be the
 principal object of the author to lay
 before his readers an accurate
 and faithful account of the *present*
natural and political state of these
 countries. With that view he has
 confined his researches chiefly to
 those points; and refers his readers
 on the subject of antiquity, which
 he considers in a great measure as
 exhausted, to Norden, Pocock, Nie-
 buhr, Savary, and other travellers.
 There is indeed a full and minute
 account of the ruins of Palmyra and
 the temple of the sun at Balbec,
 in that part of the work relating to
 Syria. But he has allotted no more
 than one short chapter to the co-
 pious subject of the pyramids, and
 to the general description of all the

other

abound in every part of Egypt.—In the plan and execution of the work, *Monf. Volney* has differed from the generality of writers of travels. He has rejected the usual form of an itinerary as too polix, and has classed all his observations under separate chapters, according to the nature of the subject. He has likewise studiously avoided the impertinence of personal anecdotes, and professes to have repressed with care every disposition to exaggeration and embellishment. It appears that he was anticipated in his account of Egypt by *Monf. Savary*, from whom he differs in many essential points. The general aspect of the country, which *Monf. Savary* has described as so picturesque and beautiful, will present, in the account given by our author, a very different idea to the imagination of the reader: “If,” says *Monf. Volney*, “he figures to himself a flat plain, intersected by canals, and a water during three months, marshy and rank with vegetation for three others, and a dusty and parched the remainder of the year; if he imagines a number of wretched mud-walled and brick villages, naked and sun-burnt peasants, buffaloes, camels, sycamore and date trees thinly scattered, lakes, cultivated fields, and vacant grounds of considerable extent; and adds, besides, a sun darting his rays from an azure sky, almost invariably free from clouds, and winds constantly blowing, though not always with the same force, he will form a tolerably just idea of the natural appearance of this country. I cannot be reconciled,” he continues, “to the pestiferous southern blast, the north-east

“head aches, nor those swarms of scorpions, gnats, and especially flies, which are so numerous, that it is impossible to eat without running the risk of swallowing them. Besides, no country presents such a fameness of aspect. A boundless naked plain, an horizon every where flat and uniform, date trees with slender and bare trunks, or mud-walled huts on the causeways, are all it offers to the eye, which no where beholds that richness of landscape, that variety of objects, or diversity of scenery which true taste finds so delightful. The face of nature there presents nothing but fat herds, fertile fields, a muddy river, a sea of fresh water, and villages which rising out of it resemble islands. Should the eye reach the horizon, we are terrified at finding nothing but savage deserts. The contrast of this melancholy scene so near, has given to the cultivated fields of Egypt all their charms.” The second and third chapters contain a long discussion of *Monf. Savary’s* opinion respecting the enlargement and the rise of the Delta. Our author contends that the progress in the enlargement of the Delta could not have been so rapid as *Monf. Savary* had imagined. In the course of his argument, in which he displays very acute reasoning and considerable learning, he detects a false quotation from *Strabo*, with which *Monf. Savary* had supported his system; and likewise gives the true explanation of a passage in *Homer*, which the other had mistaken. He then concludes by observing, “that it would still remain to be explained, why the

"shore, which is supposed to have gained eleven leagues from the time of Menelaus to Alexander, should not have gained more than half a league during the much longer period from the time of Alexander to the present day." The mistake of Mons. Savary as to the rise of the Delta, was occasioned by his not adverting to the circumstance of the alterations that have been made in the *Nilometer*. It was not the *Nile*, Mons. Volney asserts, but the *column and measures* that have varied.—We must now refer our readers to several extracts from this work, which he will find in different parts of this volume; to the history of Ali Bey, page 15 (Characters); to an account of the winds in Egypt, and their phenomena, page 56 (Natural History); and to the account of the Mamlouks, page 137 (Miscellaneous Essays).—We come now to the account of the inhabitants. Egypt affords the singular spectacle of four distinct races of men, completely separated from each other by religious and political prejudices, and continuing to preserve their original characters perfectly distinct and unblended, though living in the same climate, in the same country, and under the same government. This part of the work is particularly curious and interesting. The first, and most generally dispersed of the four races, is that of the Arabs; of these there are three *classes*; first, the posterity of the ancient conquerors of the country who settled principally in the Delta, and are found in the present class of Fellaks, or husbandmen and artizans: the second is that of the Africans or Occidentals, who are descended from the Arabian

conquerors of Mauritania, and arrived in Egypt at different times, and under different chiefs; like the former they exercise trades and agriculture, they are most numerous in the *Said*, where they have villages and even distinct sovereigns of their own; the third *class* is that of the Bedouins, or inhabitants of the deserts. Pacific in their camp, they are every where else in an habitual state of war; the husbandmen, whom they pillage, hate them; the travellers, whom they plunder, speak ill of them; and the Turks, who dread them, endeavour to divide and corrupt them. It is calculated that the different tribes of them might form a body of 30,000 horsemen; but they are so dispersed and dissunited, that they are only considered as robbers and vagabonds.—The second race of inhabitants, are the Copts. They are dispersed all over the country, though greater numbers are found in the *Said*. They are the descendants of the people who were conquered by the Arabs, that is, a mixture of Egyptians, Persians, and above all Greeks, who under the Ptolemies and Constantines were so long in possession of Egypt. They are all Christians. Mons. Volney conceives the Arabic word *Kobti* a Copt, to be an abbreviation of the Greek word *Ai-gouptios*. Under the name of *writers*, the Copts are at Cairo the intendants, secretaries, and collectors of government. These *writers*, despised by the Turks, whom they serve, and hated by the peasants, whom they oppress, form a kind of separate class, the head of which is the *writer* of the principal Bey.—The third race are the Turks, who are masters of the country, or at least possess that title. They are not settled much

much among the villages. Individuals of that race are rarely met with except at Cairo, where they exercise the arts, and occupy the religious and military employments. Formerly they were also advanced to posts under government, but within the last thirty years a tacit revolution has taken place, which, without taking from them the title, has deprived them of the reality of power. This revolution has been effected by the fourth and last race, the Mamlouks.—The individuals of this race, all born at the foot of Mount Caucasus, are distinguished from the other inhabitants by the flaxen colour of their hair, which is entirely different from that of the natives of Egypt. The reader will find a full account of this extraordinary race of men in this volume, page 137 (Miscellaneous Essays). During five hundred and fifty years that there have been Mamlouks in Egypt, not one has left subsisting issue; there does not exist one single family of them in the second generation; all their children perish in the first or second descent. Almost the same thing happens to the Turks; and it is observed, that they can only secure the continuance of their families, by marrying women who are natives, which the Mamlouks have always disdained. “Let the naturalist,” exclaims Monf. Volney, “explain why men well formed, and married to healthy women, are unable to naturalize on the banks of the Nile, a race born at the foot of Mount Caucasus! and let it be remembered at the same time, that the plants of Europe in that country are equally unable to continue their species!”

The important question respecting

the practicability of forming a junction between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, by means of a canal cut through the isthmus of Suez, which has been so frequently discussed, could not escape the notice of so sagacious a traveller as Monf. Volney. The utter impracticability of the scheme is clearly shewn by the following remark, formed on his actual observation of the nature and situation of the corresponding coasts, “which are of a low and sandy soil, where the waters form shoals and morasses, so that vessels cannot approach within a considerable distance. It will therefore be found scarcely possible to dig a permanent canal amid these shifting sands; not to mention that the shore is destitute of harbours, which must be entirely the work of art. The country besides has not a drop of fresh water; and to supply the inhabitants, it must be brought as far as from the Nile.”—Monf. Volney supposes the number of inhabitants in Egypt to be 2,300,000.

We come now to the account of Syria, which takes up the remainder of the first and the whole of the second volume. It is by far the best and most accurate account of that country, which has appeared in any modern publication. [For the natural history of Syria we must refer to page 60 of this volume.] The reader will form a tolerably correct notion of the general appearance of this country and of the climate from the following extracts. “Syria may be considered as a country composed of three long strips of land of different qualities: one of them extending along the Mediterranean, is a warm, humid valley, the healthiness of which

" is doubtful, but which is extremely fertile; the other, which is the frontier to this, is a mountainous and rugged soil, enjoying a more salubrious temperature; the third, which lies beyond the mountains to the east, combines the dryness of the latter with the warmth of the former. By a happy combination of the properties of climate and soil, this province unites in a small compass the advantages and productions of different zones, inasmuch that nature seems to have designed it for one of the most agreeable habitations of this continent. Syria unites different climates under the same sky; and collects within a narrow compass pleasure and productions which nature has elsewhere dispersed at great distances of times and places. With us, for instance, seasons are separated by months; there we may say they are only separated by hours. If in Said or Tripoli we are incommoded by the heats of July, in six hours we are in the neighbouring mountains in the temperature of March; or, on the other hand, if chilled by the frosts of December, at Betharraï, a day's journey brings us back to the coast, amid the flowers of May.—The Arabian poets have therefore said that the *Sannin* bears Winter on his head, Spring on his shoulders, and Autumn on his bosom, while Summer lies sleeping at his feet."—The limits of our present undertaking will not allow us to enter so fully into the history of the inhabitants of Syria, as the subject deserves.—Mons. Volney divides the different races of men into two grand divisions; the sedentary inhabitants or the cultivators, and the wandering or pastoral tribes. The former he subdivides into three principal classes; first, the posterity of the people conquered by the Arabs, that is, the Greeks of the lower empire; secondly, the posterity of the Arabian conquerors; and thirdly, the present ruling people, the Ottoman Turks.—The pastoral tribes he divides into three classes, the Turkomans, the Curds, and the Bedouin Arabs. It is remarkable that Syria has not refused, like Egypt, to adopt the foreign races, but that they are all equally naturalized to the country. Of these different races, the Druzes, descendants of the Arabian conquerors, will most excite the attention of the reader. Though completely insulated by despotism, they have maintained amidst the mountains of Lebanon (their country) a species of freedom and independence unknown to the inhabitants of the neighbouring plains. The consciousness of this superiority in their condition, has given an energy to their character, which distinguishes them from the other people of Syria in an eminent degree. They are considered throughout the Levant as restless, enterprising, hardy, and brave even to temerity. Only three hundred of them have been seen to enter Damascus in open day, and spread around them terror and carnage. No persons are more nice than they in the point of honour; any offence of that kind, or open insult, is instantly punished by blows of the kandjar or the musquet, while among the inhabitants of the towns it only excites abusive retorts. It is worthy observation, that the Druzes, and other inhabitants of Lebanon, are the only subjects of the empire who possess a real property.—

They

They are for that reason so attached to their estates, that it is rare to hear of an alienation of lands among them. "Their peasants fear not that the Aga, the Kaimacham, or the Pacha, should send his Djen-dis to pillage their houses, carry off their families, or give them the bastinado." Such oppressions are unknown in the mountains. It is this security which has been the original cause of the population of their country, and which has given to the mountains of Lebanon, by nature sterile, all their fertility.—The government of this singular people is a well-proportioned mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy.—The situation of the other subjects of the empire is truly deplorable. Mons. Volney compares the empire to a *plantation* in one of our *Sugar Islands*, "where a multitude of slaves labour to supply the luxury of one great proprietor, under the inspection of a few servants, who take good care of themselves. There is no difference, except that the dominions of the Sultan being too vast for a single administration, he is obliged to divide them into smaller plantations and separate governments, administered in the same mode as the united empire. Such are the provinces under the Pachas. These provinces, again, being too extensive, the Pachas have had recourse to further subdivision, and hence that series of subalterns that step by step descends to the lowest employment. In this gradation of authority, the object in view being invariably the same, the means employed never change their nature. Thus power, being absolute and arbitrary in the monarch, is transmit-

ted absolute and arbitrary to all his subdelegates. It is certain, to use the expression of the Turks, that *the sabre of the Sultan descends not on the dust*, but this sabre he entrusts to the hand of his Vizir, who delivers it to the Pacha, from whom it passes to the Mofselam, to the Aga, and even to the lowest Delibafhe; so that it is, in fact, within the reach of the vilest retainer to office, and its destructive edge descends even on the meanest heads."—The total population of Syria Mons. Volney estimates at 2,305,000 souls. The revenues he calculates at £.1,281,250 sterling; not including the profits of the sub-farms, such as the countries of the Druzes, the Maronites, the Ansarians, &c. &c. The military establishment is by no means proportionable to what in Europe we should expect from such a revenue. All the troops of the Pachas united cannot amount to more than 5,700 men, both cavalry and infantry. The detail respecting the division of Syria into Pachalics is particularly curious and interesting; the limits of our present plan will not however allow us to enter into it.—We must now conclude with the author's opinion respecting the political strength of these countries.—"Syria and Egypt, compared with respect to the facility with which they may be attacked or defended, differ almost in every point. Egypt is protected from a foreign enemy on the land side by her deserts, and on that of the sea by her dangerous coast. Syria, on the contrary, is open on the side of the continent by the Diarbekar, and exposed also on that of the Mediterranean by a coast every where accessible. It is
"easy

" easy to make a descent in Syria, " other. The reason is, that E-
 " but very difficult to land in E- " gypt being a country of plains,
 " gypt: Egypt once invaded is " the invader there makes a rapid
 " conquered; Syria may resist: " progress; every moment brings
 " Egypt when conquered is ex- " on a battle, and every battle is
 " tremely difficult to keep, and easi- " decisive; Syria, on the contrary,
 " ly lost; Syria is so easily de- " being a mountainous country,
 " fended, it is impossible it should " war there must be a war of posts,
 " be lost. Less skill is necessary to " and every loss may be repair-
 " conquer one than to preserve the " ed."

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Accusation of Mr. Hastings. Celebrated speech of Mr. Sheridan on the third charge, respecting the Begums of Oude; its remarkable effects; house adjourn thereon; debate resumed; opinion of Mr. Pitt respecting the matter of the charge—voted by a large majority. Mr. Burke proposes to come directly to the question of impeachment; opposed by Mr. Pitt. Conversation relative to the evidence and prosecution of Sir Elijah Impey. Fourth charge, relative to the Nabob of Farruckabad, opened by Mr. T. Pelham. Reasons of Mr. Dundas for voting for the charge. Speech by lord Hood in favour of Mr. Hastings; answered by Mr. Pitt. Difficulties under which the accusers of Mr. Hastings laboured. Fifth charge, relative to contracts and salaries, opened by Sir James Erskine. Mr. Pitt objects to a great part of the charge; moves to have it confined to three points. Mr. Burke moves, that two others should be added. Mr. Burke's amendment carried. Altercation between Mr. Francis and Mr. Pitt. Sixth charge, respecting Fyzoola Khan, opened by Mr. Wyndham. Criminal parts of the charge stated by Mr. Dundas. Explanation by Mr. Burke. Proposal of Mr. Pitt for bringing forward the question of impeachment; acceded to by Mr. Burke. Seventh charge, relative to bribes and presents, opened by Mr. Sheridan; supported by Lord Mulgrave and Mr. Grenville. Report from the committee on the charges read a first time. Conversation respecting the mode of proceeding. Opinion of Mr. Fox—of Mr. Pitt—of Mr. Burke. Motion to read the report a second time, objected to by Major Scott. Paper read containing the sentiments of Mr. Hastings respecting the prosecution. Committee to prepare articles of impeachment. Eighth charge, respecting the revenues of Bengal, opened by Mr. Francis; he vindicates himself from suspicions of personal enmity to Mr. Hastings. Mr. Pitt's observations on the eighth charge. Conversation between Mr. Barwell and Mr. Burke, respecting his impeaching the former. Articles of impeachment read a first time; motion for reading them a second time opposed by Lord Hood, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Smith, lord advocate for Scotland, and Mr. Alderman Townshend—supported by Mr. Pitt—carried by a great majority. Question of impeachment opposed by Mr. Sumner—carried without a division. Mr. Montagu moves, that Mr. Burke do impeach Mr. Hastings at the bar of the House of Lords—ordered. Motion for taking Mr. Hastings into custody opposed by Mr. Nicholls—ordered. Lords acquainted therewith. Mr. Hastings delivered to the Black Rod—brought to the bar; articles read; admitted to bail; ordered to give in his answer the second day of the next meeting of parliament. Speaker's address to the King. King's speech. Parliament prorogued.

France. Various causes conducing to that revolution which has taken place in the political sentiments and public opinions of that nation. How far the American war and its consequences might be supposed to operate in producing that revolution. Unequalled expences and heavy debts produced by that war, added to the previous enormous burthens of the state, clog and embarrass all the movements of government, and involve the financial system in inextricable disorder. Financier succeeds financier without effect. Patriotic and generous endeavours of the king to relieve the distresses of the people, by curtailing in an unexampled degree the expences of his court and household, prove equally fruitless. The monarch, disappointed in all the hopes held out by his ministers, finds it necessary to throw himself for council and assistance upon the representatives of the nation. Difficulty of restoring the ancient assemblies of the states, through the manner of their election, their number, and the form of their proceedings being totally forgotten. Assembly of notables convened. King meets them in great state. Proceedings. M. de Calonne finds himself obliged to resign the administration of public affairs, and to retire to England. Convention of notables dissolved, without their having answered all the hopes of the court. Opposition of the parliament of Paris to the new taxes laid on by the crown. Celebrated remonstrance by that body. King, by the exertion of his authority in a bed of justice, obliges them to register the land-tax and stamp-duty edicts. Extraordinary protest, which renders them of no effect. Parliament banished to Troyes. Great discontents. Turbulence of the Parisians occasions a strong armed force to enter that city. Flame of liberty bursting forth in different parts of the kingdom. Parliament recalled. Combination of circumstances which nearly compelled France to submit to the measures pursued by England and Prussia with respect to Holland. Convention with England for mutually disarming. King meets the parliament with two edicts for a new loan, amounting to about 19 millions of English money. King sits nine hours to hear the debates; and at length, departing hastily, orders the edicts to be registered. Duke of Orleans thereupon protests against the whole proceedings of the day as invalid. Protest confirmed by the parliament. Duke of Orleans banished to one of his country seats, and two members of the parliament to remote prisons. Strong and repeated remonstrances. Some relaxation obtained with respect to the imprisoned magistrates.

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C H A P. VIII.

Causes of the discontents in the Austrian Netherlands. Ecclesiastical reforms silently acquiesced in, until they were involved with invasions of the civil rights and political establishments of the provinces. Two imperial ordinances published on the first day of the year 1787, which went in their immediate effect to the subversion of the established tribunals of justice, and tended more indirectly to the overthrow of the ancient constitution. Sketch of the constitution of Brabant, and of the established system of jurisprudence. Council of Brabant suppressed by the new edicts. Great seal transferred from the hands of the chancellor to the imperial minister. Low Countries divided into nine circles, and intendants and commissaries, with arbitrary and undefined powers, appointed to rule these circles. Standing committee

C O N T E N T S.

mittee of the states of Brabant suppressed, and its powers transferred to an engine of state under the name of a council of general government. Universal consternation and general discontent. Great licence of language with respect to the sovereign, and his violation of the inaugural compact and oath. Committee of the states of Brabant present a strong memorial to the court of Brussels. People determine resolutely to maintain their rights and liberties. The bold remonstrance of the Syndics gives new energy to this determination. Flame in the university of Louvain, occasioned by the suppression of the ancient seminaries of instruction, and the establishment of a new school of theology, under the government of German professors. All orders of men are thus coalesced in an opposition to the acts and designs of government. Visitor of the capuchins banished for refusing to send the novices of his order to the general seminary at Louvain. Mr. de Hondt seized by soldiers, and sent a prisoner to Vienna. Spirited proceedings of the states of Brabant; refuse to grant subsidies until the public grievances are redressed; forbid all obedience to the intendants and their commissaries; present a spirited memorial to the governors general; forbid the council of Brabant to pay any regard to the late decrees, and command that tribunal to maintain the exercise of its functions. States of Flanders and Haynault adopt similar measures with those of Brabant. Syndics act a great part in the opposition. Court of Brussels alarmed and perplexed. Governors general suspend the operation of the new edicts, and issue a declaration which affords present satisfaction. Mandate issued by the emperor on his return from Gheron, expressive of his resentment at the measures pursued in the Low Countries, and commanding the states of the respective provinces, as a proof of their obedience, to send a deputation of their members to Vienna; where the governors general, and the minister, count Belgiojoso, are likewise ordered to repair. Count de Murray appointed to the government in the absence of the princes. Great alarm in the Low Countries, on the report that an imperial army was preparing to march thither. Various measures preceding, and some tending to an accommodation. Alarming tumult at Brussels, and some blood shed, in a rash attempt made by the military to disarm the volunteers. Farther ill consequences prevented by the excellent conduct of count Murray. Accommodation happily takes place; the public rights are generally restored; and the states grant the customary subsidies. [201

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